

The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization

The Life
OF THE
Prophet
Muḥammad
VOLUME I

Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick

Reviewed by Dr Ahmed Fareed

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In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

FOREWORD

THE interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilizations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzī (Rhazes), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilization as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam's Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilization in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria used to select individual books were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from

another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today's world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

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THIS series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

Readers will therefore see that this series includes a variety of works in the purely Islamic sciences, such as Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, theology, prophetic traditions (*sunna*), and jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Also represented will be books by Muslim scientists on medicine, astronomy, geography, physics, chemistry, horticulture, and other fields.

The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

This series is distinguished from other similar intercultural projects by its distinctive objectives and methodology. These works will fill a genuine gap in the library of human thought. They will prove extremely useful to all those with an interest in Islamic culture, its interaction with Western thought, and its impact on culture throughout the world. They will, it is hoped, fulfil an important rôle in enhancing world understanding at a time when there is such evident and urgent need for the development of peaceful coexistence.

This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhwī, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Mohammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a

* Died 1994, may Allāh have mercy on him.

Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.

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INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidā' Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr,¹ and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, 'Abd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qur'ān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, 'Abd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.² He argues that the *sira* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, 'Abd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sira al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathir*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfi, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafṣīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr's Tafṣīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* (unpublished dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadḥkirat al-Huffāz*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr b. Ḍaw b. Kathīr b. Zar'. Other versions have been given, however, such as appear in al-Ziriklī's *al-A'lam* (1: 320) and 'Umar Ridā Kabbāla's *Muṣjam al-Mu'allifin* (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii, 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzālī's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzī, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Ṣālihiyya.³

Ibn Kathīr, true to the pre-eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the *muḥaddith*, the scholar of *ḥadīth* traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muḥammad: the *ḥadīth* literature and the *sīra*; the Qurʾān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of *ḥadīth* material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, “followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of *ḥadīth*, and that of the tribes (i.e. the *ʿayyām* anecdotes as narrated by the *akhbārīs* and the *ruwāt*), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities. “These two lines”, he explains, “reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life.”⁴ According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muḥammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qurʾān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of *ḥadīth* traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, “a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the *ḥadīth* which flourished in the second and third centuries.”⁵ A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a

3. Curtis, 23.

4. Professor Duri’s article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls “the tribal type of history”. See in this regard ‘The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century’, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).

5. M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Hadīth Literature* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1983), 186,

rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (*fitna*), whereupon sources were no longer regarded, *prima facie*, as trustworthy, but were instead increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate *isnād* system where every *ḥadīth* was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text (*matn*) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of transmitters (*sanad*) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such information from the Prophet himself.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathīr's method in this particular work is more that of the *ḥadīth* scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhārī, Muslim and more so, al-Baihaqī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū Nuʿaim thus feature more prominently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām or Tabarī. But, as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid rightly points out, Ibn Kathīr, on occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Mūsā b. Uqba, and the *al-Rawḍ al-Anf* of al-Suhaylī are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Hishām, are Ibn Kathīr's copious citations of poetry, almost all of which seem to have been taken from Muḥammad b. Ishaq's biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of Kaʿab b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, *Bānūt Suʿād*; there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the haunting ode of Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, when he speaks so movingly of his virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the evocative panegyrics of Ḥassān b. Thābit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and his Companions.

Ibn Kathīr, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of *ḥadīth* methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars such as Ibn Ishāq, but also, at times, the very *ḥadīth* material he so often quotes. He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the *saḥīḥ* of Bukhārī or that of Muslim. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers two possible reasons for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathīr was simply quoting from memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis is, I believe, somewhat disingenuous for it requires, amongst other things, that Ibn Kathīr possessed not one, but an entire set of *ḥadīth* works unique to his library alone!

The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabarī, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."⁶ Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet".⁷ And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."⁸

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.⁹

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by

6. See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

7. This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

8. For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of Prophet Muhammad", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

9. See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sira* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."¹⁰

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and stratagems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and more importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".¹¹ Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."¹² As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheat and corruption."¹³ Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

10. F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 291–315.

11. See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

12. *Ibid.*, 300.

13. *Ibid.*, 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.¹⁴ Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a “much more solid contribution to historical knowledge” as Holt puts it, but one that none the less did “not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as ‘the great Imposter’ and then describing the Arab conquests as ‘that grievous calamity’.”¹⁵ The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: “With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his.”¹⁶

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel “the historical person of Muhammad”, Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating “the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sīra*”. Lammens’ efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. “Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam’s obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence.”¹⁷

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a “pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnad*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the ‘Companions’ who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

14. Ibid., 291.

15. Ibid., 311.

16. P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.

17. K. S. Salibi, “Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens”, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330–342.

in pertinent ways.”¹⁸ Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that “hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards.”¹⁹ From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: “that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded.”²⁰

Not all Western scholars, however, were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht’s conclusion. He thus maintains that “In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a ‘tendential shaping’ of the material . . .”²¹

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.²² He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title “*al-Aḥādīth al-Daʿīfah wa al-Maudūʿah*” in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Daʿīfah wa al-Maudūʿah*.²³

18. See Goldziher’s chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

19. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

20. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

21. W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford University Press, 1953), xiii.

22. M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Daʿīfah wa al-Maudūʿah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islamī, 1376 h.

23. *Ibid.*, 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him

"In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'As recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *ahadīth* narrated by 'Amr b. Shu'aib (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr's books. 'Urwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period."²⁴

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam."²⁵ "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles."²⁶

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship."²⁷ For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'."²⁸

24. Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

26. *Ibid.*, 13.

27. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early ḥadīth* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

28. *Ibid.*, 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,²⁹ "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."³⁰

Ahmed Fareed
Reviewer of Volume I

29. H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

AS has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathīr repeats anecdotal *aḥādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathīr's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *aḥādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted

have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the *inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period*, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 1997

VOLUME I

In the name of God, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful

It has been said that all Arabs trace their origins to Ishmael, the son of Abraham; upon them both be peace, salutation, and homage. However, what is well known to be true is that the *‘arab al-‘Āriba* (the original Arabs) came before Ishmael. Among them were the peoples of Ād, Thamūd, Ṭasm, Jadīs, Umaym, Jurhum, and the ‘Amāliq, as well as others known only to God. Also, these peoples both came before and were contemporaries of *al-Khalīl*.¹ Yet the *‘arab al-musta‘riba* (the Arabized Arabs), the Arabs of the Ḥijāz, were descendants of Ishmael, son of Abraham; upon both of them be peace.

The Arabs of the Yemen, the Ḥimyar, are well known to have been from Qaḥṭān, whose name was Muhzam, as Ibn Makūlā said. It has been stated that they were a group of four brothers; Qaḥṭān, Qāḥit, Muqḥit, and Fāligh. Qaḥṭān was the son of Hūd; it is also said that he was Hūd, or that Hūd was his brother or one of his offspring. Qaḥṭān is also said to have descended from Ishmael, as Ibn Ishāq and others relate it. One authority stated that Qaḥṭān was the son of al-Hamaysa‘, son of Tayman, son of Qaydhar, son of Nabt, son of Ishmael. And there are other genealogies tracing him back to Ishmael; but God knows best. Al-Bukhārī treats this in his chapter on tracing the ancestry of Yemen back to Ishmael. He states that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yahyā, from Yazīd b. Abī ‘Ubayd, and also Salama – God be pleased with him – as follows, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out and confronted a group from Aslam who were fighting one another with swords. He said to one of the two sides, ‘Combat, O sons of Ishmael, I am with the so-and-so tribe.’ So they stopped fighting. ‘What’s wrong with you?’ he asked. ‘But how can we combat if you are with the so-and-so tribe?’ they replied. ‘Go on, combat,’ he insisted, ‘I’m with all of you.’”

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this tradition. In one of his versions the tradition goes, “Combat, O sons of Ishmael. Your forebear was a skilled marksman. Combat; I’m with Ibn al-Adra‘.” And when they stopped fighting, he said, “Go on, combat. I’m with all of you.”

Al-Bukhārī states, “And Aslam b. Afṣā b. Ḥāritha b. ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir is from the tribe of Khuẓā‘a.” He means the following: that Khuẓā‘a was one group of those who were split off from the tribes of Saba’ when God sent on them the flood of al-‘Aram, as will be explained later. And the Aws and the Khazraj tribes

1. *al-Khalīl* is an epithet of Abraham, which literally means in Arabic “the true friend” or “companion”. Here this honorific connotes “the true follower of God”.

were from Saba' also. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had said to them, "Combat, O sons of Ishmael." By so saying he was pointing out that they were from Ishmael's line of ancestry. Others interpret his words as meaning the entire Arab race, though that interpretation is far-fetched, since it contradicts without proof the apparent meaning. But the overwhelming view is that the Qaḥṭānī Arabs, whether they were from Yemen or somewhere else, were not from the line of Ishmael.

Most consider that all the Arabs are divided into two strains, those of Qaḥṭān and those of 'Adnān. Those of Qaḥṭān consist of two peoples: Saba' and Ḥaḍramawt. Those of 'Adnān are also from two peoples: Rabī'a and Muḍar, the two sons of Nizār b. Ma'ad b. 'Adnān. A fifth people, the Quḍā'a, are the object of dispute. One theory asserts that they are from 'Adnān; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr reports that the majority so believes. This theory is related from Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar, and Jubayr b. Mu'ṭim. It is also preferred by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, his uncle Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, and Ibn Hishām. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and others, the name "Quḍā'a son of Ma'ad" appeared in a *ḥadīth* but this is incorrect.

In addition it is said that Quḍā'a continued to trace the ancestry back to 'Adnān, both before and after the coming of Islam. But by the time of Khalid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, some of them being maternal uncles of his, they were tracing back to Qaḥṭān. In that regard A'shā b. Tha'labā composed the following verses:

"Inform Quḍā'a in the letter that but for the vicars of God's people, they would not have been embraced (into Islam).

Quḍā'a has said, 'We are among the fortune blessed.'²

And only God knows if they have been honest and spoken true.

They claimed a father who never had their mother;

They may know, but they are fearful (to tell the truth)."

Abū 'Amr al-Suhaylī has also mentioned unique Arab poetry which reproaches Quḍā'a for attributing their descent to Yemen. But God knows best.

The second theory is that Quḍā'a has descended from Qaḥṭān; Ibn Ishāq, al-Kalbī, and a number of other genealogists subscribe to this view.

Ibn Ishāq gave his genealogy as being Quḍā'a b. Mālik, b. Ḥimyar, b. Saba', b. Yashjub, b. Ya'rub, b. Qaḥṭān.

A certain poet of theirs, 'Amr b. Murra, a Companion of the Prophet to whom two *ḥadīths* are attributed, composed the verses:

"O caller, summon us and rejoice;

Be of Quḍā'a, stand not aloof in shame.

We descend from the noble and handsome

2. A play on Yemen, pronounced "yaman" in Arabic, a word meaning "success", "happiness", "luck".

Quḍā'a, son of Mālik, son of Ḥimyar.
 The line is well-known and fault-free,
 Engraved in the stone beneath the pulpit."

One genealogist gave the line as follows: Quḍā'a b. Mālik, b. 'Amr, b. Murra, b. Zayd, b. Ḥimyar.

Ibn Lahī'a stated, on the authority of Ma'rūf b. Suwayd from Abū 'Ushāba Muḥammad b. Mūsā, from 'Uqba b. 'Āmir, that the last-mentioned said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whether we were descended from Ma'ad. He replied that we were not. So I asked who we were. He replied, 'You are descended from Quḍā'a b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar.'"

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr said the following: "People do not dispute that Juḥayna b. Zayd b. Aswad b. Aslam b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'a is the tribe of 'Uqba b. 'Āmir al-Juhānī. Accordingly, Quḍā'a would be in Yemen in the tribe of Ḥimyar b. Saba'."

Some genealogists combine these ancestries, as in the report of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and others to the effect that Quḍā'a was a woman of the Jurhum who was married to Mālik b. Ḥimyar, from whom she gave birth to Quḍā'a. Then, she married Ma'ad b. 'Adnān, while her son was still small; some even claim that she was pregnant with Quḍā'a prior to her marriage (to Ma'ad). Thus, Quḍā'a was ascribed descent from his mother's husband, as was frequently the custom in such cases. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Sallām of Basra, the skilled genealogist, said, "The Arabs came from three strains: 'Adnān, Qaḥṭān, and Quḍā'a." When he was asked who were the more numerous, the descendants of 'Adnān or those of Qaḥṭān, he replied, "It depends on Quḍā'a; if they related to Yemen, then Qaḥṭāns are more numerous; if to Aden, then 'Adnāns are more."

All this points to Quḍā'a's inconsistency in relating their descent. However, if the aforementioned *ḥadīth* from Ibn Lahī'a is true, then it proves their being from Qaḥṭān. But God knows best. And God Almighty did state: "O people, we have created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Truly, in God's sight it is the most pious of you who are the most noble" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*, XLIX, v.13).

Genealogists indicate that their taxonomy has the following order: *shu'ūb* (peoples); *qabā'il* (tribes); *'amā'ir* (tribal confederations); *buṭūn* (sub-tribes); *afkhādh* (small divisions of a tribe); *faṣā'il* (extended kinsfolk); and *'ashā'ir* (extended families). And the last refers to those closest to a man, and there are no more terms thereafter.

Let us begin with mention of the Qaḥṭān, then the Arabs of the Ḥijāz who are the 'Adnān, and discussion of the *jāhiliyya* era (before Islam, that is) as a way of leading up to the biography of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). All this if it be the will of God, in whom there is trust.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter, *An Account of Qaḥṭān*, as follows: “‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh told us, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Thawr b. Zayd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘Judgement Day will not come until a man from the Qaḥṭān goes forth driving the people before him with his stick.’ Muslim also relates it in that way, from Qutayba, from al-Darāwardī, from Thawr b. Zayd.”

Al-Suhaylī said that Qaḥṭān was the first to whom were spoken the phrases *abayta al-la‘na*³ (i.e. “you have scorned the malediction”) and *an‘im ṣabāḥan* (i.e. “have a happy morning!”).

The Imām Aḥmad said, “Abū al-Mughīra related to us, from Jarīr, and Rāshid b. Sa‘d al-Muqrā‘ī told me, from Abū Hayy, from Dhū Fajār, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘This status once belonged to Ḥimyar, but God withdrew it from them and placed it with Quraysh and *waw, sin, yā, ‘ayn, waw, dal, alif ḥamza, lām, yā, hā, mīm*.’” ‘Abd Allāh said, “This was in a document of my father, and as he related it to us he spoke it out directly as meaning the words, *wa saya‘ūdu ilayhim*, meaning ‘it will return to them.’”

The Story of Saba’.

God Almighty said, “For Saba’ there was indeed a sign in their dwelling-place: two gardens, on the right hand and on the left. ‘Eat of the bounty from your Lord, and render Him thanks.’ Good was the country, and forgiving the Lord. But they turned away, so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-‘Arim, and changed their gardens into ones of bitter fruit, tamarisks, and a few lote trees. Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish? And We placed between them and the villages We had blessed other settlements, easily seen, well spaced for journeying, (saying) ‘Travel in them in safety by day and night.’ They responded, ‘O God, extend the distances between our travel stops.’ They harmed themselves, and We made of them tales to be told and scattered them asunder. In that there are signs for all who are truly patient and thankful” (*sūrat Saba’*, XXXIV, v.15–19).

The genealogists, including Muḥammad b. Ishāq, give the name as Saba’ ‘Abd Shams b. Yashjub b. Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān; they say that he was the first of the Arabs who *saba’*⁴ and that that was why he was called Saba’. He was also called *al-Rā‘ish* (“the philanthropist”), because he gave to the people from his own wealth.

3. A salutation made to kings in the pre-Islamic era, meaning “your deeds are too impeccable to deserve malediction, O king.”

4. The word lends itself to various interpretations. Thus A. Guillaume, in his translation of Ibn Ishāq’s *The Life of Muḥammad* (Oxford, 1955, p4) renders it “to take captives”. Dictionaries give other meanings that might also fit this context. For example, in E. W. Lane’s *Arabic-English Lexicon* we find *saba’* as “to renege on an oath” or “to imply God’s abandonment of a person”.

Al-Suhaylī said, "It is related that he was the first person to be crowned." Some stated that he was a Muslim and that he wrote verses predicting the advent of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In that poetry are the lines:

"He will control after us a mighty domain,
A prophet who will give not licence to evil.
After him, other kings from among them will hold sway
Ruling all men, with no dishonour nor disgrace.
After them, rulers of ours will control
And our kingdom will be fragmented.
After Qaḥṭān a prophet will rule,
Pious, humble, the very best of mankind.
He will be named Aḥmad, and I wish
I could be given to live a year after his coming
To support him and award him my aid
With all fully-armed warriors and all marksmen.
When he appears, become his helpers and let
Him who meets him pass on my greeting."

Ibn Dīḥya related this in his book *al-Tanwīr fī Mawlid al-Bashir al-Nadhīr* (*Illuminating the Birth of the Messenger, the Herald*).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. Hubayra al-Saba'i, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wa'la, that the last-named said that he heard 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās say that a man once asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) who or what Saba' might signify, whether a man, a woman, or a territory. He replied, "Certainly he was a man who gave birth to ten children. Six of them dwelled in Yemen and four in Syria. Those in Yemen were Madhḥij, Kinda, al-Azd, the Ash'arīs, Anmār, and Ḥimyar, all Arabs; in Syria they were Lakhm, Judhām, 'Āmila, and Ghassān."

We related in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* that it was Farwa b. Musayk al-Ghuṭayfi who asked about that; also therein we analysed the lines of transmission and the phraseology of this tradition. And all praise be to God!

What is meant here is that Saba' encompasses all these tribes. Among them there used to be [kings] in the lands of Yemen called the *tabābī'a*; *tubba'* in the singular. Their kings would wear crowns during their reign, as also did the Chosroes, the kings of the Persians. The Arabs used to apply the word *tubba'* to each king who rules Yemen, along with al-Shahr and Ḥaḍramawt, just as they applied *qayṣar* to kings ruling Syria and the peninsula, *kisrā* to those ruling Persia, *far'ūn* to Egypt's rulers, *al-naḡāshī* to those over Abyssinia, and *baṭlaymūs* to India's kings. Balqis⁵ was one of the Ḥimyarite rulers of Yemen. They used to be in a state of great felicity, with abundant prosperity and a plenitude of local fruits and pro-

5. Balqis is identified as the Queen of Sheba who married King Solomon.

duce. However, they lived in rectitude, propriety, and right guidance. But when they replaced God's blessings by disbelief, these kings brought their people to ruin.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated from Wahb b. Munabbih, "God sent to them 13 prophets." And al-Suddī claimed that he sent 12,000 prophets to them! But God knows best.

What is implied here is that they deviated from the true guidance into error and bowed down to the sun apart from God. That was so in the time of Balqis and beforehand as well, continuing up to when God sent the flood of al-ʿArim upon them. As the Almighty said, "But they turned away, so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-ʿArim, and changed their gardens into ones of bitter fruit, tamarisks, and a few lote trees. Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish?" (*sūrat Sabaʿ*, XXXIV, v.16–17).

A number of former and contemporary scholars on the Qurʾān commentaries and others have related that the Maʿrib dam was constructed where waters flowed between two mountains; in ancient times they built an extremely strong dam there so that the water-level reached these mountain tops. On those mountains they planted many fields and orchards with elegant and highly productive trees. It is said that Sabaʿ b. Yaʿrib built it and that it was fed by 70 valleys with 30 outlets for the water from it. But he died before it was completed and so Ḥimyar finished it after him. It was one *farsakh*⁶ long and one *farsakh* wide. People lived there in great felicity, prosperity, and ease. So much so, that Qatāda and others related that the orchards gave fruit of such quantity and ripeness that a woman could fill a large basket on her head from the fruit dropping in it as she passed below. It is said that there were no fleas or dangerous beasts there; the climate being wholesome and the land excellent, as the Almighty stated, "For Sabaʿ there was indeed a sign in their dwelling-place; two gardens, one on the right hand and one on the left. 'Eat from the bounty of your Lord, and render Him thanks – a fair land and a much-forgiving Lord'" (*sūrat Sabaʿ*, XXXIV, v.15). And He also stated, "And so your Lord proclaimed: 'If you give thanks, I give you increase thereof; but if you show ingratitude, then is my punishment severe indeed'" (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*, XIV, v.7).

Then they worshipped other than God and were discontent with His bounty; after He had made their travel stages close together, made good their orchards, and secured their roads, they asked Him to extend their travel stages, to make their journeys difficult and tiresome, and to replace good by evil. They did just like the Israelites when they requested that He exchange manna and quails for vegetables, cucumbers, garlic, lentils, and onions. And so they nullified that great blessing and common good by despoiling the land and scattering the people, then, as the Almighty said, "they turned away and so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-ʿArim" (*sūrat Sabaʿ*, XXXIV, v.16).

6. Parasang, an ancient Persian measure of length, equal to about 3½ miles.

More than one source related that God dispatched rodents against the base of the dam, that is, large rats, or, it is said, moles; and when people knew of this, they set up nets. But, it having been so decreed, these efforts did no good and their precautions were useless. When the destruction at the base was well advanced, the dam fell and collapsed and the water flowed out. Thus the streams and rivers were cut off; all those fruits were lost and all the produce and trees perished. Afterwards they were replaced with inferior trees and fruits, as All-powerful and Almighty God has stated, "and we changed their gardens into ones of *khāmṭ* and *athl* (bitter fruit and tamarisks)" (*sūrat Saba'*, XXXIV, v.16).

Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, and others stated that *khāmṭ* is the *arāk* tree which gives a fruit known as the *barīr*, whereas the *athl* is the *ṭarfā'*, the tamarisk, or some such similar tree that produces wood without fruit. The Qur'an verse continues, "and a few lote-trees". This refers to the fact that when the *nabaq*, the "Christ's thorn" tree, gives fruit it does so in very small quantity despite the profuseness of its thorns. The proportion of its fruit is similar, then, to what the proverb implies, "like the meat of a scrawny camel high on a rock-strewn mountain", not an easy path to be climbed, nor a nice fat meal to be attained. This, then, is why the Almighty states, "Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish?"

That is, He only metes out such severe punishment to those who disbelieve in Him, give the lie to His messengers, disobey His commands, and defile His sanctuaries.

The Almighty also said, "We made of them tales to be told and scattered them asunder." In fact, when their wealth was gone and their lands were in ruin, they were forced to depart. So they scattered into the lower areas and into the higher reaches of the country, in all directions, *aydi Saba'* (in disarray that is) as the common idiom goes. Some of them settled in Ḥijāz, the Khuẓā'a tribe among them; they migrated to the suburbs of Mecca, with the consequences that we will relate later. Others went to what is now Medina, being the first to settle there. They were later joined by three tribes of Jews: Banū Qaynuqā', Banū Qurayẓa, and Banū al-Naḍīr. These made a pact with the tribes of Aws and Khazraj and stayed with them, as we will relate. Other groups from Saba' moved to Syria and it was later they who became Christian; these were the Ghassān, 'Āmila, Bahra', Lakhm, Judhām, Tanūkh, Taghlib, and others.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Abū 'Ubayda told him that al-A'shā b. Qays b. Tha'labā, also known as Maymūn b. Qays, spoke the verses:

"In that there is a moral for those who seek morals,
Ma'rib was wiped out by the torrent of al-'Arim,
Marble, built for them by Ḥimyar,
Which did not budge when the raging billows came.

Its water irrigated the crops and the vines
 Far and wide, since it was decreed
 Then they were scattered and could not
 Give drink to a child when just weaned.”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq, in his biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS), indicated that the first man to leave Yemen before the flooding of al-‘Arim was ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir of the Lakhm tribe. Lakhm was the son of ‘Adī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. Hamaysa’ b. ‘Amr b. ‘Arib b. Yashjub b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba’. Lakhm’s genealogy has also been given as Lakhm b. ‘Adī b. ‘Amr b. Saba’, as Ibn Hishām states.

According to Ibn Ishāq, “The reason for his departure from Yemen was, as Abū Zayd *al-anṣārī* related to me, that he saw rodents burrowing into the Ma’rib dam which held back the water which they distributed over their land as they pleased. He realized that the dam would not last, and so he decided to emigrate from Yemen. So he tricked his people, as follows. He ordered his youngest son to stand up to him and strike him back if he should berate and strike him. His son did as he was told and ‘Amr then said, ‘I will not remain in a land where my youngest son has slapped my face.’ So some of Yemen’s tribal leaders said, ‘Let’s take advantage of ‘Amr’s anger and buy up his properties.’ Then ‘Amr moved with his sons and grandsons. The Azd tribe then stated that they would not remain behind after ‘Amr; so they sold their properties and left with him. They journeyed until they reached the land of ‘Akk, crossing to and fro across their territory. So ‘Akk attacked them, their battles favouring first one side, then the other. On this fighting, ‘Abbās b. Mirdās spoke the following verses:

‘And ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān were those who toyed with
 Ghassān until they were completely expelled.’

“‘Amr’s people therefore disengaged from them and dispersed in different directions. The family of Jafna b. ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir went to Syria, while the Aws and the Khazraj settled in Yathrib and Khuzā’a went to Marra.⁷ The Azd al-Sarāt went to al-Sarāt, the Azd ‘Umān to ‘Umān. Then God dispatched the torrent down upon the dam and destroyed it, concerning which event God revealed these verses in the Qur’ān.” Something close to this account was also related from al-Saddī.

According to Muḥammad b. Ishāq in this account, ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir was a soothsayer. Others say that his wife, Ṭarīfa daughter of al-Khayr, the Ḥimyarite woman, was a soothsayer and that she told him of the imminent doom of their country. Apparently they saw proof of that in the rats being given control over their dam, and that was why they acted as they did. God alone knows best.

7. Known as *marr al-Zahrān*, on the road to Mecca.

I have given a lengthy account of 'Amr's story, from 'Ikrima, as related by Ibn Abi Ḥatim, in my *Tafsir* (Exegesis).

DIVISION

Not all of Saba' left Yemen when they were afflicted with the torrent of al-'Arim; the majority of them remained. The people of Ma'rib, who had the dam, moved into different parts of the country. That is the gist of the previously mentioned *ḥadīth* coming down from Ibn 'Abbās to the effect that all the tribes of Saba' did not leave Yemen, but four went to Syria while six remained. These were Madhhij, Kinda, Anmār, and the Ash'aris. Anmār was the father of Khath'am, Bajila, and Ḥimyar; so these were the six tribes from Saba' who remained in Yemen. They continued retaining the rights of power and the *tabābi'a* kingship until the king of Abyssinia took that position from them through the army he sent under his two generals Abraha and Aryāt. The Abyssinian rule lasted some 70 years until Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite regained control, and that was a short time before the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This we will recount in detail shortly, God willing, and upon Him is all trust and dependence.

Later the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent 'Alī and Khālid b. al-Walid to the people of Yemen, then he sent Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Mu'adh b. Jabal. They were calling people to worship God and making clear to them matters of doctrine. After that al-Aswad al-'Ansī gained control over Yemen and he expelled the deputies of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When al-Aswad was killed, the power of Islam became firmly established over Yemen, during the rule of Abū Bakr "the trusting", God be pleased with him.

The Story of Rabī'a b. Naṣr b. Abū Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir.

The man referred to in the above heading was of the Lakhm tribe; this is what Ibn Ishāq related. Al-Suhayli stated that the genealogists of Yemen give his name as Naṣr b. Rabī'a; but he was really Rabī'a b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥārith b. Namāra b. Lakhm. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār gave his genealogy as Rabī'a b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Sha'wadh b. Mālik b. 'Ajām b. 'Amr b. Namāra b. Lakhm. Lakhm was the brother of Judhām; he was named Lakhm because he had *lakhmed* his brother on the cheek, i.e. he had struck him there. The brother bit his hand in return so *jadhaming* it; hence he was called Judhām.

Rabī'a was one of the *tubba'* kings of Ḥimyar, and about him is told the tale of his contacts with the two soothsayers Shiqq and Saṭīḥ, and how they warned him of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Saṭīḥ was named Rabī' b. Rabī'a b. Mas'ūd b. Māzin b. Dhi'b b. 'Adī b. Māzin Ghassān. Shiqq was the son of Ṣa'b b. Yashkur b. Ruhm b. Afrak b. Qays b.

‘Abqar b. Anmār b. Nizār. Some say that Anmār was the son of Irāsh b. Liḥyān b. ‘Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Nābit b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba’. It is said that Saṭīḥ had no limbs but was like a waterskin, with his face in his chest. When he got angry he would puff up and sit. Shiqq was one-half a man. And it is said that Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī was of his progeny. According to al-Suhaylī both Shiqq and Saṭīḥ were born on the same day when Ṭarīfa, daughter of al-Khayr, the Ḥimyarite woman, died. It is said that she spat into the mouth of each of them, each therefore inheriting the gift of divination from her. She was the wife of ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir, previously mentioned. But God knows best.

Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq said that Rabi‘a b. Naṣr was king of Yemen and of the true line of the *tubba’* kings. He saw a vision that awed and terrified him. So he gathered every single soothsayer, magician, bird prognosticator, and star foreteller in his kingdom and told them, “I have seen visions that amazed and scared me. Tell me what they were and how to interpret them.” They replied, “Relate them to us and we will interpret them.” He responded, “If I do tell you what they were I won’t feel secure with your explanation; the only one capable of interpreting them will be someone who knows what they were before I tell them.”

One of the wise men then suggested, “If that is what the king wants, then he should send for Shiqq and Saṭīḥ. No one is more knowledgeable than they; they will tell him what he asked for.”

So the king sent for them, and Saṭīḥ arrived before Shiqq. Their conversation went as follows:

The king: “I have seen visions that amazed and scared me; tell me what they were, and if you are right you will interpret them correctly.”

Saṭīḥ: “I will do so. You saw fire emerge from the darkness, fall on low ground, and consume every living being with a skull.”

The king: “You’ve not made a single error, Saṭīḥ. So how do you interpret them?”

Saṭīḥ: “I swear by all the snakes between the two stony plains, that the Abyssinians will descend upon your land and will surely reign over all between Abyan and Jurash.”

The king: “That, Saṭīḥ, angers and hurts me greatly; will that occur in my time or later?”

Saṭīḥ: “Later, by your father I swear, some time later, after more than 60 or 70 years have passed.”

The king: “And will their dominion endure or be cut short?”

Saṭīḥ: “It will be cut down to some 70 years, and then they will be killed and expelled in flight.”

The king: “Who will then follow, after their killing and expulsion?”

Saṭīḥ: “Iram Dhū Yazan will follow, emerging from Aden to fight them, and he will not leave one of them in Yemen.”

The king: "And will his era endure or be cut short?"

Saṭīḥ: "It will be cut short."

The king: "Who will do this?"

Saṭīḥ: "A prophet, pure, to whom revelation comes from the All-high."

The king: "And from where will this prophet come?"

Saṭīḥ: "He will descend from Ghālib b. Fīhr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr. And the rule will be with his people till the end of time."

The king: "Does time end?"

Saṭīḥ: "Yes, on that day when the first and the last shall all be assembled and the good will be happy, the evil mortified."

The king: "Is this really true, what you're telling me?"

Saṭīḥ: "Yes, by the twilight, the dark of night, and the spreading dawn, what I told you really is the truth."

Then Shiqq arrived and the king spoke to him as he had to Saṭīḥ but hid from him what he had foreseen to establish whether they would be in agreement or not. Shiqq told him, "You saw fire emerge from the dark, fall down between a meadow and a hillock, and eat up every breathing creature there."

When Shiqq said this, the king knew that they were in agreement and saying one and the same thing, except for Saṭīḥ's words being "fall on low ground and consume every living being with a skull", while Shiqq's were "between a meadow and a hillock and eat up every breathing creature there". So the king told him he had it right and asked his interpretation.

Shiqq: "I swear by all the men who live between two stony plains that the blacks will descend upon your land, oppress all your young, and reign over all between Abyan and Najran."

The king: "By your father, Shiqq, that angers and hurts me greatly; will that occur during or after my reign?"

Shiqq: "No, it will be in a later period. And then a great man will emerge to save your people and inflict on your enemies all disgrace."

The king: "And who will this great saviour be?"

Shiqq: "A young man who is guilt-free and faultless and will emerge from the line of Dhū Yazan."

The king: "And will his reign last long?"

Shiqq: "No, it will be brought short by a messenger dispatched, who will bring truth and justice, and come from a people of religion and virtue in whom power shall reside until the Day of Separation."

The king: "What is the Day of Separation?"

Shiqq: "A day when the pious shall be rewarded, when calls shall be made from the heavens that the living and the dead shall hear, and men shall be gathered to the appointed place. Then the pious shall receive victory and rewards."

The king: "Is it really true what you predict?"

Shiqq: "Yes, by the Lord of the heavens and the earth and of all high and low between them both, what I have informed you is all true and doubt-free."

Ibn Ishāq stated that the soothsayers' prediction had great impact on Rabi'a b. Naṣr and so he provisioned all his family and relatives for departure to Iraq. He wrote for them to a Persian king called Sābūr b. Khurzādh who settled them in al-Ḥīra. According to Ibn Ishāq, the progeny of Rabi'a b. Naṣr included al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, son of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir b. 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Rabi'a b. Naṣr. This al-Nu'mān was viceroy over al-Ḥīra for the Persian kings; and the Arabs used to send delegations to him and gave him praise. This, then, is what Muḥammad b. Ishāq said about al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir being of the line of Rabi'a b. Naṣr, according to most people. Ibn Ishāq related that when the sword of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir was brought to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he asked Jubayr b. Muṭ'im from whom it had come. He replied, "From the remains of Qanaṣ b. Ma'ad b. 'Adnān." Ibn Ishāq commented that it was unclear who that person was.

The Story of Tubba' Abū Karib Tubbān As'ad, king of Yemen, with the people of Medina; how he wished to raid the Holy Sanctuary at Mecca. Then he dignified and venerated it and covered it with cloth; thus he was the first to do so.

Ibn Ishāq stated that when Rabi'a b. Naṣr died all kingship in Yemen reverted to Ḥassān b. Tubbān As'ad Abū Karib. Tubbān As'ad was the last *tubba'*; he was the son of Kulkī Karib b. Zayd. Zayd, the first *tubba'*, was the son of 'Amr Dhū al-Adh'ār b. Abraha Dhū al-Manār b. al-Rāṣh b. 'Adī b. Ṣayfi b. Saba' al-Aṣghar b. Ka'b Kahf al-Zulum b. Zayd b. Sahl b. 'Amr b. Qays b. Mu'āwiya b. Jusham b. 'Abd Shams b. Wā'il b. al-Ghawth b. Qaṭan b. 'Arīb b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. al-Hamaysa' b. al-'Aranjaj. The latter was Ḥimyar b. Saba' al-Akbar b. Ya'rub b. Yashjub b. Qaḥṭān. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Hishām gave Saba's line as being son of Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān.

According to Ibn Ishāq, Tubbān As'ad Abū Karib was he who went to Medina and led two Jewish rabbis to Yemen and refurbished and covered with cloth the holy sanctuary. His reign preceded that of Rabi'a b. Naṣr. He had routed his return journey from a campaign in the east through Medina. First he had passed there without bothering its inhabitants and left among them a son of his who was treacherously killed. He advanced against it, determined to destroy it, wipe out its people, and cut down its date-palms. So this clan of the *anṣār*⁸

8. The Medinan followers of the Prophet Muḥammad who granted him refuge after his emigration from Mecca.

joined up against him, their leader being 'Amr b. Ṭalla, the brother of Banū al-Najjār and also one of Banū 'Amr b. Mabdhūl. Mabdhūl's name was 'Āmir b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, and al-Najjār's name was Taym Allāh b. Thaḡlaba b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Hārith b. Thaḡlaba b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir.

Ibn Hishām stated that 'Amr b. Ṭalla was 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, that Ṭalla was his mother and that she was the daughter of 'Āmir b. Zurayq al-Khazrajiyya.

Ibn Ishāq's account proceeds: "A certain man of Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, called Aḥmar, attacked and killed one of the followers of Tubba' whom he found cutting down date clusters off one of his date-loaded palm trees, saying, 'Dates belong only to those who pollinate them.' This added to Tubba's animosity towards them and fighting broke out.

"The *anṣār* claimed that they would fight against him by day and host him by night; their saying this surprised Tubba' who would say, 'Our people, by God, are certainly generous!'"

Ibn Ishāq related about the *anṣār* that Tubba's anger was directed only against the Jews and that they, the *anṣār*, protected them from him. Al-Suhayli stated that Tubba' only came to give victory to the *anṣār*, his cousins, against the Jews who had taken up residence with them in Medina on certain conditions that they had not kept, and because they were behaving arrogantly. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq's account relates that while Tubba' was engaged in this fighting against them, two Jewish rabbis came to him; they were both deeply learned men from Banū Qurayza. When they heard how he intended to destroy the city and its inhabitants, they told him, "O king, do not do this. Unless you adopt a different course from that you intend, you will be prevented from accomplishing it, and we will not be able to save you from swift retribution." Tubba' asked why this was so, and they replied, "This is where a prophet will migrate; he will go forth from this holy sanctuary from Quraysh in times to come and this shall be his home and his abode."

So Tubba' changed his plan; he recognized the learning they had and was intrigued by what he had heard from them. He therefore departed from Medina and adopted the rabbis' religion. According to Ibn Ishāq, Tubba' and his people had idols whom they worshipped.

Tubba' then set off towards Mecca on his way to Yemen. When he arrived between 'Usfān and Amaj he was approached by some men of the tribe of Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma'ad b. 'Adnān. They asked him, "O king, may we lead you to an ancient treasury overlooked by kings before yourself, in which there are pearls, chrysolite, sapphires, gold, and silver?" "Certainly you may," he replied. They said, "It is a building in Mecca whose people worship it and offer prayers there."

Actually the Hudhaylis sought to destroy him by this, since they knew that any king wanting this or being disrespectful there would perish.

After agreeing to their suggestion Tubba' sent word to the two rabbis asking their advice. They replied, "Those people wished only your death and the destruction of your army. We know of no other building than that in the land that God Almighty and Glorious has taken for Himself. If you do as they suggest, you will perish, as will all those with you."

Tubba' asked what he should do when he approached the building and they said he should do the same as those who lived there, that he should circumambulate it and venerate and honour it, shaving his head and acting with humility before it until he left it.

The king then asked, "What is it that prevents you both from doing the same?" They replied, "It certainly is the house of our father Abraham, on whom be peace, and it is as we told you, but the people there have created a barrier between us and it by the idols they have set up about it and the blood they shed there. They are unclean and polytheists." This was the gist of their words.

Tubba' saw the good of their advice and the truth of their words and so he summoned the men from Hudhayl, cut off their hands and feet, and continued to Mecca. There he performed the circumambulation of the building, made sacrifice, and shaved his head. He remained in Mecca for six days, so they say, providing sacrificial feasts for its people and giving them honey to drink. In a dream he was shown that he should cover the building, so he clothed it with palm fronds. Then, in another dream, he was shown that he should clothe it in something better, so he dressed it with a Yemeni tribal fabric. Again he had a vision that he should clothe it even better, so he covered it with fine sheets and striped cloth. People claim that Tubba' was thus the first to clothe the building. He ordered its guardians from the Jurhum tribe to clean it thoroughly and to prevent any blood, dead bodies, or menstruating women from coming close to it. He also made for it a door and a key.

On this subject Subay'a, daughter of al-Aḥabb, spoke the following verses for her son Khālīd b. 'Abd Manāf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib, telling him to avoid sinning in Mecca and reminding him what Tubba' had done there:

"O my son, in Mecca neither do wrong to the young nor to the old.
 Preserve its sanctity, my son, and let not conceit confuse you.
 Whoever sins in Mecca, my son, meets extreme disaster.
 His face, my son, shall be beaten, his cheeks consumed by fire.
 I have tested this there, my son, and found those harming it perish.
 God made it secure, though no towers are built in its courtyards.
 God made its birds inviolate and also the white-footed crows on Mt. Thabir.
 Tubba' raided it, but dressed its buildings with new, smooth cloth.

My God humbled his power there, so he made proper sacrifice,
 Walking barefoot towards it, in its courtyard,
 And offering two thousand camels,
 Well-feeding its people the flesh of Mahry camels and cattle,
 Giving them strained honey and barley-water to drink.
 And God destroyed the army of the elephants, casting rocks amongst them,
 Ending their rule in far distant lands, in Persia and Khazir.
 So hear when this is told, and understand how things ended."

Ibn Ishāq continued: "Thereafter Tubba' left for Yemen, taking his armed men and the two rabbis with him. On his arrival he asked his people to adopt the religion he had embraced, but they refused until it should be put to the test of fire as was the custom in Yemen."

He went on: "I was told by Abū Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Abū Mālik al-Quraḏī that he heard Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh say that when Tubba' reached the outskirts of Yemen, Ḥimyar intercepted him and denied him entry. They told him, 'You shall not enter our land; you have abandoned our faith.' So Tubba' called on them to embrace his new religion, proclaiming it to be better than theirs. They asked whether he would agree to put the issue between them to the test of the fire, and he agreed."

He continued: "There was in Yemen, as Yemenis assert, a fire they would employ to adjudicate differences; it would consume wrongdoers but not harm the innocent. And so Tubba's people and the two rabbis walked to the fire site. His people took their idols and carried their sacrificial offerings, while the rabbis wore their sacred books around their necks. They all sat near the spot from which the fire would emerge. When it raged towards them they drew away and avoided it. The onlookers berated them and ordered them to endure it, and they did so until it enveloped them and consumed their idols and sacred objects and those men of Ḥimyar who carried them. But the two rabbis emerged safe, with their holy books around their necks, unharmed though their foreheads were sweating. Thereupon the Ḥimyarites adopted their religion; and this was how Judaism began in Yemen."

Ibn Ishāq continued to report that one authority told him that the two rabbis and the men of Ḥimyar approached the fire only seeking to force it back, for it was said that truth lay with him who could do this. The Ḥimyarites approached the fire bearing their idols to force it back, but it closed on them seeking to consume them. So they drew away and were not able to force it back. Later the two rabbis approached it and began reciting the Torah. The fire withdrew from them and so they forced it back to where it emerged. Thereupon the Ḥimyarites adopted their religion. But God knows best which report is true.

Ibn Ishāq went on: "They had a temple called Rḡām which they venerated and where they made sacrifice; there they received oracular messages while

engaged in their polytheistic practices. The two rabbis told Tubbaʿ, 'It is just a devil who is deceiving the people that way; let us deal with him.' Tubbaʿ agreed and the rabbis, so the Yemenis say, forced out from it a black dog which they killed. Then they destroyed that temple; and its ruins – so I have been told – still to this day bear traces of the blood shed on it."

In our new *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* of the Qurʾān we have told of the tradition coming from the Prophet (ṢAAS) wherein he said, "Do not curse Tubbaʿ; he had become a Muslim."

Al-Suhayli stated that Muʿammar related from Humām b. Munabbih from Abū Hurayra that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Do not curse Asʿad the Ḥimyarite; it was he who first clothed the *kaʿba*." According to al-Suhayli, Tubbaʿ spoke the following verses when the two rabbis told him about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

"I do testify that Aḥmad is a messenger from God, guiltless his soul,
If only my life were extended up to his, I would have been a helper, a cousin to him,
I would have fought his enemies with the sword and cleared all cares from his
breast."

These verses continued to be handed down and memorised among the *anṣar*; they were with Abū Ayyūb *al-anṣārī*, may God be pleased with him and bless him. Al-Suhayli stated that Ibn Abū al-Dunyā indicated in his *Kitāb al-Qubūr (Book of Graves)* that a grave was dug up at Ṣanʿā in which two females were found and along with them a silver tablet on which was written in gold, "This is the grave of Lamis and Ḥubbā, two daughters of Tubbaʿ, who died declaring, 'There is no God but God alone and without peer,' and before them the righteous had died saying the same."

Later, rule passed to Ḥassān b. Tubbān Asʿad, and he was the brother of al-Yamāma al-Zarqāʾ who was crucified on the gate of the city of Jaw, which from that day on was named al-Yamāma.

Ibn Ishāq continued that when Tubbaʿ' s son Ḥassān b. Abī Karīb Tubbān Asʿad became king, he set out with the people of Yemen, wishing to subdue the lands of the Arabs and the Persians. But by the time they were somewhere in Iraq, the Ḥimyarites and the Yemenites disliked going further with him and wanted to return to their own countries and families. So they spoke to a brother of Ḥassān named ʿAmr, who was there with him in the army, as follows: "Kill your brother Ḥassān and we will make you king over us and you can take us back home." He said he would, and there was agreement about this except in the case of Dhū Ruʿayn the Ḥimyarite. He urged ʿAmr against this, but ʿAmr disagreed. So Dhū Ruʿayn composed a poem containing the following two verses:

"Whoever would exchange insomnia for sleep? Happy he who sleeps in peace.
Though Ḥimyar has betrayed in treachery, Dhū Ru'ayn has God's forgiveness."

This poem he then entrusted to 'Amr. When the latter did kill his brother Ḥassān and returned to Yemen, he was deprived of sleep and suffered insomnia. When he asked physicians, astrologists, soothsayers, and diviners what was wrong, they told him, "No one has ever killed his brother or relative unjustly without losing his sleep and suffering insomnia." Thereupon he set about killing all those who had encouraged him to murder his brother. Finally, he came to Dhū Ru'ayn who told him, "I have cause for you to spare me." When 'Amr asked why, he drew attention to the document he had entrusted to him. 'Amr then took out the verses, read them and realized that Dhū Ru'ayn had advised him well. 'Amr perished and Ḥimyar's state fell into disorder and disarray.

USURPATION OF THE THRONE OF YEMEN BY LAKHNĪ'A DHŪ SHANĀTIR.

He ruled there for 27 years.

Ibn Ishāq continued that a Ḥimyarite not of the royal lines then took control of Yemen, a man called Lakhnī'a Yanūf Dhū Shanātir. He murdered the most prominent Yemenites and abused the country's royal families. He was, moreover, a most depraved man, behaving as had the people of Lot. He would send for a royal prince and attack him in an upper chamber he had constructed for that purpose; this was to prevent the prince from ruling after him. Eventually he would look down from his high chamber to his guards and soldiers below and place a tooth-cleaning stick in his mouth to show them that he had finished with the prince.

One day he sent for Zur'a Dhū Nuwās b. Tubbān As'ad, the brother of Ḥassān, who had been a small boy when Ḥassān was murdered. He had grown up to be a fine, intelligent, and handsome young man. When a messenger came to fetch him he realized what was in store for him, so he hid a thin metal blade between his foot and sandal. When they were alone and Lakhnī'a attacked him, Dhū Nuwās fought back and stabbed and killed him. Then he cut off his head and placed it in the window out of which Lakhnī'a had looked below. Having placed a tooth-cleaning stick in his mouth he then went outside. The guards called to him, "Hey there, Dhū Nuwās, fresh and moist, or all dried out?" He told them in reply to ask the head of "Hell-bent" there in the window, and they saw that Lakhnī'a's head had been cut off. They then caught up with Dhū Nuwās and implored him to be their king now that he had spared them from the evil tyrant.

So they made him king, and Ḥimyar and the tribes of Yemen united under him. He was the last of the kings of Ḥimyar. He took the name Yūsuf and ruled for an extended period.

In Najrān there were still some remnants of followers of the religion of Jesus, son of Mary, on whom be peace. They were people of goodness and virtue and their leader's name was 'Abd Allāh b. al-Thāmīr.

Ibn Ishāq then related how the people of Najrān adopted Christianity due to the influence of a man named Faymiyūn, a Christian from Syria. He was a man whose prayers were answered and was accompanied by a man named Ṣāliḥ. They spent each Sunday in prayer, while Faymiyūn worked the rest of the week as a builder. He said prayers for the sick, the crippled, and the disabled, and their ills would be cured. Eventually he and his friend were taken prisoner by bedouins and were sold in Najrān. The man who bought Faymiyūn was astonished to see that when he began his prayers in the house at night it would fill with light.

The people of Najrān worshipped a tall palm tree, bowing down before it and festooning it with their wives' jewellery. Faymiyūn said to his master, "If I were to say a prayer to God against this tree and it were destroyed, would you recognize that your religion is false?" His master agreed that he would, and gathered all the people from Najrān together. Faymiyūn then went into his prayer-room and asked God to destroy the tree. So God sent a storm that tore it up by the roots and threw it flat on the ground. Thereupon the people of Najrān adopted Christianity and he encouraged them to follow the Gospel until they were overtaken by the same events that affected the Christians all over the world.

That was how Christianity came to Najrān in the Arab lands.

Then Ibn Ishāq related the story of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Thāmīr when he adopted Christianity at the hands of Faymiyūn and how Dhū Nuwās killed him and his companions and dug the *ukhdūd*, the trench, for them. According to Ibn Hishām that *ukhdūd* was a long trench in the ground like a ditch. Dhū Nuwās kindled fires in it and burned these people with them; he also killed many others, to the total of almost 20,000, as is examined at length in the study of *sūrat al-Burūj* (LXXXV) in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* of the Qur'ān.⁹ And all praise be to God!

An Account of how rule in Yemen passed from Ḥimyar and was transferred to the black Abyssinians.

The aforementioned events support the predictions of the two soothsayers, Shiqq and Saṭīḥ. Only one of the people of Najrān survived; his name was Daws Dhū Tha'labān and he escaped on his horse in the desert and could not be caught. He continued travelling until he reached Caesar, the emperor of Byzantium. Since the emperor was also a Christian, as he was, he told him what Dhū Nuwās and his troops had done and asked his aid. The emperor replied

9. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* . . . , Vol. 4, pp491-7.

that Daws' land was very far, but that he would write a message to the king of Abyssinia who was also of the same religion and whose country was closer at hand. The emperor then wrote such a message asking him to provide help and to seek revenge for Daws.

So Daws took Caesar's letter to the Negus¹⁰ who dispatched 70,000 troops from Abyssinia under the leadership of one of his officers named Aryāt, along with another named Abraha al-Ashram. Aryāt crossed over the sea and reached the shores of Yemen, accompanied by Daws. Dhū Nuwās came out to meet him with his forces made up from Ḥimyar and the Yemeni tribes under his control. When they engaged, Dhū Nuwās and his men were defeated. When he realized that disaster had befallen himself and his people, Dhū Nuwās turned his horse to the sea and beat it until it entered the water and took him through the shallows and out to the depths of the sea where he perished. Aryāt entered Yemen and took control there. At this point Ibn Ishāq records several poems by the Arabs detailing these strange events. These poems are in fine, eloquent, vivid, and elegant language, but we omit them here to avoid boring or wearying the reader. And God is our helper.

An Account of how Abraha al-Ashram rebelled against, fought, and killed Aryāt, and so assumed power over Yemen.

Ibn Ishāq stated: "Aryāt remained in control over Yemen for some years but eventually Abraha challenged him and the Abyssinian forces split into two sides. One side moved to attack the other, but when the armies approached for battle, Abraha sent a message to Aryāt suggesting that he was wrong to pit the Abyssinians against one another to the ultimate damage of all, and that they should meet alone in battle, all forces then combining under the authority of the one victorious. To this Aryāt responded with agreement.

"Abraha, a short, stocky man and a devout Christian, then went out to fight Aryāt who was tall, handsome, powerfully built, and bore a javelin. Behind Abraha was a slave named 'Atwada protecting his rear. Aryāt struck out, aiming at the top of Abraha's head, but his javelin hit him on the forehead and slit his eyebrow, eye, nose, and lip; that was why he was known as *al-Ashram*, i.e. the cleft-face. Then 'Atwada advanced from behind Abraha and attacked and killed Aryāt. The forces of Aryāt went over to Abraha and all Abyssinians in Yemen united under him. Abraha then paid over the blood price for Aryāt's death.

"When this news reached the Negus, who had dispatched them both to Yemen, he was furious at Abraha, for he had attacked and killed his commander without orders from himself. Then the Negus swore an oath that he would give

10. The title given to the ruler of Abyssinia (now Ethiopia).

Abraha no respite until he had trodden his land and cut off his locks. So Abraha shaved his head and filled a leather bag with Yemeni soil which he sent to the Negus with a message saying, 'O king, Aryāt was merely your slave as I am. We differed about your command; everyone owes you obedience. But I was stronger, more effective, and more skilful than he was in managing Abyssinian affairs. I shaved my head completely when I heard of the king's oath and have sent to him a bag of my country's soil so that he may tread it underfoot and so keep his oath.' This message pleased the Negus when he received it, and he sent him a message that Abraha should remain in Yemen until further orders. And so it was that Abraha did remain in Yemen."

An Account of why Abraha attacked Mecca with elephants to put the ka'ba to waste and how God quickly destroyed him.

As God Almighty stated in the Qur'ān, "Have you not seen how God dealt with those who had elephants? Did he not defeat their scheme, sending flocks of birds which cast upon them stones of baked clay, rendering them like digested chaff?" (*sūrat al-Fil*, CV, v.1-5).

It was said, according to al-Ṭabarī, that the first person to tame an elephant was Ifridūn b. Athfiyān, who killed al-Daḥḥāk. It was also he who first saddled horses. The first person to domesticate and ride a horse, though, was Faṭhamūrath, who was the third of the world's kings. It was also said that Ishmael, son of Abraham, upon both of whom be peace, was the first to ride a horse, and it is likely that he was the first Arab to ride. But God knows best.

Some say that, in spite of their size, elephants are scared of cats. Some army commanders brought cats into the pitch of battle when fighting the Indians, and so the elephants ran away.

Ibn Ishāq continued: "Later Abraha built al-Qullays church in Ṣan'ā', the like of which had never at that time been seen on earth before. He wrote to the Negus saying, 'I built a church for you the like of which was never built for any king before you, and I will not cease striving until I divert to it the Arabs' pilgrimage.'"

Al-Suhaylī stated that Abraha sought to humiliate the people of Yemen by building this ugly church, humbling them in a variety of ways. He invariably amputated the hand of any labourer who arrived for work after dawn. He began to transfer to it, from the Balqīs palace, marble, stone, and splendid furnishings. In it he erected crosses of gold and silver and pulpits made of ivory and ebony. Al-Qullays was built very tall indeed and its spaciousness was amazing. When eventually Abraha died and the Abyssinians dispersed, spirits would inflict evil on anyone daring to take any of its building materials or furnishings. This was

because the building was undertaken in the name of two idols, Ku'ayb and his wife. The height of each of these was 60 cubits. Consequently the Yemenis left the church alone. It remained just as it had been up till the time of al-Saffāh, the first of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. He sent there a group of men of determination, judgement, and knowledge who demolished it stone by stone; and today its remains are completely effaced.

Ibn Ishāq continued: "When the Arabs learned of and talked about Abraha's message to the Negus, a certain intercalator of the Kināna tribe became enraged; the intercalators were the ones who would postpone a sacred month in Mecca, during which warfare would have been forbidden, when they wanted to make war. This is referred to in the Qur'ān: 'The practice of postponing (the sacred month) is merely further disbelief'" (*sūrat al-Barā'a*, IX, v.37).

Ibn Ishāq went on: "This Kinanite then travelled to the al-Qullays church and squatted down there, that is he defecated without anyone seeing, then left and returned home. When Abraha was informed of this he demanded to know who had done such a thing. He was told: 'It was one of the people of that *bayt* (building) in Mecca to which the Arabs made pilgrimage. When he heard of what you said of your intention to change the Arabs' pilgrimage to this church of yours, he became angry and so defiled it, thereby indicating that it was unworthy of being a place of pilgrimage.'

"Abraha was enraged at this and he swore that he would go to the *ka'ba* and destroy it. And so he ordered his Abyssinian troops to equip themselves and make ready, and then he set forth with his elephant. The Arabs were highly anxious and alarmed when they heard of this and considered it their duty to do battle with him, when they learned he wanted to destroy the *ka'ba*, God's sacred edifice. A member of the Yemeni nobility named Dhū Nafr summoned his people and those Arabs who would support him to do battle with Abraha and prevent his destruction of the *ka'ba*. Some did respond and they engaged in battle. Dhū Nafr and his supporters were vanquished and he himself was taken prisoner and brought before Abraha. When about to be killed, Dhū Nafr suggested to Abraha that he might well be more useful to him alive than dead. So Abraha kept him prisoner, in chains; he was a clement person.

"Abraha continued ahead to meet further adversaries and in the area of Khath'am came up against Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khath'amī with his two allied tribes of Shahrān and Nāhis, along with other Arab supporting tribes. They did battle, Abraha won, and took Nufayl prisoner. When Abraha was about to execute him, Nufayl pleaded for his life and offered to be his guide in the Arab territory, guaranteeing that the tribes under him would be obedient to Abraha. So Abraha released him and went on ahead, with Nufayl acting as guide.

"Reaching Ṭā'if, Abraha was met by Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib b. Mālīk b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. 'Awf b. Thaqīf along with the warriors of Thaqīf. They

addressed Abraha, saying, 'O king, we are your slaves, fully obedient to you; we have no dispute with you and this temple of ours is not the one you want.' By this they meant the temple devoted to the goddess al-Lāt. 'What you want is the building in Mecca; we will send guides to take you there.' So Abraha passed them by unmolested."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The temple of al-Lāt was one they had there in al-Ṭāʾif that they venerated almost as was the *kaʿba*."

"So Thaqif sent with Abraha Abū Righāl as guide to Mecca. They travelled as far as al-Mughammis where they made a stop. It was there that Abū Righāl died and thereafter the Arabs stoned his grave; his grave is the one at al-Mughammis that people still stone. In the story of Thamūd, Abū Righāl was one of their men who would seek refuge at the sanctuary but was struck and killed by a stone as he left it. Once the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his Companions, 'And the proof is that he was buried with two branches of gold.' When his grave was disinterred, they did find them. He was said to be known as Abū Thaqif."

The connection between this and Ibn Ishāq's account is that the name of this latter Abū Righāl was the same as that of his ancestor and that the people stoned his grave just as they did that of the former. But God knows best. Jarīr spoke the verse: "When al-Farazdaq dies, then may people stone his grave like they stoned Abū Righāl's."¹¹

It seems evident that he was the second.

Ibn Ishāq continued: "When Abraha made a halt at al-Mughammis he sent on ahead to Mecca one of his Abyssinian men named al-Aswad b. Maqṣūd with some cavalry. He brought to him the possessions of the people of Tihāma, from Quraysh and others; this included 200 camels belonging to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim who was at that time the leader and elder of Quraysh. As a result, Quraysh, Kināna, and Hudhayl, and all those venerating the *kaʿba* decided to do battle with Abraha but abandoned this idea when they learned they had insufficient power to match him."

Abraha then sent Hunāṭa the Ḥimyarite to Mecca with the following order: "Find the leader and the most noble of these people. Then tell him that the king says, 'I have not come to war upon you, but only to destroy that building (the *kaʿba*). If you do not engage in warfare to prevent our access to it, then I shall have no need for your blood.' If he does not want war, bring him to me with you."

When Hunāṭa entered Mecca he asked after the leader of Quraysh. He was directed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and so passed on Abraha's message to him. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "By God, we do not want war with him and have not the power for it; this house is God's sacred house and that of His true follower Abraham, upon whom be peace." He was saying in effect, "If God does

11. Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, who lived during the seventh to eighth centuries AD, are remembered chiefly for their satiric verses aimed at one another.

protect it from Abraha, then it is because it is His holy sanctuary and His house. If he abandons it to him, then, by God, there's no way for us to defend it."

Ḥunāṭa then told 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib that he must accompany him to Abraha in accord with his orders.

So 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib set off along with some of his sons. Arriving at Abraha's encampment, he asked to see Dhū Nafr, who was a friend of his. When he met Dhū Nafr, still in confinement, he asked him whether he had any solution to their predicament. Dhū Nafr replied, "How can a man have a solution when he is a king's prisoner and is expecting to be killed at any time? I have no advice to give you, except to say that Unays, the elephant keeper, is a friend of mine. I will send him a message strongly commending you and ask him to seek permission for you to address the king. Speak to him as you see fit, and Unays will intercede on your behalf as well as he can."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib agreed and Dhū Nafr sent Unays the following message: "'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is lord of Quraysh and custodian of the well¹² of Mecca; he feeds both men in the plains and wild animals on the mountains. The king seized 200 of his camels. So seek permission for him to see the king and intercede for him as best you can." Unays responded that he would.

Unays then spoke to Abraha, saying, "O king, here at your door seeking audience is the lord of Quraysh and keeper of the well of Mecca; he feeds both men in the plains and the wild beasts in the mountains. Allow him in to see you to discuss a matter with you." Abraha let him in.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the most dignified, handsome, and impressive of men. When Abraha saw him, he wanted to honour him by not making him sit below himself. But he did not want the Abyssinians to see him sitting next to himself on the throne. So Abraha descended, sat down on a carpet, and had 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib take his place beside him. He then told his interpreter to ask why he had come and he did so. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "What I want is for the king to return the 200 camels he took from me as compensation."

Hearing this, the king told his translator to reply as follows: "You impressed me when I saw you, but you displeased me when you spoke. You want to talk to me about 200 camels I took from you in compensation, but not about the building which is your religion and your ancestors' religion that I have come to destroy?"

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "I am the owner of the camels; the building has its own master who will protect it."

Abraha replied, "He won't protect it from me."

"Then it's between you and Him," 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said.

And so Abraha returned his camels to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

12. The reference is to *zamzam*, the holy well in Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq stated that when he went in to see Abraha, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was accompanied by Ya‘mur b. Nafātha b. ‘Adī b. al-Dīl b. Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Kināna, leader of Banū Bakr tribe, and Khuwaylid b. Wā‘ila, leader of Hudhayl.

These men offered Abraha one-third of the produce of Tihāma if he would withdraw and not destroy the building. But Abraha refused their offer. And God alone knows whether or not that happened.

When they left Abraha, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib went to report to Quraysh and told them to retreat from Mecca to defensive positions in the mountains. Then ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib took hold of the metal door knocker of the *ka‘ba* and stood there with a group of men from Quraysh praying to God and asking His help against Abraha and his troops. As he stood holding the *ka‘ba* door knocker, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib recited the verses:

“O God, Your worshippers protect their homes, so protect Your building,
Let not their cross and their power vanquish Yours tomorrow
If You should leave them free with our *qibla*,¹³ then that is what You will.”

Ibn Hishām said that these were what he found to be the authentic verses of this poem.

Ibn Ishāq reported that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib then released the *ka‘ba* door-knocker and went off, along with his men of Quraysh, to the mountain peaks, taking up defensive positions and waiting for whatever Abraha might do.

Next morning Abraha prepared to enter Mecca, readying his elephant and equipping his troops. The elephant’s name was Maḥmūd. When they directed the elephant towards Mecca, Nufayl b. Ḥabīb came close to it, took its ear and told it, “Kneel down, then go back to where you came from. Here you are in God’s holy land.” Then he released the elephant’s ear and it knelt.

According to al-Suhaylī this means that the elephant fell to the ground, since it is not in the nature of elephants to kneel; although it has been said that some elephants do kneel like camels. God knows best.

Nufayl b. Ḥabīb hurried off into the mountains. Abraha’s troops beat the elephant to make it stand up, struck its head with axes, and stuck hooks into its hide until it bled. But it refused to stand. Then they turned it to face towards Yemen, and it got up and moved in a hurry. When they directed it towards Syria and then towards the east it did the same. But when they turned it towards Mecca it knelt again.

Then God sent against them birds from the sea like swifts and crows, each one of which carried three stones, one in its beak and one in each claw. The stones were like chickpeas and lentils. Every soldier hit died, but not all were struck.

13. The *qibla* is the direction, usually indicated by a decorated niche in the wall of a mosque, to which Muslims turn in prayer, towards the *ka‘ba*, that is.

So they retreated in haste along the road by which they had come, calling out for Nufayl b. Ḥabīb to lead them on the way back to Yemen. About this situation Nufayl spoke these verses:

"Greetings to you from us, O Rudayna. How much we have gladdened our eyes this morning!

Rudayna, had but you seen, but may you see not, what we saw at Mt. Muḥaṣṣab.

Then you would have forgiven and praised me, and not felt ill will at what passed between us.

I praised God to see the birds, and feared that a stone be cast upon me.

While all called out for Nufayl, as though I owed the Abyssinians some debt."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "So down they scrambled by any path, dying randomly where they went. Abraha was struck on his body and they carried him away as his fingers dropped off one by one. As they fell pus and blood emerged. When they got him to Ṣanʿā he was like a baby bird. He finally died when his heart burst from his chest. Or so they say."

Ibn Ishāq went on to relate that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba told him that it was reported that measles and smallpox were seen for the first time in Arab lands that year. Also that that was the first year bitter plants were observed there: the African rue, the colocynth, and the *Asclepias gigantea*.

Ibn Ishāq commented that when God sent Muḥammad (ṢAAS) one of the actions he enumerated as God's grace and bounties upon Quraysh was His having repelled the Abyssinians and saved Quraysh for posterity. And so God spoke in the Qurʾān, "Have you not seen how God dealt with those who had elephants? Did he not defeat their scheme, sending flocks of birds which cast upon them hard stones of baked clay, rendering them like digested chaff?" (*sūrat al-Fil*, CV, v.1-5).

At this point both Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām go into interpretations of this chapter and the one that follows it. I have dealt with this in my *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*¹⁴ in all sufficiency, God be willing, and to Him is due all praise and credit.

Ibn Hishām stated that the word *al-abābil*, flocks, means groups; the Arabs used no singular form for this noun that we know. He also stated that regarding the word *al-sijjil*, i.e. "hard", Yūnus the grammarian and Abū ʿUbayda told him that the Arabs used it to mean "very solid". Some commentators claim that the latter is really two Persian words made into one by the Arabs, they being *sanj* and *jill*. The first of these means "stone", the second "clay", so the combination word would indicate something made of both of these. The word *ʿaṣaf* in the Qurʾān passage quoted above means vegetation foliage that has not been chewed. Al-Kisāʾī said that he had heard from a grammarian that the singular of the word *al-abābil* is *ibbil*.

14. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* . . . , Vol. 4, pp548-53.

Many early authorities interpreted this word *al-abqabil* to mean birds that follow one another hither and thither in groups.

According to Ibn ‘Abbās they had beaks like those of birds but paws like those of dogs.

‘Ikrima said that their heads were like those of lions which emerged at them from the sea and that these were green.

‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr said that they were black sea-birds bearing stones in their beaks and claws.

According to Ibn ‘Abbās they were similar in form to the griffins of North Africa. He also maintained that the smallest stones they had were like human heads, some as big as camels. That is what Yūnus b. Bukayr said on the authority of Ibn Ishāq. It is also said they were small – but God knows best.

Ibn Abi Hātim said that he was told, by Abū Zur‘a, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Shayba, and Abū Mu‘āwiya, from al-A‘mash, Abū Sufyān, and ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr, that when God wished to destroy those with the elephant He sent upon them birds like swifts that were raised up from the sea. Each bird carried three stones, two in its claws and one in its beak. He said the birds came, lined up over their heads, screeched, and dropped what was in their claws and beaks. Each stone that fell on a man’s head exited through his behind and each stone that fell on one side of a man exited from the other. God also sent a fierce gale which struck the stones and increased their velocity. And so they were all killed.

But, as Ibn Ishāq has stated above, not all were struck by the stones. Some did return to Yemen to tell their people of the disaster that befell them. And it was also said that Abraha, God curse him, went back, his fingers dropping off one by one, and that when he reached Yemen his chest burst open and he died.

Ibn Ishāq related that ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr told him, on the authority of ‘Amra, that ‘Ā’isha¹⁵ said, “I saw the elephant’s keeper and guide in Mecca, both blind and crippled, begging for food.” As mentioned above, the keeper’s name was Unays, though no name was given for its guide. But God knows best.

Al-Naqqāsh stated in his Qur’ān exegesis that a torrent bore away their bodies into the sea. Al-Suhaylī said that the events of the elephant occurred on the first day of Muḥarrām, year 886 of the era of Dhū al-Qarnayn (Alexander the Great).

And I add that it was the same year that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born, as is generally known. It is also said, however, that these events preceded his birth by some years, as we will report, God willing, and in Him we trust.

Here Ibn Ishāq mentions the poetry recited by the Arabs on this great occasion on which God rendered His sacred house victorious, wishing it to be honoured, respected, purified, and dignified through the mission of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and through the true religion He legislated to him. One of the elements of this

15. ‘Ā’isha was the daughter of Abū Bakr and became the wife of the Prophet.

religion, indeed one of its pillars, is prayer, the direction of which would be towards this sanctified *ka'ba*. What God did then to the elephant's army was not a victory for Quraysh over the Abyssinian Christians; the Abyssinians were at that time closer to it (i.e. to victory from God) than the polytheist Quraysh. The victory belonged to the sacred house and served to set the foundation and pave the way for the mission of Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

Included in this poetry are the verses of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zibā'ra al-Sahmi:

"They fled in terror from Mecca's interior, its sanctuary undisturbed for ages past;
Sirius had created no nights inviolate since not even one of the mightiest of men
could ever aspire to attack it.

Ask the Abyssinian prince what he saw of it; he who has knowledge of it shall
inform the ignorant.

Sixty thousand men did not return to their land, even their sick did not live after
their homecoming.

'Ād and Jurhum were there before them, but God held it high above all men."

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat *al-anṣārī* al-Madanī also spoke verses on the subject:

"God's work it was the day of the Abyssinians' elephant; many times did they urge
it on, but it didn't budge;

Their hooks were under its sides and they slashed its trunk until it tore.

They used a knife instead of a whip; when they aimed it at its back it was badly
wounded.

So it turned and ran away, and those there did fail for their evil.

God sent a gale down upon them, overwhelming them as if they were dwarves.

Their priests urged fortitude but they screamed like bleating sheep."

Abū al-Ṣalt Rabi'a b. Abū Rabi'a Wahb b. 'Allāj al-Thaqafi spoke the following
verses, though Ibn Hishām attributed them to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt:

"Our Lord's signs are manifestly clear, only disbelievers doubting them.

He created night and day and all clear, its reckoning determined.

Then a merciful Lord makes clear the day with a sun of spreading rays.

He kept the elephant at al-Mughammis until it crawled as though hamstrung.

Kneeling down like a camel, and still, as if it were carved out of a rock from the
mountain.

Around it heroes from among the kings of Kinda, eagle-like lords in wars

They left it, then all fled in fright, each with a broken leg.

All religions except Abraham's *al-Hanīfa* are null in God's sight on Judgement Day."

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat said also:

"Arise and pray to your God, cleansing yourself at the pillars of His house between
the rugged mountains.

From it you had a certain calamity on the day of Abū Yaksūm [Abraha, tr.], leader
of the phalanges:

His élite walks on the plain, his troops on their camels at the mountain heights.

When you received victory from the Owner of the Throne, hosts of angels repelled them, casting soil and stones.

Quickly they turned in flight; and of the Abyssinians all who returned were injured."

Also among such verses is the one of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt extolling the greatness of the *ka'ba* and its protection through the destruction of those wishing it harm:

"Split-face (Abraha) attacked it, coming with his elephant, but his army turned back, defeated.

Birds rained stones down upon them until he was like a man being stoned.

Whoever attacks that place returns with his armies defeated, humiliated."

Ibn Ishāq and others related that upon the demise of Abraha, his son Yaksūm assumed power, followed by the latter's brother Masrūq b. Abraha. He was the last of their kings and it was from him that Sayf b. Dhū Yazan of Ḥimyar wrested the kingship with the aid of troops he brought from Chosroe Anūshirwān, as we shall relate. The events with the elephant occurred in the month of Muḥarram, in the year 886 in the era of Dhū al-Qarnayn, Alexander son of Phillip, the Macedonian, after whom the Greeks count their calendar.

Abraha and his two sons having died and Abyssinian rule over Yemen having ended, al-Qullays, the temple Abraha had built, in his ignorance and stupidity, as a substitute for the Arab pilgrimage, was abandoned and left unattended. He had constructed over it two wooden idols, Ku'ayb and his wife, each one 60 cubits high. These idols were invested by spirits, and consequently anyone chancing to take anything from the temple building or its furnishings would come to harm. This continued to be the case until the time of al-Saffāḥ, the first of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. When he was told about it and all its marble and furnishings that Abraha had brought from the Balqīs castle in Yemen, he sent people to disassemble it stone by stone and to take away all its contents. That is how al-Suhaylī related it; God knows best.

An Account of the reversion of the kingship from the Abyssinians to Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite, just as the two soothsayers had predicted to Rabī'a b. Naṣr, the Lakhmite.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God have mercy on him, said that when Abraha died, his son Yaksūm b. Abraha became king over the Abyssinians. Abraha's agnomen was Abū Yaksūm, i.e. the father of Yaksūm. Then, when Yaksūm died his brother Masrūq b. Abraha became the Abyssinian king over Yemen.

Ultimately, the people of Yemen having so long suffered in misery, Sayf b. Dhū Yazan, the Ḥimyarite, became rebellious. His genealogy was Sayf b. Dhū Yazan b. Dhū Aṣṣabah b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Sahl b. 'Amr b. Qays b. Mu'āwiya b. Jashm b. 'Abd Shams b. Wā'il b. al-Ghawth b. Quṭun b. 'Arīb b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. al-Hamaysa' b. al-'Aranjaj, the last being Ḥimyar b. Saba'. Sayf was also known as Abū Murra.

He made his way to the Byzantine emperor and complained to him of the state of affairs in Yemen, asking him to oust the Abyssinians and appoint him governor there. He suggested the emperor send from Byzantium whatever troops he thought necessary for this purpose and so himself would become king of Yemen. The emperor declined.

So Sayf went to al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, who was Chosroe's vice-regent over al-Ḥīra and the neighbouring territories in Iraq, and complained to him about the Abyssinians. Al-Nu'mān responded that every year he sent an official delegation to Chosroe, and invited Sayf to stay with him until then. Sayf agreed.

Sayf later did accompany al-Nu'mān, who took him in to see Chosroe, seated in the chamber where his crown was kept. His crown was like a large grain bucket and was, so they say, set with rubies, chrysolites, pearls, gold, and silver, suspended by a gold chain from the dome of his audience chamber. His neck did not bear the crown; he was kept hidden by a cloth until he sat down there. Then he would put his head into his crown. When he was thus positioned on his throne, the cloth would be removed. All who saw him for the first time would kneel down in awe of him.

When Sayf entered he bowed his head down low, and the king commented, "It is really stupid to come in through such a tall doorway and bow one's head down so low!"

When this remark was transmitted to Sayf, he responded that he had only done this out of his preoccupying distress that overwhelmed all else. He then went on to say, "O king, crows have taken charge of our country!"

"What crows?" Chosroe asked, "the ones from Abyssinia or from Sind?"

"From Abyssinia. I've come to ask your help; and you shall have kingship over all our land."

Chosroe replied, "Your country is far away, and its riches meagre. I'm not going to embroil an army from Persia in Arabia. I don't need that."

He then presented Sayf with 10,000 pure-minted dirhams and a robe of honour. Having received these, Sayf went outside and began distributing the money to people. When the emperor heard of this he wondered why, and so sent for him and asked him why he was throwing away a king's gift to people.

Sayf replied, "What else am I to do with your gift? Are not the mountains of my country made of gold and silver?"

He said this to arouse Chosroe's interest. So Chosroe then assembled his advisers and asked their counsel about Sayf and his mission. They reminded him of the presence in his gaols of prisoners he had condemned to death and suggested he send them with Sayf. For if they were killed that was what Chosroe had intended for them anyway, and if they triumphed his own domain would be expanded.

Chosroe therefore sent off with Sayf eight hundred men from his prisons and placed them under the command of a man named Wahriz, an elder of the highest repute and ancestry. They set sail in eight ships, of which two sank; so six ships eventually arrived on the coast of Aden.

Sayf gathered together all his own men he could to help Wahriz, saying, "My leg is with yours till we all die or all triumph." Wahriz replied that that was fair.

Masrūq b. Abraha then came out with his troops to meet them in battle. Wahriz sent his own son out to do combat and test their mettle. Wahriz's son was slain; this increased the anger and hatred the father had for them.

When the enemy troops were positioned on the battlefield, Wahriz asked his men to indicate which was their king. They pointed to a man on an elephant with a crown and wearing a ruby between his eyes. He saw him and told them not to attack him.

For some time nothing was done. Then Wahriz asked what the Abyssinian leader was doing now. They told him he was now on a horse. Again Wahriz told them not to attack him, and for long they waited. Eventually Wahriz asked after the king and was told he was now on a mule. "So", Wahriz commented, "on an ass's filly, is he? He has humbled himself and his domain. I'll take a shot at him. If you see his companions not moving, then stay still till I give you further orders, for I will have missed the man. But if you see his people crowding around him and not advancing, I shall have hit him. In that case, you advance at them."

With that he braced his bowstring; they say his bow was so stiff only he could brace it. He then had his eyebrows tied back and let the arrow fly. He split the ruby between the king's eyes and the arrow pierced right through his head and emerged from its back. He was knocked off his mount, and the Abyssinians milled around him in confusion. The Persians charged and the Abyssinians were defeated, being killed or fleeing in all directions.

Wahriz advanced to enter Ṣanʿāʾ. When he reached its gateway he insisted that his banner could never enter in a lowered position, and that they should therefore demolish the gate. This was done and he went inside with his banner held high. Sayf b. Dhū Yazan then said:

"People thought the two kingdoms had united.

If some had really believed it, then the matter would be serious and grave.

We killed the general Masrūq and spilt blood on the sandhills.

The new general, Wahriz, the people's general, swore an oath
Not to drink wine before taking prisoners and booty."

Arabs from Hijāz and elsewhere came in delegations to Sayf, praising him and congratulating him that the kingship had gone to him. Quraysh sent such a delegation and its number included 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim. Sayf gave him the glad tidings of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and informed him of what he knew about him. Details of this will be given hereafter in the chapter related to the predictions of his coming.

According to Ibn Ishāq, Abū al-Ṣalt b. Rabī'ā al-Thaqafī spoke the following verses. However, Ibn Hishām attributed them to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt.

"Let vengeance seekers be like Ibn Dhū Yazan, who took to the sea and for ages sought a way to his enemies,

Going to Caesar when his journey seemed right, but finding there none of what he sought.

Then he turned after ten years to Chosroe, disregarding his life and the cost
Until he came bringing a band of free men; how quickly you sped!

What a fine group of men; I never saw their like before.

Persian braves, mighty warriors, archers, like lions raising their cubs in the forests,
Their bows shooting arrows like *howdah* poles, swiftly dispatching their enemies.

You sent lions against black dogs, their prey defeated and lost in the land

So drink up, enjoy your crown, and settle at the top of Ghumdān's palace as your permanent home.

Those were fine deeds. They were not two pails of milk mixed with water and later turning to urine!"

It is said that *Ghumdān* mentioned here was a palace in Yemen built by Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān; it was owned after him by Wā'ila b. Ḥimyar b. Saba'. It was reputed to be 20 storeys high. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq relates that 'Adī b. Zayd al-Ḥirī, of the Banū Tamīm, spoke these verses,

"What after Ṣan'ā'? There lived governors of abundant gifts.

Its builders raised it high to the scattering clouds, its chambers musk-scented.

Guarded by the mountains against the enemy hordes, its heights unscalable.

The hooting of owls pleasingly answered at night by the flute players.

Fate led there the army of free men, their knights in procession,

Crossing the desert on mules bearing death, accompanied by their foals,

Until the princes saw them from the castle heights, their divisions armour-clad,

The day they shouted at the barbarians and al-Yaksūm, 'Damn all who flee!'

A day long remembered, when a prosperous way of life ended which had been secure,

A day when the one was replaced by the many, so times change, many the marvels,

After the Tubba' kings came noblemen whose satraps held quiet sway there."

According to Ibn Hishām this is what Saṭīḥ meant when he said, “Iram Dhū Yazan will follow, emerging from Aden to fight them, and he will leave not one of them in Yemen.” This is also what Shiqq meant by saying, “a young man, guilt-free and faultless, who will emerge from the line of Dhū Yazan.”

Ibn Ishāq’s account states, “So Wahriz and the Persians stayed in Yemen. And the *abnāʾ*¹⁶ who live in Yemen today are descendants of these Persian troops.”

The rule of the Abyssinians in Yemen, lasting between Aryāt’s arrival and the death of Masrūq b. Abraha at the hands of the Persians and the removal of the Abyssinians, was 72 years. Their dominion was passed through four rulers, Aryāt, then Abraha, then Yaksūm b. Abraha, and finally Masrūq b. Abraha.

An Account of how Persian rule in Yemen ended.

Ibn Hishām’s account states that eventually Wahriz died and Chosroe appointed his son al-Marzubān b. Wahriz over Yemen; when he died, Chosroe appointed the latter’s son al-Taynujān. Later Chosroe exiled al-Taynujān from Yemen and appointed Bādhān to the rule; it was during his reign that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was appointed to his mission.

Ibn Hishām also relates that he was informed, on the authority of al-Zuhri, that the latter said that Chosroe wrote the following to Bādhān, “I am told that a man from Quraysh has appeared in Mecca claiming to be a prophet. Travel to him and seek his repentance. If he repents, well and good. If he does not, send me his head!”

Bādhān sent Chosroe’s message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who replied, “God has promised me that Chosroe will be killed on such and such a day and month.” When this response was brought to Bādhān he came to a halt and waited, saying, “If indeed he be a Prophet, it will occur as he said.” And God did kill Chosroe on the day foreseen by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

According to Ibn Hishām he died at the hands of his son Shirawayh. Others state that his sons joined forces to kill him.

This Chosroe was by name Abruwīz b. Hurmuz b. Anushirwān b. Qabbādh. It was he who defeated the Byzantines, as referred to in the Almighty’s words in the Qurʾān, “A.L.M. The Romans have been defeated in the closest land” (*sūrat al-Rūm*, XXX, v.1–3). This will be explained later.

According to al-Suhayli his death occurred the night of Tuesday, the tenth of Jumādā al-Ūlā, of the year 9 AH. What happened, it is thought, though God

16. The word in Arabic means “sons”. Originally it was used in this context to refer to the offspring of the Persians who accompanied Sayf b. Dhū Yazan to Yemen. Then the term became more loosely used to refer to those whose mothers were not from the same race as their fathers.

alone knows, is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to Chosroe inviting him to accept Islam, he became enraged, tore up the letter and then wrote his own instructions to his governor in Yemen.

Some accounts report that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied to Bādhān's emissary with the words, "This night my Lord has killed your lord." And it was as he said, Chosroe being killed that very same night by his sons as a result of his having changed from justice to tyranny. Having deposed him they appointed his son Shīrawayh in his place. But he only lived on for six months or less after he had murdered his father.

Khālīd b. Hīqq al-Shaybānī spoke the following verses on this:

"And there was Chosroe, sliced up by his sons with swords as if he were meat.

One day fate did bring him to term; is there not a term for every pregnant mother?"

Al-Zuhri added that when news of Chosroe's death reached Bādhān, he sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of the acceptance of Islam by himself and the Persians along with him. His Persian envoys asked, "To whom do we belong, Messenger of God?" He replied, "You are from us and to us, the people of the House." According to al-Zuhri, that was why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "Salmān is of us, the people of the House."

It seems that this was after the emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina. He therefore sent his commanders to Yemen to inform people of what was good and to call upon them to believe in God, the Almighty and Glorious. First he dispatched Khālīd b. al-Walīd and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb; later Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Mu'adh b. Jabal followed them, and Yemen and its people accepted Islam.

Bādhān died and his son Shahr b. Bādhān ruled after him. It was he whom al-Aswad al-'Ansī killed after al-Aswad had pretended prophecy and taken Shahr's wife, as we will report, and expelled from Yemen the deputies of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When al-Aswad was killed the authority of Islam returned.

Ibn Hishām stated that it was he whom Saṭīḥ had meant by his words, "A Prophet pure to whom revelation comes from the All-high." He was also meant by Shīqq when he said that Persian rule would be "brought short by a messenger dispatched, who will bring forth truth and justice among a people of religion and virtue, in whom power shall reside until the Day of Separation."

Ibn Ishāq states also that there was, so they claim, a stone inscription in Yemen, from the Book of Psalms, dating from ancient times which read, "Who rules Dhamār? Hīmyar the Good. Who rules Dhamār? The evil Abyssinians. Who rules Dhamār? The free Persians. Who rules Dhamār? Quraysh the merchants."

A poet's words on this subject are recorded by al-Mas'ūdī as follows, "When Dhamār was named, it was asked, 'To whom do you belong?' 'To Ḥimyar the good', came the reply. Asked to whom next, the reply came, 'To the Abyssinians most vile.' 'To whom next?' it was asked, and 'To the free Persians' came the reply. 'To whom next?' it was asked, and 'To the merchants of Quraysh,' came the reply."

It is said that these verses quoted by Muḥammad b. Ishāq were found inscribed at the grave of Hūd, upon whom be peace, when the wind exposed his tomb in Yemen. That was shortly before the time of Balqīs, in the days of Mālik b. Dhū al-Manār, brother of 'Amr Dhū al-Adh'ar b. Dhū al-Manār. It is said also that it was inscribed on Hūd's tomb and that those were his own words.

It is al-Suhaylī who related this; God knows best.

The Story of al-Sāṭirūn, King of al-Ḥaḍr

His story was related at this point by 'Abd al-Mālik b. Hishām because of what certain scholars of genealogy had stated in connection with al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, mentioned above. They related that when Sayf b. Dhū Yazan went to al-Nu'mān and asked him for help in regaining control over Yemen, it was stated that al-Nu'mān had descended from al-Sāṭirūn, king of al-Ḥaḍr.

We earlier stated from Ibn Ishāq that al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir was of the line of Rabī'a b. Naṣr, and that it was reported from Jubayr b. Muṭ'im that he was a descendant of Qanaṣ b. Ma'ad b. 'Adnān. These are, then, three statements on his genealogy, and Ibn Hishām went on to tell about the king of al-Ḥaḍr.

Al-Ḥaḍr was a great fortress built by that king, whose name was al-Sāṭirūn, on the banks of the Euphrates. It was positioned high up and built tall and very spacious, its accommodations being like those of a large town. It was extremely well fortified and decorated in the utmost luxury, splendour, and good taste; it received taxes from all the surrounding areas.

The genealogy of al-Sāṭirūn, as given by Ibn al-Kalbī, was al-Dayzin b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Ubayd b. Ajram, from the tribe of Sulayḥ b. Ḥulwān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a.

Others said that he was of the al-Jarāmiqa, one of the Ṭawā'if kings whom he used to lead when they gathered to make war against one of their enemies. His fortress was between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Ibn Hishām went on to state that Chosroe Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf attacked al-Sāṭirūn, king of al-Ḥaḍr.

Someone other than Ibn Hishām stated that the one who attacked the king of al-Ḥaḍr was Sābūr b. Ardashīr b. Bābik, the first of the Sassanian kings, who

humiliated the Ṭawā'if kings and returned control to the Chosroes. Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf, this authority claims, came a long time afterwards. God knows best. That information comes from al-Suhaylī.

Ibn Hishām's account continues, "And Sābūr besieged al-Ḥaḍr for two years." Others say four years.

His reason for doing this was that al-Sāṭirūn had attacked Sābūr's territory during the latter's absence in Iraq. The daughter of al-Sāṭirūn, whose name was al-Naḍīra, looked down and saw Sābūr dressed in silk garments and wearing a gold crown studded with topaz, emeralds and pearls; and he was handsome. So she secretly sent him a message asking if he would marry her if she opened the fortress gate for him. He replied that he would.

That evening al-Sāṭirūn drank wine till he was drunk; he was always drunk when he went to bed. Then she took the fortress keys from beneath his head and gave them to a servant of hers who opened the gates. Another account states that she directed Sābūr's people to a wide water channel through which they entered al-Ḥaḍr. Yet another version has her telling them of a spell over the fortress; they knew it would not be conquered until a grey pigeon was taken, its feet dyed with the menstrual fluid of a blue-eyed virgin, and then released. If it dropped on the walls of the fortress the spell would be removed and the gates would open. Sābūr did this, and the gates did come open.

So Sābūr went inside, killed al-Sāṭirūn, confiscated al-Ḥaḍr and then destroyed it. Then he took al-Naḍīra away with him and married her. While sleeping at night in bed, she began tossing and turning and could not sleep. Sābūr had candles brought and they searched her bed, in which they discovered one myrtle leaf. Sābūr asked her if that was what had kept her awake, and she replied that it was.

Sābūr asked her how her father had treated her. She answered, "He furnished me with silk brocade, dressed me in silk, gave me the choicest food¹⁷ to eat and wine to drink."

Sābūr commented, "And then you treated him the way you did! You'd do the same to me quicker!"

Then he tied her tresses to the tail of a horse and it galloped away until she was killed.

A'shā Banī Qays b. Tha'āba composed these verses about this:

"Consider al-Ḥaḍr and its people's ease; but do blessings last forever?

Shāhbūr kept his troops there two years, striking it with their adzes.

And when he gave prayer to his Lord, and repented, He took no revenge.

Did his Lord provide him extra power, and was there ever the like of his castle?

17. In the original the text reads, "gave me brain as food to eat". Cooked brain was considered a delicacy.

He had appealed to his people, 'Come to your task; it is set;
Die nobly with your swords; I see death is ordained for those so fated.' "

Also 'Adi b. Zayd spoke the following verses in this regard,

"Al-Ḥaḍr was afflicted from above by a dreadful, terrible, huge calamity
Due to a maiden who did not protect her father when he was delirious and off his
guard;

She gave him much evening wine, undiluted, which he drank abundantly. And
wine deludes, its imbiber never quenched.

That night she surrendered her people, believing the (enemy's) chief would marry
her,

But next morning the bride's reward was blood running in streams,

Al-Ḥaḍr was ruined and confiscated; her chamber was fired and its contents
burned."

'Adi b. Zayd also recited the verses,

"O malicious blamer of fate, are you guilt-free and perfect?

Or has time promised you a solid pledge to be ever safe? Indeed you are stupid and
conceited.

Or whom did you see fate made immortal, and who had a watchful guard lest he be
harméd?

Where now is Caesar Anūshirwān, the king of kings, or where Sābūr before
him?

The noble Banū Aṣfar, kings of Byzantium, not one of them remains remembered.

And al-Ḥaḍr's lord, built by him, with both the Tigris and the al-Khābūr rivers
made to flow to it,

Of marble built and plaster adorned, with birds nesting in its heights,

Unsuspecting of misfortune, yet all state now gone, its gates deserted.

Remember the lord of al-Khawarnaq,¹⁸ who set forth one day, though right guidance
requires thought.

His wealth and properties delighted him, the sea was his command, and his palace
al-Sadīr,

Yet his heart was converted and he said, 'What joy for the living to death pro-
gressing,

Then becoming like leaves dried and tossed by the wind and breezes?'"

The man referred to in the verses above as the 'lord of al-Khawarnaq' was a
king of by-gone days who had been warned by a learned man of his time about
his conduct and practices. The king had exceeded his bounds, become arrogant
and self-willed, and followed his own instincts unbridled. The learned man
warned him by reference to the kings and states that had preceded him, how

18. He is referring to al-Nuḡmān, king of al-Ḥīra, who owned the two palaces of al-Khawarnaq
and al-Sadīr. He is mentioned frequently in the poetry of the pre-Islamic era.

they had gone without a trace, and that nothing he took from others would not be transmitted from him in turn to those following him. This advice had impact and influence on him, and he was converted, giving thought to both his present and past and to the constraints of the grave. So he repented, returned to the faith and changed his ways. He abdicated, dressed himself as a mendicant, went off into the wilderness and the desert, and enjoyed solitude, shunning that pursuit of the senses and disobedience to the Lord of the Heavens followed by most people.

His story was told in extensive detail by the Sheikh and Imām Muwaffaq b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī, may the Almighty have mercy on him, in his book *Al-Tawwābūn (The Repentants)*. Similarly, the ḥafīẓ Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī reported it, thoroughly documented, in his book *Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf (The Virgin Meadows)* which is clearly written and well organized.

An Account of the Ṭawā'if kings.

Regarding the ruler of al-Ḥaḍr, Sāṭirūn, he was, as previously explained, considered a precursor to the rest of the Ṭawā'if ('factions') kings. He lived at the time of Alexander, son of Phillip of Macedonia, the Greek. This came about when Alexander defeated the king of the Persians, Darius son of Darius. Alexander subjugated Darius's kingdom, destroyed his land, arrested the best of his people, expropriated his produce, scattered the Persians to the winds, and determined that they should never thereafter join together and unite their forces.

So he began appointing a separate king over each group of people in any given area, Arabs and non-Arabs alike. Thereafter each of these kings would protect his own area, preserve his own allotment, and exploit his own region. When one king died, he would be succeeded by his son or by some other one of his people. This system prevailed for about 500 years.

Eventually, in the time of Ardashīr b. Bābik of Banū Sāsān b. Bahman b. Asfandiyār b. Yashtāsib b. Lahrāsib, their kingdom returned to its former condition. Ardashīr took over, rejoined the petty kingdoms altogether in one, and ended the rule of the Ṭawā'if kings; so not a trace of them remained.

Ardashīr delayed besieging the oldest-established, greatest, and most powerful of these kinglets, the ruler of al-Ḥaḍr, since he was their leader and precursor. When Ardashīr died, his son Sābūr turned his attention to al-Ḥaḍr and besieged it until he conquered it, as told above. And God, all Glorious and Almighty, knows best.

An Account of the sons of Ishmael who were the Arabs of Ḥijāz, and of events of the jāhiliyya period up to the time of the Mission.

We have already, in a previous work,¹⁹ given an account of Ishmael, upon whom be peace, along with the Prophets. It tells of how his father Abraham, upon whom be blessings and peace, bore him away with his wife Hājar and made them to dwell in the Mecca valley between the mountains of Fārān, an unpleasant and desolate place. Ishmael was still unweaned at the time. Then Abraham went away and left them there, God having commanded him to do so. Ishmael's mother had nothing except a leather bag containing dates and a skin-bottle with water in it. When that was exhausted, God made the well *zamzam* flow for Hājar, it being a tasty sustenance for the hungry and a cure for the sick, as is related in the long *ḥadith* of Ibn 'Abbās recorded by al-Bukhārī, God have mercy on him.

Later, Jurhum, who were a group of the original Arabs who were descended from the ancient Arab tribes, settled near Hājar in Mecca, with no right to the water except for their own drinking and use. Hājar felt comfortable and secure with them.

Abraham, peace be upon him, kept an eye on them all the time; it is said he would ride his horse, al-Burāq, on his journeys to and from Jerusalem.

Later, when the boy became a youth and he would busy himself with his father, the issue of making sacrifice arose, the sacrifice being in reality Ishmael.

When Ishmael grew up, he married a woman from Jurhum, then left her and married another, the daughter of Muḍāḍ b. 'Amr al-Jurhumī. She bore him 12 sons whose names have been mentioned before. These were: Nābit, Qaydhar, Adhbul, Misha, Misma', Mashi, Dimmā, Adhar, Yaṭūr, Nabsh, Ṭīmā, and Qaydhumā. These are as given by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and others using written sources. He also had one daughter whose name was Nasma; it was she he married to his nephew al-'Iṣū b. Isḥāq b. Abraham. From her were born to him al-Rūm and Fāris, and also al-Ashbān, in one of the two accounts.

The Arabs of Ḥijāz, with all their different tribes, are traced in their genealogy to Ishmael's two sons Nābit and Qaydhar. After Ishmael, the governor and ruler-in-chief of Mecca and the custodian of the temple and of the well *zamzam* was Nābit, cousin through his mother to the Jurhumites.

Later the Jurhumites gained control over *al-bayt* (the *ka'ba*), being jealous of their relatives, and ruled in Mecca and the areas around it for a long time in place of Ishmael's line. The first to gain control after Nābit was Muḍāḍ b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. al-Raqīb b. 'Aybar b. Nabt b. Jurhum.

19. Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* (*The Beginning and the End*), Vol. 1.

Jurhum was the son of Qaḥṭān. His line was also given as Jurhum b. Yaḥṭun b. 'Aybar b. Shālikh b. Arafkhshud b. Sām b. Nūḥ al-Jurhumī. The Jurhumites settled in the heights of Mecca, at al-Qu'ayqi'an.

Al-Samayda', leader of Qaṭūrā' had settled with his people in the lower part of Mecca. The Jurhumites and Qaṭūrā', charged a tax on all who passed by them on their ways to Mecca.

Ultimately warfare broke out between the tribes of Jurhum and Qaṭūrā'. Al-Samayda' was killed, and full power over Mecca and *al-bayt* thus were gained by Muḍāḍ. The descendants of Ishmael did not contend with him despite their large numbers, respected position, and the diversity of their locations throughout Mecca and its surroundings; this was due to their family ties to them and to the majesty of the sacred *bayt*.

After Muḍāḍ, power went to his son al-Ḥārith and then to his son, 'Amr.

Later Jurhum acted wrongfully in Mecca and corruption there spread. People came to disrespect the sacred mosque. It is even said that one of their men, named Isāf b. Baghī, and a woman named Nā'ila, daughter of Wa'il, met inside the *ka'ba* and that he committed fornication with her. And so God turned them into two rocks which the people set up near the temple as a warning to others. After a great deal of time had passed, these two rocks became the object of worship aside from God, during the period of Khuzā'a. This will be further explained later. These became two idols set on high and named Isāf and Nā'ila.

When the misdeeds of Jurhum in the sacred land grew worse, Khuzā'a, who had settled near the sanctuary, arose against them. They, Khuzā'a, were of the line of 'Amr b. 'Āmir who had left Yemen because of what he expected would occur with the 'Arim torrent, as we have related above. It is also said that Khuzā'a traced their descent to Ishmael's sons. God knows best.

Anyway, Khuzā'a did join together to fight Jurhum and they engaged in battle; the descendants of Ishmael sided with neither party.

Khuzā'a, being the tribe of Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt and Ghubshān, gained victory and ousted them from the *ka'ba*.

'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī, their leader, made off with the *ka'ba*'s two gazelles, made of gold, the cornerstone, the 'black stone' that is, as well as decorated swords and other items, and buried them all in the well *zamzam*, which he filled with earth. Then he and his people moved out, back to Yemen.

On this subject 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ composed the following:

"Her tears flowing and her eyes red and sore, in grief she said

'It's as though between al-Ḥajūn and al-Ṣafā there has never been a friend, and no evening pleasure in Mecca.'

So I told her, my heart made to flutter as though by a bird between my ribs:

‘Yes indeed; we were its people but changing times and evil misfortunes destroyed us,

We were custodians of the *kaʿba* after Nābit, circling it around, our fine state clear.

We took charge of the temple after Nābit with dignity, the wealthy gaining no favour with us.

We had power and prestige, so be proud of our reign, no tribe there more proud than us.

Did you not marry a woman to Ishmael, the finest man I knew, so his descendants are from us, and we are his relatives.’

So what if the world turn against us? Life has its turns and tribulations

It was the king, the almighty ruler, who used his power to oust us; thus, O people, do the fates decree.

If the carefree sleep and I not rest, then I say, ‘O enthroned one, why did Suhayl and ‘Āmir die?’

In exchange for them I got faces I dislike, tribes including Ḥimyar and Yuhābir.

We were despised, after having been in delight, passing years thus biting us.

Tears flowed from eyes weeping for a land with a secure and sacred place and shrines,

Weeping for a place whose pigeons are left unharmed, living safe there, and sparrows too.

In it wild animals are safe and may leave it without fear – they would never be attacked.”

According to Ibn Ishāq, ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḏāḏ also spoke as follows addressing Banū Bakr and Ghubshān who came to power after themselves in Mecca:

“O people, move along; your end is that one day you will not be able to move.

Urge on your mounts, release their reins before your death, and do with us what you will do.

We were people as you were; fate changed us; you will become as we became.”

Ibn Hishām stated that these verses were the ones he found to be genuine. And a certain authority on poetry told me that these verses are the first poems spoken by the Arabs and that they were discovered inscribed on rocks in Yemen, their author’s name not being given.

Al-Suhaylī recorded companion verses to this poetry, telling along with them a strange tale and peculiar chants. He said that Abū al-Walid al-Azraqī, in his book *Faḍāʾil Mecca* (*The Virtues of Mecca*), added to the above-mentioned verses by ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḏāḏ the following:

“Fate has turned against us and destroyed us through injustice there, our people plundering others.

Ask about the deeds of others before you, so that the path of disgrace be made clear.

Once before you we were kings over people, living resident in God’s sanctuary.”

The Story of Khuzā'a and an account of 'Amr b. Luḥayy and the worship of idols in Arab lands.

According to Ibn Ishāq, Ghubshān of Khuzā'a governed the *ka'ba* instead of Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt; the first of these new rulers was 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith the Ghubshāni. At that time Quraysh were migrants, living in small settlements and little encampments scattered about among their people, Banū Kināna.

Khuzā'a were so-named because they *takhazza'u*, separated, from the men of 'Amr b. 'Āmir when they came from Yemen on their way to Syria. Khuzā'a stopped in Marr al-Dhahrān and settled there.

On this subject 'Awn b. Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and thereafter al-Khazraǧī spoke the following verses:

"When we went down into the vale of Marr Khuzā'a 'separated' from us into small groups of people;

They occupied every valley of Tihāma, seeking protection by their solid spears and sharp-pointed swords."

Abū al-Mutahhir Ismā'īl b. Rāfi' al-Anṣārī al-Awsī said:

"When we went down to the vale of Mecca Khuzā'a gave praise to the house of the intolerant eater

Taking residence in small villages and riding off in separate groups to all settlements in high land and low.

They ousted Jurhum from the vale of Mecca, wrapping themselves in strong-backed Khuzā'a pride."

So Khuzā'a took control of the *ka'ba*, inheriting that rule by primogeniture until the last of them, Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Saṭl b. Kaṭ b. 'Amr b. Rabi'a al-Khuza'i. It was his daughter Ḥubbā who got married to Quṣayy b. Kilāb; to him were born his four sons 'Abd al-Dār, 'Abd Manāf, 'Abd al-'Uzzā, and 'Abd. Eventually he gained control over the *ka'ba*, as I will later explain in detail if God Almighty wills it, and in Him is all trust.

Khuzā'a continued controlling the temple some 300 years; some say 500, and God knows best. Their period of rule was damned, because it was during their period that idols were first worshipped in Ḥijāz.

This came about because of their leader 'Amr b. Luḥayy, God curse him; it was he who first influenced them towards idol worship. He was a man of enormous wealth. They say he gouged out the eyes of 20 camels to show that he owned 20,000 of them.

It was a custom among the Arabs that anyone who came to own 1,000 camels should gouge out the eyes of one of them. By doing this he would avert the evil eye of malicious envy from them. Al-Azraqī was one of those who related this practice.

According to al-Suhaylī, in the time of *al-ḥajj*, the pilgrimage, he probably sacrificed 10,000 animals and awarded 10,000 sacerdotal garments per year. He would feed the Arabs, preparing for them food of dates mixed with butter and honey, and give them barley wine to drink. They say that his word and deed were like law among them, due to his generosity, and to the high regard and deep respect they held for him.

Ibn Hishām states that a learned man told him that ‘Amr b. Luḥayy once left Mecca for Syria on business and reached Maʿāb in the Balqāʿ region. There at that time lived the ‘Amālīq, the sons of ‘Imlāq or, as some say, ‘Imliq b. Lāwadh b. Sām b. Nūḥ. ‘Amr witnessed them worshipping idols, so he asked them why. They replied that if they asked the idols for rain it came, or for victory they won it.

‘Amr then asked them to give him an idol he could take to Arab lands where it could be worshipped, and they gave him one named Hubal. This he brought to Mecca and set on a pedestal and ordered the people to worship and venerate it.

According to Ibn Ishāq, people claimed that the first to worship idols were of the tribe of Ishmael. They did so because as they started to travel outside Mecca, having felt constrained and overcrowded there and seeking living-space elsewhere, they would always carry with them a stone from the sanctuary to venerate the shrine. Wherever they settled they would put down the stone and circumambulate it as they would the *kaʿba*. Eventually they took to worshipping any stone that pleased or inspired them, thus reverting to pagan ways and neglecting the religion they had followed.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection we find a statement from Abu Rajāʾ al-ʿUṣṭarīdī as follows: “In the pre-Islamic period, if we found no rock then we would gather up a pile of dirt, bring a goat, milk it on to the pile, and then circumambulate it.”

Ibn Ishāq’s narration goes on: “And they substituted another religion for that of Abraham and Ishmael, upon both of whom be peace, worshipping idols and following the false ways of the people before them.”

Nevertheless they did maintain some of the practices of the era of Abraham, upon whom be peace. These included venerating the *kaʿba*, circumambulating it, going there for pilgrimage and visitation, mounting the hills of ‘Arafāt and Muzdalifa, making sacrifice and invoking God’s name at both pilgrimage and visitation and at the same time introducing innovations.

The tribes of Kināna and Quraysh would make the cry, “*Labbayka, Allāhumma, labbayka!* At your service, O God, at your service! At your service; you have no partner except one who is yours. You rule him, he rules not.”

They would affirm His unity in their invocation and then include reference to their idols as well while asserting that He had power over them. God Almighty stated to Muḥammad (SAAS), “Most of them do not believe in God without associating others” (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.106). This meant, “they do not state My

unity out of knowledge of My right unless they also ascribe to me some associate of My own creation."

Al-Suhayli and others state that the first to utter this prayer was 'Amr b. Luḥayy and that Satan appeared before him as an old man and taught him that. 'Amr would listen as he recited it, then say as he had. And the Arabs followed his lead in so reciting.

And it is established in al-Bukhārī's *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say "*Qadi. Qadi*", when he heard people recite the words, "At your service, O God, you have no partner." That meant: "Enough right there!"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Isrā'īl, from Abū Ḥafs, from Abū Hurayra, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "The first person to set slaves free and also to worship idols was Abū Khuzā'a 'Amr b. 'Amir and I have seen him dragging his intestines in hell-fire." Aḥmad (*sic*) is unique in giving the account thus.

This account necessitates that 'Amr b. Luḥayy was Abū Khuzā'a, all the tribe being traced back to him, as some genealogists maintain, according to Ibn Ishāq and others. Had we been left with only that one account, then it would be plain as it stands, even to be considered documentary. But other accounts exist which contradict it in some ways.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Yamān told him that Shu'ayb told him from al-Zuhri that the latter heard al-Musayyab say, "*Al-baḥīra* is the camel that is not milked by anyone, since its milk is left for the idols; and *al-sā'iba* is the camel that does not carry anything since it is set aside for their gods."

Abū Hurayra stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I saw 'Amr b. 'Āmir al-Khuzā'i dragging his insides in hell-fire; he was the first person who set loose the *al-sā'iba* camels."

Al-Bukhārī also relates it thus, and Muslim too, from a tradition from Ṣāliḥ b. Kīsān, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'id and back to Abū Hurayra.

Then al-Bukhārī states that Ibn al-Hād passed it on from al-Zuhri.

According to al-Ḥākim, al-Bukhārī meant that Ibn al-Hād recounted it from 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht from al-Zuhri. That is what he stated.

Aḥmad related it from 'Amr b. Salama al-Khuzā'i, from al-Layth b. Sa'd, from Yazid b. al-Hād, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'id back to Abū Hurayra, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state: "I saw 'Amr b. 'Āmir dragging his insides in hell-fire; it was he who first let loose the *sawā'ib* (pl. of *sā'iba*) and who *baḥāra*, set aside the milk of, the *baḥīra* camels."

'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht was mentioned by neither of these authorities, though he was by al-Ḥākim. God knows best.

Aḥmad also said that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Abū Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said:

"I saw 'Amr b. 'Āmir al-Khuzā'i dragging his insides in hell-fire, and it was he who first let loose the *sawā'ib*."

This tradition, as given, is missing a link of transmission. The correct chain would be to include al-Zuhri as having received it from Sa'id, as above.

Use in this tradition and the previous one of the term *al-Khuzā'i* in the name indicates that he was not the founder of the tribe but rather named after it. Also the use in the narration of the term *Abū Khuzā'a*, the father of Khuzā'a, as further above, is a slip of the pen by the traditionalist for *Akhū Khuzā'a*, brother of Khuzā'a, or an indication that he was given the nickname Abū Khuzā'a. Use of this last term could not be intended as informing us that he was father of the whole Khuzā'a tribe; God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī related to him that Abū Šāliḥ al-Sammān told him that he heard Abū Hurayra say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say to Aktham b. al-Jawn al-Khuzā'i: "O Aktham, I saw 'Amr b. Luḥayy b. Qama'a b. Khindif dragging his insides in hell-fire and I never saw two men more alike than you and he." Aktham replied, "Maybe this resemblance to him is harmful to me, O Messenger of God?" He answered, "No; you are a believer while he is a disbeliever. It was he who first changed the religion of Ishmael, who set up idols, who set aside *al-baḥira* camels' milk for the idols, established certain animals as free from burden-bearing, disallowed sacrifice of the male of twin goats, or considered certain stallion camels free from work."²⁰ There are no traditions to this effect in the "books," i.e. the canon.²¹

Ibn Jarīr related this same tradition in similar words from Hannād b. 'Abda, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, back to the Prophet (ṢAAS). And this tradition too is not in the "books".

Al-Bukhārī said that Muḥammad b. Abū Ya'qub Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī related to him that Ḥassān b. Ibrāhīm told him, quoting Yūnus from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa that 'Ā'isha said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I saw hell with its denizens beating one another and I saw 'Amr dragging along his insides; it was he who first set loose the *al-sā'iba* camels." Al-Bukhārī alone reported this *ḥadith*.

What is meant here is that 'Amr b. Luḥayy, God curse him, introduced certain innovations into the religion by which he changed the religion of Abraham. The Arabs imitated him in adopting these and thus strayed far off, in ways that were deplorable and atrocious.

Almighty God had expressed disapproval of these things in various verses of His unassailable Qur'ān. The Almighty stated: "And do not speak lies with what

20. See *sūrat al-Mā'idā*, V, v.103.

21. He is referring to the canonical sources of law based on authenticated traditions.

your tongues describe, saying: 'This is lawful', and, 'this is unlawful', thus falsely attributing lies to God" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*, XVI, v.116). The Almighty also said, "God has not ordained the *baḥīra*, the *sā'iba*, the *maṣīla*, or the *hāmī*. But it is those who disbelieve who falsely attribute lies to God. Yet most of them do not understand" (*sūrat al-Mā'ida*, V, v.103).

I have elsewhere elaborated on all this and shown how the earlier authorities differed among themselves in explaining that. Those who wish may find it there;²² and to God all praise and goodwill.

The Almighty also said, "And they put aside for what they know not a portion of what We have provided for them. By God, you will surely be questioned about what you have been falsely attributing" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*, XVI, v.56).

The Almighty stated as well, "And they set aside for God a portion of the crops and livestock He bestowed on them and said, 'This is for God!' by their assertion, and, 'This is for our associate gods!' So that which is for their associates does not reach God, while what was God's does reach their associates! Evil is what they judge. Likewise, these associates have deemed appropriate for many of the polytheists the killing of their children; this is to destroy them and distort their religion. Had God not wished, they would not have done so. So ignore them and what they invent. They said: 'These are animals and produce that are sacrosanct. None but whom we say shall taste them.' This they claim, and, 'These are animals whose backs are sacrosanct.' And, 'These are animals over whom God's name shall not be invoked.' These are falsehoods attributed to God and He will punish them for their inventions. And they said, 'What is within the wombs of these animals is specifically for our menfolk and forbidden for our wives', whereas if it be stillborn then they are all partners in it. God will punish them for their characterizations. He is wise, all-knowing. Lost are those who killed their children foolishly and without knowledge, and who proscribed what God has endowed them with, attributing falsehood to God. They had gone astray, and they were not rightly guided" (*sūrat al-An'ām*, VI, v.136–40).

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter entitled: "The Arabs before Islam" that Abū al-Nu'mān and Abū 'Awāna both related to him on the authority of Abū Bishr, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās who said: "If it please you to know the ignorance of the Arabs before Islam, then read those verses coming after verse 130 in *sūrat al-An'ām*: 'Lost are those who killed their children foolishly and without knowledge and who proscribed what God has endowed them with, attributing falsehood to God. They had gone astray, and they were not rightly guided'" (VI, v.140).

We have given explanation for this verse and how they used to innovate with foolish and immoral laws, which their leader 'Amr b. Luḥayy, God damn him,

22. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* . . . Vol. 2, pp107–9.

had thought gave some benefit and kindness to animals. In this he was a liar and a cheat.

Yet despite this folly and error, those silly and ignorant people did follow his lead. In fact they followed him into errors even more grievous and serious than these, namely in worshipping idols along with God the Almighty and Glorious.

They thus brought changes into the true religion and straight path God had sent down to Abraham, His true companion, which is worship of God alone without associate, and proscription of polytheism.

They changed the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and the tenets of the religion without knowledge or proof or directives either strong or weak. In this they behaved similarly to those of the polytheist peoples who had preceded them.

They were like the people of Noah. These were those who first associated others with God and who worshipped idols. For this reason God sent Noah to them. He was the first messenger sent to turn people from worship of idols, as we learn from Noah's story in the Qur'ān: "And they said: 'Do not abandon your gods; do not forsake Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq, and Naṣr'; many did they lead astray. Give evil-doers increase of nothing but their error!" (*sūrat Nūḥ*, LXXI, v.23-4).

Ibn 'Abbās said that these were persons of virtue from among Noah's people; when they died people would attend their graves and eventually came to worship them. We have previously given enough information about their worship practices²³ to obviate need for its repetition here.

According to Ibn Ishāq and others, having made these changes to the religion of Ishmael, the Arabs continued having idols. Banū Kalb b. Wabra b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a had an idol named Wadd. It was set up in Dūmat al-Jandal. At a place called Ruhāṭ there was Suwā', idol of the Banū Hudhayl b. Ilyās b. Mudrika b. Maḍar. Yaghūth was the idol for Banū An'am from Ṭayyī', and for the people of Jurash from Madhḥij. It was set up at Jurash. Also there was Ya'ūq in the land of Hamdān in Yemen, used by Banū Khaywān, a tribe of Hamdān. In the land of Ḥimyar was Naṣr, belonging to a tribe called Dhū al-Kulā'.

Ibn Ishāq goes on to report that Khawlān had in their land an idol called 'Amm Anas. They would, it is said, set aside part of their crops and livestock for division between it and God. Whatever of God's portion came into the share of 'Amm Anas they would leave for the latter, while if any set aside for 'Amm Anas went into the portion set aside for God, they would retrieve it for 'Amm Anas. It was about them that God revealed, "And they set aside for God a portion of the crops and livestock which He had bestowed upon them" (*sūrat al-An'am*, VI, v.136).

23. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* . . . , Vol. 4, pp426, 427.

Banū Milkān b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika had an idol named Sa'd, a tall rock in open desert in their territory. One of their men took a herd of his camels to stand near by there to receive the idol's blessing, so they say. But when the camels, which were for meat and not riding, saw the idol stained with the blood of sacrifices, they shied away and scattered in all directions. Their owner became enraged and picked up a rock and threw it at the idol, saying, "May God not bless you; you caused my camels to flee from me!" Then he went off to find them and round them up. When he had done so, he spoke the verses:

"We came to Sa'd for him to put us all together, but Sa'd scattered us; so we are not of Sa'd.

Is Sa'd anything but a stone in the desert offering no prayer for anyone, whether misled or rightly guided."

Ibn Ishāq went on to report that Daws had an idol belonging to 'Amr b. Humama al-Dawsī. Moreover Quraysh had emplaced an idol over a well inside the *ka'ba* whose name was Hubal. As previously stated, Ibn Hishām reported it to have been the first idol set up by 'Amr b. Luḥayy, God curse him.

Ibn Ishāq goes on to state that they adopted Isāf and Nā'ila as gods, emplaced near *zamzam*, where they would make sacrifice to them. He reports that they were a man and a woman who had sexual intercourse in the *ka'ba*, and so God transformed them into two rocks.

Ibn Ishāq went on to state that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm reported that 'Amra quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, "We always heard that Isāf and Nā'ila were a man and a woman of Jurhum who fornicated in the *ka'ba*, so God, Almighty and Glorious, turned them both into stone." God knows best.

And it has also been said that God did not postpone their punishment until they had fornicated there, but that He transformed them before the deed and that thereafter they were set up on the mountains of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. When it was the time of 'Amr b. Luḥayy, he placed them both at *zamzam* and people began circumambulating them.

On this subject Abū Ṭālib spoke the verse:

"Where the Ash'arūn kneel their mounts, where the streams flow from Isāf and Nā'il."

Al-Wāqidī reported that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the destruction of Nā'ila, the day he conquered Mecca, there emerged from it a black woman with grey hair tearing at her face, lamenting and wailing loudly.

Al-Suhaylī has said that Ajā and Sulmā, which are two mountains in Hijāz, were in fact named after a man named Ajā b. 'Abd al-Ḥayy who fornicated with Sulmā, daughter of Ḥām, and that they were both turned into idols in these

mountains that were named after them. He also said that between Ajā and Sulmā Ṭayyīʾ had an idol named Qals.

Ibn Ishāq's account goes on to say that the people of each house had an idol they would worship there and that if a man were to journey he would touch the idol before mounting. This was also what he would begin by doing upon his return before he went inside to his family. When God sent Muḥammad (ṢAAS) with the message of the unity of God, Quraysh said, "He has made the gods into one god! How very strange!"

Ibn Ishāq went on to relate that along with the *kaʿba* the Arabs venerated *tawāghīṭ*. These were buildings they honoured in much the same way as they did the *kaʿba*. They had custodians and priests, and offerings would be made to them just as to the *kaʿba*, along with the rituals of circumambulation and blood sacrifice. But they still recognized the precedence of the *kaʿba* over them because it was the building and mosque of Abraham, God's true companion, peace be upon him.

Quraysh and the Banū Kināna had an idol named al-ʿUzzā at Nakhla and Banū Shaybān of Sulaym were its custodians and priests; they were allies of Banū Hāshim. Khālīd b. al-Walīd destroyed it when he conquered them, as we shall relate.

Al-Lāt was the idol for Thaḳīf at al-Ṭāʾif and its custodians and priests were Banū Muʿattib from Thaḳīf. Abū Sufyān and al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba destroyed it after the people of al-Ṭāʾif accepted Islam, as we shall relate later.

Manāt was the idol of the tribes of al-ʿAws and al-Khazraj and the people of Medīna who shared their religion in the coastal region, towards al-Mushallal in Qudayd. Abū Sufyān destroyed it also. Some say it was ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib who did it, as we will relate.

Dhū al-Khalāṣa was an idol of Daws, Khathʿam, and Bajila and the Arabs in their territory of Tabāla. It was called "the southern (Yemeni) *kaʿba*", while the one in Mecca was known as the "northern (Syria, Shāmī) *kaʿba*". Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajlī destroyed it, as we will explain.

Qals was an idol of Ṭayyīʾ and those two nearby mountains, meaning Ajā and Sulmā, famous mountains referred to above.

Rṣām was a temple of Ḥimyar and the people of Yemen, as above related in the story of Tubbaʿ, one of the kings of Ḥimyar, and the story of the two rabbis when they destroyed it and killed a black dog that came from it.

Ruḍāʾ was a temple of Banū Rabiʿa b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd Ibn Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. About it al-Mustawghir Kaʿb b. Rabiʿa b. Kaʿb spoke the verse:

"I struck Ruḍāʾ so violently I left it a ruin in a black plain.

And ʿAbd Allāh helped in destroying it, and with the like of ʿAbd Allāh sins are obliterated."

It is said that this al-Mustawghir lived for 330 years, he being the longest-lived of all Muḍar. It was he who spoke the lines:

"I have wearied of life and its length; I have lived for years in their hundreds;

One century was followed by two more, adding up the years from all the many months.

Is what is left anything but like what we spent? Days and nights pass and urge us on."

According to Ibn Hishām these lines should be attributed to Zuhayr b. Janāb b. Hubal.

Al-Suhaylī stated that the persons who lived longer than two or three hundred years include this Zuhayr, Ubayd b. Shariyya, Dagħfal b. Ḥaṇẓala al-Nassāba, al-Rabī' b. Ḍaba' al-Fuzārī, Dhū al-Isba' al-Adwānī and Naṣr b. Dihmān b. Ashja' b. Rayth b. Ghaṭfān. The hair of this last-mentioned blackened after it had turned white, and his back became straight after having been crooked.

Ibn Ishāq's account continues, indicating that Dhū al-Ka'bāt was an idol of Bakr and Tagħlib, the two sons of Wā'il, and Iyād at Sandād. Concerning it A'shā of Banū Qays b. Tha'āba spoke the verse:

"Between al-Khawarnaq, al-Sadīr, Bāriq, and the temple with battlements at Sandād."

The first part of this poem is as follows:

"I have learned, even if I lived longer, that one's path is that followed by the ancients.

What can I hope after the Āl Muḥarriq have left their homes and after Iyād too?

They settled at Anqara, where Tigris water flowed to them, coming from the lofty mountains,

The land of al-Khawarnaq, al-Sadīr, and Bāriq, and the house of temples of Sindād.

The winds stormed over the sites of their dwellings, as though their time were predestined,

And I see that pleasure and all things enjoyed turn to decay and end."

According to al-Suhaylī, al-Khawarnaq was a palace built by al-Nu'mān the Elder for Sābūr so that he could have his children there in it with him. It was designed by a man named Sinammār over 20 years. No finer building than it had ever been seen. Al-Nu'mān feared that Sinammār might build a similar one for others, so he cast him down from its heights and killed him. A poet therefore spoke the following lines about him:

"He recompensed me, may God give him His worst punishment, as Sinnamār was recompensed, and he was guiltless.

Except his striving on the building for twenty years with the best bricks, saffron and ceramics.

And when the building was complete and it towered like a mountain or a difficult height

He threw down Sinammār on to the top of his head; that being, by God, one of the most ignominious acts ever done."

Al-Suhaylī stated that al-Jāḥiẓ recited it in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (*Book of Animals*). The word *al-Sinammār* is one of the names of the moon. What is implied here is that all such houses were destroyed when Islam came. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched troops of his men to each of these palaces to destroy them, and he sent to those idols men who broke them to pieces. Ultimately nothing remained to rival the *kaʿba*, and God was worshipped alone and without associate. All this will be explained in detail in its place, if God Almighty wills it, and in Him there is trust.

*An Account of ʿAdnān, Forebear of the Arabs of the Ḥijāz from whom
the line goes down to the Prophet (ṢAAS).*

There is no question of ʿAdnān being of the line of Ishmael, son of Abraham, upon both of whom be peace. What dispute there is relates to the number of forebears there were from ʿAdnān to Ishmael according to the various sources.

At one end of the spectrum, there is the extreme view that considers there to have been forty; this is the view of Christians and Jews who adopted it from the writings of Rakhiyā, the clerk of Armiyā (Jeremy) b. Ḥalqiyā, as we will relate.

Some authorities maintain there were thirty, others twenty, yet more fifteen, ten, nine, or seven.

It has been said that the lowest estimate given is for four, according to the account given by Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb, on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb b. Zuma al-Zumaʿī from his aunt, and then from Umm Salama who stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said that the line was: "Maʿad b. ʿAdnān b. Adad b. Zand b. al-Yarā b. Aʿraq al-Tharā".

According to Umm Salama this Zanad was al-Hamaysaʿ, al-Yarā was Nābit, while Aʿraq al-Tharā was Ishmael. This was implied because he was Abraham's son; for Abraham was not consumed by hell-fire, since fire does not consume moist earth, the meaning of *al-tharā*.

Al-Dārqaṭnī stated that he knew of no "Zand" except the one in this tradition, and Zand b. al-Jawn, who was Abū Dalāma the poet.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī and other Imāms stated that the time lapse between ʿAdnān and Ishmael was too great for there to have been only four, ten, or even

twenty generations between them. That, they said, was because the age of Ma'ad son of 'Adnān was twelve at the time of Bukhtunaṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar).

Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī and others related that Almighty God sent a revelation at that time to *Armiyā' b. Ḥalqiyā'* telling him to go to Bukhtunaṣṣar to inform him that God had given him rule over the Arabs. And God commanded *Armiyā'* to carry with him Ma'ad b. 'Adnān on the horse al-Burāq so that they would not bear him any rancour saying, "For I shall draw forth from his loins a noble Prophet by whom I shall seal the prophets."

Armiyā' did that, bearing Ma'ad on al-Burāq to the land of Syria where he grew up among the Jews who remained there following the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. There he married a woman named Ma'āna, daughter of Jawshin of Banū Dibb b. Jurhum, before returning to his own land. He returned after unrest had quietened down and accord prevailed in the Arabian peninsula. *Rakhiyā'*, *Armiyā'*'s scribe, wrote his master's genealogy down in a document he had there which was to go into *Armiyā'*'s library; and he similarly preserved the genealogy of Ma'ad. But God knows best.

And this is why Mālik, God bless him, did not enthuse over the attempt at tracing genealogy back to before 'Adnān.

Al-Suhaylī commented further, "We have merely discussed tracing back these lines to accord with the school of thought of those scholars who favour and do not disapprove of it, men such as Ibn Ishāq, al-Bukhārī, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, al-Ṭabarī, and others."

As for Mālik, God have mercy on him, he expressed disapproval when asked about someone tracing his descent back to Adam and commented: "Whence comes to him knowledge of that?" When he was asked about tracing back to Ishmael, he expressed similar disapproval, asking, "Who could provide such information?" Mālik also disliked tracing the genealogy of the prophets, such as saying, "Abraham son of so-and-so". Al-Mu'ayyī stated this in his book.

Al-Suhaylī commented also that Mālik's viewpoint was analogous to what was related of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr who is reported to have said, "We have found no one who knows the line between 'Adnān and Ishmael."

It is reported that Ibn 'Abbās said, "Between 'Adnan and Ishmael there were 30 ancestors who are unknown."

Ibn 'Abbās is also reputed to have said when he traced back lines of descent as far as 'Adnān: "The genealogists have lied. Twice or thrice." And that (scepticism)²⁴ is even more characteristic of Ibn Mas'ūd, whose (attitude) was like that of Ibn 'Abbās.

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated, "We carry back the genealogy only as far as 'Adnān."

24. Translator's interpretation.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his book *Al-Anbaʾ fi Maʿrifat Qabāʾil al-Ruwāh* (Facts Concerning Knowledge of the Tribes of the Transmitters) that Ibn Lahīʿa related from Abū al-Aswad that he heard ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr say, "We never found anyone who knew genealogy back past ʿAdnān, nor past Qaḥṭān, unless they were using conjecture."

Abū al-Aswad stated that he had heard Abū Bakr Sulaymān b. Abū Khaythama, one of the very most knowledgeable men of the poetry and the genealogy of Quraysh, say, "We never knew anyone with information going back beyond Maʿad b. ʿAdnān, whether relating to poetry or other knowledge."

Abū ʿUmar said that there was a group of the predecessors including ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, ʿAmr b. Maymūn al-Azdī, and Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quradhī who, when they recited the verse from the Qurʾān "and those after them whom no one but God knows" (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*, XIV, v.9) would comment, "The genealogists lied."

Abū ʿUmar, God have mercy on him, stated, "We hold the meaning of this to differ from their interpretation. What is implied is that regarding those who claim to enumerate Adam's descendants, no one knows them except God who created them. But as for the lines of descent of the Arabs, the scholars conversant with their history and genealogy were aware of and learned by heart about the people and the major tribes, differing in some details of that."

Abū ʿUmar continued to state that the leading scholars regarding the genealogy of ʿAdnān gave his descent as: "ʿAdnān b. Udad b. Muqawwim b. Nāḥūr b. Tayraḥ b. Yaʿrub b. Yashjub b. Nābit b. Ishmael b. Abraham, peace be upon the latter two mentioned." And this is how Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār gave it in the Prophet's biography.

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿAdnān is said to be the son of Udd", meaning that he was ʿAdnān b. Udd b. Udad.

Thereafter Abū ʿUmar listed the remainder of the lineage back to Adam.

As for the genealogies of the other Arab tribes back to ʿAdnān, these are preserved and well known and no two people conflict about them.

The genealogy of the Prophet (ṢAAS) back to ʿAdnān is incontestably clear, as evident as the break of day. A verbatim *ḥadīth marfūʿ*²⁵ has been reported to support that. We will give it in the appropriate place, after discussion of the Arab tribes and reporting their genealogies and how these were accurately arranged into the lines of lofty and noble descent. All this, if God Almighty wills it, and in Him we trust and depend; there is no power and no strength except in God the Powerful, the Wise.

25. This term denotes a tradition that is traceable in ascending order of authorities back to the Prophet Muḥammad. See Glossary.

Nothing could be finer than the verses stating the Prophet's genealogy by Imām Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāshī' in the famous poem ascribed to him as follows:

"I praised the Messenger of God, seeking by praising him a plenitude of the best of rewards for myself;

I praised a man beyond praise, unique in his qualities, far beyond others far or near,

A Prophet whose light shone high in places east, his gifts apparent to the people of places west.

The prophets brought him to us before his coming, news of him spreading on all sides.

The foretelling divines began calling his name, using it to fend off the impact of misleading ideas.

Idols were given voice declaring to God their innocence of those who told the untruths.

They spoke in clear words to the unbelievers, 'A prophet has come to you from Lu'ayy b. Ghālib.'

And evil spirits wanted to eavesdrop but shooting stars scattered them from their seats.

He led us to where we would never have found our way, so lengthy was our blindness to clear philosophies.

He brought evidences showing that they were signs from one Almighty in reward and punishment

One of which was the splitting of the moon in two, mountain tops then being covered as if by a turban by the moonbeams.

And another was the rising of water springs between his fingertips while no wells or pools were near.

By it he quenched the thirst of a large crowd; and the water flowed into rivulets in all directions, down to the plain land.

And a well brimmed over at his arrow's touch, one before too dry for a single drinker's palate.

And the udder flowed to his palm's rub, which before when squeezed for liquid had no teat to respond to a milkman's touch.

And there was eloquent utterance from the hand of a fortune-teller about plans of an enemy bent on attack.

And his being told of matters before their being, and of the after-effects to come when these did arise.

And from those signs there was revelation he brought, one that is expedient, to come with a multitude of wonders.

Thought could not conceive of it,²⁶ and so the like of which no eloquent man could articulate, nor did it occur to the mind of any preacher.

It encompassed all knowledge, embraced all wisdom, eluding the aim of the scheming and deceitful.

26. The reference is to the revelation of the Qur'ān.

He brought it to us, not through a trickster's tales, a scribe's pages, or an author's description.

Revelation comes to him sometimes to answer a questioner, to respond to a solution seeker, or in the exhortation of someone who is conversing;

For the bringing of proofs, the imposition of laws, the telling of narration, or the interpretation of purpose;

For the quotation of proverbs, the proving of a case, the revealing of some disbeliever, or the suspension of a liar;

In the meeting of some assembly, in the thick of some battle, or as difficult, puzzling problems occur.

So, it came down in different ways, with straight-out meaning and flowing varieties.

Its verses confirm each other, as if their meanings were scrutinized by a watchful eye.

And the inability of man to achieve such as we have described is well known by the many who attempted (to imitate it).

For father he had 'Abd Allāh, the most noble of fathers, inheriting from him the most noble of qualities.

And from Shayba, be he praised, in whom Quraysh had pride above all others of honour and high station;

He who by whose face clouds were sought to bring rain, and whose views were followed in troubled times.

And from Hāshim, who built his lofty, honourable repute through brave exploits and his gracious generosity.

And 'Abd Manāf, who taught his people not to exceed the bounds of their ambitions, and how to control their desires.

And Quṣayy, whose nobility of line is at such a level as to be beyond anyone's reach;

Through him God assembled the tribes after they had been split apart by the greed of thieving hands.

And Kilāb attained a fortress in the peaks of glory, beyond the reach of all, near and far alike.

And Murra, whose firmness of resolve was not dissolved by the disgrace of any fool or the evil of any sinner.

And Ka'b, whose glory was too high for any seeker of fame to follow his footsteps; and who reached the highest rank with the least of efforts.

And Lu'ayy who wiped out his enemies; thus he subdued the supercilious, the haughty, and the most victorious.

And in Ghālīb was such courage that he refused for his people to be overcome by any mighty one, and repelled from them every violent enemy.

And Fih'r had in Quraysh an oratory to rely upon when conflicts erupted.

And Malik was always the best of *maliks* (lords), the most honourable of companions, the most honourable of masters.

And al-Naḍr had such elevation as to outstrip all, right on up to meet the gleaming light of the stars.

By my life, Kināna displayed even before him qualities too fine for any conqueror to attain.

And before him Khuzayma established in his honour an ancient heritage from honoured kin.

And Mudrika, no man ever *yudrik* (achieved) the like of what he had. He was most virtuous and most high, beyond mere base pursuits.

And Ilyās, for him *al-ya's* (despair) was dictated for his enemies even before the squadrons met in battle.

And for Muḍar the total glory had always been his whenever mounted warriors had met in battle.

And Nizār achieved among his people a leadership position, so lofty as to outstrip the gaze of anyone staring hard to see.

And Ma'ad was an *'udda* (instrument) for his allies when they feared the plots of their warring foe.

And 'Adnān is still, if his virtue be assessed, unique and above all peer or companion.

And for Udd, virtue *ta'adda* (was discharged) emanating from his self-resolve and an inheritance passed down from grand, wise chieftains.

And in Udad there was calm judgement adorned with sagacity, for calm judgement gains from a frowning of eyebrows.²⁷

And Hamaysa' continued to reach ever-new heights, and follow after the desired far-reaching aspirations.

And Nabt who came from the family tree of glory had built up his lofty refuge on the towering mountains.

And Qaydhār was accorded the generosity of Ḥātim, the wisdom of Luqmān and the determination of Ḥājib.

These were progeny of Ishmael, true to his vows, a man whose level of greatness could never be exceeded by others.

And God's "companion" (Abraham) who was the most noble of men ever to walk or ride upon earth.

And Tāriḥ, whose lasting reputation for generosity had made apparent his laudable deeds.

And Nāḥūr, the *naḥḥār* (butcher) of his enemies had many memorable accomplishments those accounting cannot enumerate.

And Ashra', a forest lion in battle, cutting a person to shreds with his sharp weapons.

And Arghū, a deputy to be trusted in warfare, tenacious against a mean-spirited antagonist.

And Fāligh is not left behind his people in virtue, nor does he pass beneath them in rank.

And Shālikh and Arfakhshidh and Sām, had qualities so great as to protect them from any detractor or accuser.

And Nuḥ (Noah) still retains high regard with God, who counts him among good men, well-chosen.

27. The frowning eyebrows imply deep thought or sagacity.

And Lamk, his father, stood out among the finest, brave against the mailclad warrior.

And before Lamk there was yet Mutawashlikh, who drove away his enemies with tough spears.

And Idris the prophet was one with status with God beyond compare with that of any ambition.

And Yārid was a man great among his people's leaders, scornful of the base, clear and precise in his purpose.

And Mihlayil had understanding of virtues from which all unpleasant defects had been refined away.

And Qaynān of old acquired the glory of his people, gaining the summit of prestige by the stride of his riding camels.

And Antūsh devoted himself to glory and deemed it far above base desires.

And Shith stuck to principle, a man of virtue and nobility, free of mean faults.

All of these gained from Adam's light and from his stem gathered the fruits of goodness.

And the Messenger of God was the most noble ever born; he emerged from the line of all these fine, distinguished individuals.

His male forebears matched his female ancestors, all clear of any taint of disgrace.

May there be upon him the peace of God on every day that dawn gives us light and at every sunset too."

Thus did Sheikh Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr present to us this ode, as did also our Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, the *ḥāfiẓ*, in his edition of the poetry of Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāshī, known as Ibn Sharshir.

His origins were from al-Anbār. He went to Baghdad and then travelled to Egypt, where he stayed until he died in the year 293 AH. He was a *Mu'tazili* theologian, and Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Ash'ari wrote about him in his text *al-Maqālāt*, in his discussion of the *Mu'tazila*.

He was an accomplished poet, to the degree that his mastery was such that he would invent verses that reversed those of others, and composed poetry to challenge other poets, devising oratorical phrases and rhetorical flourishes they could not match. Consequently some accused him of insanity and delirium.

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī referred to him as having composed an ode in monorhyme that totalled some 4,000 verses. Al-Najim quoted these and recorded his death, as stated above.

I comment that this ode gives evidence of his virtue, eloquence, knowledge, understanding, fine memory, diction, and masterly poetic skills. These verses on the noble lineage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) are precious jewels from his great repertoire of poetry. God bless him and reward him for all his activities.

*An Account of the genealogical origins of the Arabs of Ḥijāz up to
ʿAdnān.*

These matters are due to ʿAdnān having had two sons, Maʿad and ʿAkk.

According to al-Suhayli, ʿAdnān also had a son named al-Ḥārith, and another named al-Madhhab. It is also stated that some include al-Daḥḥāk among his sons. However, al-Daḥḥāk is also said to have been a son of Maʿad, not ʿAdnān. It is also believed that ʿAdan, for whom the city of Aden is named, and similarly Abyan, were named after sons of ʿAdnān. That is what al-Ṭabarī related.

ʿAkk married into the Ashʿari tribe and lived in their territory in Yemen. Their language became unified and some of the people of Yemen claimed them as their own. They give his line as ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Azd b. Yaghūth; others give the line as ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān b. al-Dhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Asad. Al-Rayth is also given as an alternative to al-Dhayb. What is true is what we have stated, that they are of the line of ʿAdnān. ʿAbbās b. Mirdās spoke the verse:

“ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān, who toyed with Ghassān until they were totally driven away.”

As for Maʿad, he had four sons: Nizār, Quḍāʿa, Qanaṣ, and Iyād. Quḍāʿa was Maʿad’s first-born who was commonly known by the surname of Abū Quḍāʿa (father of Quḍāʿa). We have earlier given a different genealogy for Quḍāʿa, but it is this one that is considered correct by Ibn Ishāq and others. And God knows best.

As for Qanaṣ, it is said that his line died out, except that al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir who was Chosroe’s governor at al-Ḥira was one of his descendants, according to a number of past authorities. Another view is that he was from Ḥimyar, as we have indicated earlier. God knows best.

As for Nizār, to him were born Rabīʿa, Muḍar, and Anmār. Ibn Hishām indicated that Iyād was also the son of Nizār, as was spoken in the following verse:

“[A]nd braves their faces fine, descendants of Iyād b. Nizār b. Maʿad.”

He stated that Iyād and Muḍar were full brothers, their mother being Sawda, daughter of ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān. And the mother of Rabīʿa and Anmār was Shuqayqa, daughter of ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān. Her name was also given as Jumʿa, daughter of ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān.

According to Ibn Ishāq, Anmār was the father of Khathʿam and Bajila, of the tribe of Jarir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī. He added that they went to Yemen and stayed there.

Ibn Hishām said that the Yemenis state his line to have been Anmār b. Irāsh b. Liḥyān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʿ.

I consider that the tradition quoted above relating to Sabaʿ substantiates this. God knows best.

They say that Muḍar was the first to use chants with camels. That is because he had a fine voice and because one day he fell off his mount and dislocated his arm. In pain he shouted, "Wāyadayāh! Wāyadayāh!" ("Oh, my hands, my hands!") and at that the camels stretched out their necks listening.

According to Ibn Ishāq, Muḍar b. Nizār had two sons, Ilyās and ʿAylān. To Ilyās were born Mudrika, Ṭābikha and Qamaʿa; their mother was Khindif, daughter of ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿa.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Mudrika's real name was ʿĀmir, and that of Ṭābikha was ʿAmr. One day they went hunting and while they were cooking their catch, their camels ran off. ʿĀmir chased after them and caught them, while his brother sat cooking. When they returned to their father and related this to him, he commented to ʿĀmir, "You are Mudrika" (the catcher), while to ʿAmr he said, "You are Ṭābikha" (the cook). As for Qamaʿa, the genealogists of Muḍar claim that Khuzāʿa was a son of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy b. Qamaʿa b. Ilyās.

In my view it is obvious that he was a descendant of theirs and not of their father, and that they were of Ḥimyar, previously mentioned. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq said that Mudrika gave birth to Khuzayma and Hudhayl, and that their mother was a woman from Quḍāʿa tribe. To Khuzayma were born Kināna, Asad, and al-Ḥūn.

Kināna gave birth to al-Naḍr, Mālik, ʿAbd Manāt, and Milkān. Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī added to these four ʿĀmir, al-Ḥārith, al-Naḍīr, Ghanam, Saʿd, ʿAwf, Jarwal, al-Jarāl, and Ghazwān.

An Account of Quraysh regarding their genealogy, etymology, and merit. They are the tribe of al-Naḍr b. Kināna.

According to Ibn Ishāq, the mother of al-Naḍr was Barra, daughter of Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha (Ibn Hishām adds that Ṭābikha was the son of Ilyās b. Muḍar), while the rest of his sons were of a different mother. Ibn Hishām disagrees with Ibn Ishāq, having Barra daughter of Murr as the mother of al-Naḍr, Mālik, and Milkān. The mother of ʿAbd Manāt was Hāla, daughter of Suwayd b. al-Ghiṭrīf from Azd of Shantūʿa.

Ibn Hishām stated that al-Naḍar was Quraysh; anyone born in his line is a Qurayshite, anyone not so born is not. He also said that some state that Fihir b. Mālik was Quraysh, those of his line therefore being Qurayshite; those not of his line were non-Qurayshite.

These two statements have been handed down by more than one expert genealogist, such as Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr and al-Zubayr b. Bakkar, Musʿab, and others.

According to Abū 'Ubayd and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the majority's view is that Quraysh derived from al-Naḍr b. Kināna, based on a *ḥadīth* of al-Ash'ath b. Qays. And it is this authority who was an important source for Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī and Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā; he is a prime resource for the doctrine of al-Shāfi'ī, may God bless him.

Abū 'Umar, moreover, chose Fihir b. Mālik as the originator of Quraysh, insisting that anyone today having descent from Quraysh stems from Fihir b. Mālik. He then related the choice made in his statement to the authority of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī and 'Alī b. Kaysān, saying, "They are the source for this, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār having stated, 'The genealogists of Quraysh and others are agreed that Quraysh branched off only from Fihir b. Mālik.' The genealogists of Quraysh whom I have consulted consider those of his line to be Qurayshites, whereas those prior to him in their line are thought not from Quraysh."

Abū 'Umar then effectively substantiated this view and defended it by pointing out that he and those of similar views were those most knowledgeable of the genealogy and history of their own people.

Al-Bukhārī related from the tradition of Kulayb b. Wā'il as follows: "I said to the nursemaid (meaning Zaynab, daughter of Abū Salama) of the Prophet (SAAS) 'Tell me about the Prophet (SAAS). Was he from Muḍar?' She replied, 'From whom else but from Muḍar of Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna?'"

Al-Ṭabarānī said, "We were told by Ibrāhīm b. Nā'ila al-Aṣbahānī, by Ismā'īl b. 'Amr al-Bajalī, and by al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ from his father, from al-Jashīsh al-Kindī who said, 'A group of people from Kinda tribe came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, "You are from us," claiming kinship with him. But he responded, "No, we're Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we neither contradict our mother nor refute our father."'"

Imām Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd said, "We were told by my father and by al-Kalbī on the authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ from Ibn 'Abbās that the latter said, 'A man from Kinda, called al-Jashīsh, came to the Prophet (SAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, we claim 'Abd Manāf as one of us." The Prophet (SAAS), turned away from him. The man came back with the same comment and again was ignored. Once more he said the same. Then the Prophet (SAAS) stated, "We are from Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna. We neither contradict our mother nor refute our father."'"

Al-Ash'ath commented (probably to al-Jashīsh, tr.) "Shouldn't you have stayed silent after the first time?"

This response refuted their claim, and from the tongue of his Prophet (SAAS). And this is strange also from this viewpoint; al-Kalbī, moreover, is a weak authority. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad said that Bahz and 'Affān related to him as follows: "We were both told by Ḥammād b. Salama that 'Uqayl b. Abū Ṭalḥa said ('Affān gave his

name as 'Uqayl b. Ṭalḥa al-Salmī) on the authority of Muslim b. al-Hayṣam from al-Ash'ath b. Qays, that the latter said that he came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in a delegation from Kinda. ('Affān added the words 'who did not consider me their best man') and said to him, 'O Messenger of God, we claim you to be one of us.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'We are Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we neither contradict our mother nor refute our father.'"

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays commented, "By God, I never hear anyone denying that Quraysh is from al-Naḍr b. Kināna without whipping him to the limit."

And thus was this related by Ibn Māja along various lines of transmission from Hammād b. Salama.

This line of tradition is truly fine and is authoritative in this matter. No attention is due thereafter to any opposing view. But God knows best. All praise and credit belong to God.

Jarīr b. 'Aṭīyya al-Tamīmī spoke the following verses in praising Hishām b. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Marwān:

"The mother who gave birth to Quraysh was not one as to cause doubt as to ancestry, nor was she barren;

And no stud was of more noble stock than your father, nor was there ever an uncle more fine than Tamīm."

Ibn Hishām stated: "Here is meant the mother of al-Naḍr b. Kināna, who was Barra daughter of Murr, sister of Tamīm b. Murr."

The derivation of the word Quraysh is said to come from the word *al-taqarrush*, which means to join together after dispersal. This relates to the period of Quṣayy b. Kilāb when they were dispersed and he brought them together at the holy sanctuary, as we shall explain. Ḥudhāfa b. Ghānim al-'Adawī spoke the verse:

"Your father was Quṣayy, known as 'the gatherer'; through him God gathered together the tribes from Fīhr."

Some say that Quṣayy was known as Quraysh. The word meant "gathering together"; *al-taqarrush* meant *al-tajammu'* or "joining together", as Abū Khaldā al-Yashkurī said: "Brothers who gathered (*qarrashu*) upon us faults, in our recent era and also ancient . . ."

It is also said that Quraysh were so named from *al-taqarrush*, a word meaning business and trading. This was related by Ibn Hishām, God have mercy on him.

Al-Jawharī said, "*al-qarsh* means 'earning' and 'accumulating' and the verbal form is *qarasha* in the past tense, *yaqrushu* in the present tense." Al-Farrā' stated that it was from this word that Quraysh was named, they being a tribe and their

originator al-Naḍr b. Kināna. All his descendants are Qurayshite back as far as Kināna's son, but not before him.

Some say the word stems from the idea of *al-taftish*, i.e. "search". Hishām b. al-Kalbī stated that al-Naḍr b. Kināna was named "Quraysh" because he would "*yaqrish*" for what people lacked or needed, providing that with his own wealth. *Al-taqrish* means *al-taftish* and his sons would *yaqrishunā*, i.e. "search out" pilgrims in need and donate to them what they needed to return home. And so they were named "Quraysh" because of their engaging in this *qarsh*.

Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza made a verse to the effect that *al-taḡarrush* meant *al-taftish*:

"O you who speaks and 'searches' (*al-muḡarrish*) for us with 'Amr, is he allowed to live?"

It was al-Zubayr b. Bakkār who related that verse.

Quraysh was also said to be a diminutive form of *qarsh*, a sea animal. A poet once said:

"*Quraysh* are those that inhabit the sea; for them the Quraysh were named 'Quraysh'."

Al-Bayhaqī said that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda informed him that Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Mālīnī, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Khalīl al-Nisawī, related that Abū Kurayb told them from Waqī' b. al-Jarrāh, on the authority of Hishām b. 'Urwa on the authority of his father from Abū Rakāna al-'Āmirī that Mu'āwiya asked Ibn 'Abbās, "Why were Quraysh so named?" He replied, "After a sea creature, the biggest of all, that is called *al-qarsh*. It never passes by anything, lean or fat, without eating it." "So recite me some verse about that," Mu'āwiya asked, and Ibn 'Abbās spoke the verses of al-Jumaḥī as follows:

"Quraysh are those that inhabit the sea; for them the Quraysh were named Quraysh,
They eat all, lean or fat, not leaving a feather of any two-winged thing.
Thus in the land the tribe of Quraysh eats up the land ravenously.

Theirs is at the end of time a prophet; among them will be plenty of wounded and dead."

It is also said they were named after Quraysh b. al-Ḥārith b. Yakhlud b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna. He was the guide and the storeskeeper of Banū al-Naḍr. The Arabs would say, "The caravan of Quraysh" has come, instead of the "caravan of Banū al-Naḍr". They also say that it was his son Badr b. Quraysh who dug the well attributed to him where the great battle occurred on the day of al-Furqān ("proof", i.e. the battle of Badr) when the two armies met. God knows best.

The relative adjective derived from Quraysh is *qurashī* or *qurayshī*. Al-Jawhari said, "And the latter is the standard."

A poet spoke the verse,

"Every Qurayshite (*qurayshī*) who is honourable, quick to fill demands for generosity and honour."²⁸

Muslim related in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a tradition of Abū 'Amr and al-Awza'ī that Shaddād Abū 'Ammār related to him that Wāthila b. al-Asqa' told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God chose Kināna from among the sons of Ishmael, Quraysh from Kināna, Hāshim from Quraysh and myself from the descendants of Hāshim."

Abū 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Barr said, "Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib are known as the *faṣīla*, the family, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Banū Hāshim was his *fakhdh*, his tribal subsection; Banū 'Abd Manāf was his *baṭn*, his tribal subdivision; Quraysh was his *imāra*, his mini-tribe; Banū Kināna was his *qabila*, his tribal confederation; and Muḍar was his *sha'b*, his people. May God's blessings and peace be upon him always till the Day of Judgement."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Al-Naḍar b. Kināna gave birth to Mālik and Yakhluḍ." To these Ibn Hishām added "al-Ṣalt". The mother of them all was the daughter of Sa'd b. al-Zarīb al-'Adwānī.

Kuthayyir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who is Kuthayyir 'Azza, one of the Banū Mulayḥ b. 'Amr of Khuzā'a, spoke the verses:

"Is my father not al-Ṣalt, my brothers not the finest among the noblemen of Banū al-Naḍr?

You see on us as on them the same kerchiefs of mixed weave and the same Ḥaḍramī waist-wrappers

So if you are not of Banū al-Naḍr, then leave the green thorn trees at the ends of the high valleys."

Ibn Hishām said that Banū Mulayḥ b. 'Amr were descendants of al-Ṣalt b. al-Naḍr.

According to Ibn Ishāq, Mālik b. al-Naḍr fathered Fihir b. Mālik, his mother being Jandala, daughter of al-Hārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Aṣghar. Fihir fathered Ghālīb, Muḥārīb, al-Hārith, and Asad, their mother being Laylā, daughter of Sa'd b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika. Ibn Hishām stated that they had a sister from their father named Jandala, daughter of Fihir.

According to Ibn Ishāq, Ghālīb b. Fihir had sons named Lu'ayy b. Ghālīb and Taym b. Ghālīb who were known as the Banū al-Adram. Their mother was Salmā, daughter of 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī.

Ibn Hishām states there was another son, Qays b. Ghālīb, whose mother was Salmā, daughter of Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī and that she was the mother of Lu'ayy and Taym.

28. Several lines of abstruse poetry illustrating Arabic grammatical concepts have been omitted from the English translation.

According to Ibn Ishāq, Lu'ayy b. Ghālib had four sons: Ka'b, 'Āmir, Sāma, and 'Awf.

Ibn Hishām said he was also reputed to have had another son, al-Hārith, and that they made up the Jusham b. al-Hārith among Hizzān of Rabi'a. And another son was Sa'd b. Lu'ayy who came to be the *bunāna* among Shaybān b. Tha'laba. *Bunāna* was a nursemaid for them. There was also Khuzayma b. Lu'ayy who formed the 'Ā'idha among Shaybān b. Tha'laba.

Then Ibn Ishāq gives the story of Sāma b. Lu'ayy and how he went to 'Umān and lived there. That was due to a quarrel between himself and his brother 'Āmir. 'Āmir made him afraid and so he fled to 'Umān, dying there as a stranger. What happened was that while he was grazing his camel a snake bit its lip making it fall on its side. Then the snake bit and killed Sāma. It is said that he wrote these verses with his finger on the ground:

"Eyes, weep for Sāma b. Lu'ayy, the snake has clung to Sāma.
None such as Sāma b. Lu'ayy have I seen, found a dead victim of a camel.
Send a messenger to 'Āmir and Ka'b that my soul yearns for them.
Though my home is in 'Umān I am a Ghālibī who emigrated but not from poverty.
Perhaps the glass you have poured, Ibn Lu'ayy, fearing death, has not really been poured.
You aimed to repel death, O Ibn Lu'ayy, but no one so intending has power over death,
And many a silent, plodding camel you've left prostrate after long, intense exercise."

And Ibn Hishām said that he heard that a son of Sāma went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and introduced himself as descended from Sāma b. Lu'ayy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "The poet?" One of his Companions then said, "O Messenger of God, you seem to be referring to his line of verse,

'Perhaps the glass you've poured, Ibn Lu'ayy, fearing death, has not really been poured.'

And he answered, "Yes indeed."

Al-Suhaylī recorded from others that Sāma had no children. Al-Zubayr said, "Sāma b. Lu'ayy had Ghālib, al-Nābit, and al-Hārith." Others maintained that he had descendants in Iraq who hated 'Alī. Among them was 'Alī b. al-Ja'ad, who used to revile his father for having named him 'Alī. Among the descendants of Sāma b. Lu'ayy was Muḥammad b. 'Ar'ara b. al-Yazīd, who was the sheikh of al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Ishāq said, "They claim that 'Awf b. Lu'ayy travelled with a caravan from Quraysh and to the territory of Ghatafān b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Aylān. There he was delayed so the rest of his people left him behind and went off. Then Tha'laba b.

Saʿd, he being his brother by the genealogy of Banū Dhubyān, came along, detained him, arranged his marriage, and treated him like an intimate and a brother. His relationship became widely known among Banū Dhubyān.

They say it was Thaʿlaba who said to ʿAwf the following verse when he was delayed and left behind:

“O Ibn Luʿayy, tether your camel with me; your people have left you and you ought not to be left.”

Ibn Ishāq continued to indicate that either Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, or Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn told him that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had said, “If I were to claim an attachment to any Arab tribe or that they had a relationship to us, it would be to Banū Murra b. ʿAwf. We know kindred men among them and also how they treated that man.” By this he meant ʿAwf b. Luʿayy.

He went on to relate that a man he did not distrust had told him that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to some men of Banū Murra: “If you want to trace back your genealogy to your kinfolk, then trace it to ʿAwf.”

Ibn Ishāq added that these people were nobles of Ghatafān, their leaders and élite, with good reputation locally and in all of Ghatafān and Qays, and that they did maintain their own genealogy. If their ancestry were referred to by others, they would say, “We neither deny nor disown it. That is the ancestry we prefer.” Then they would recite their verses recalling their relationship to Luʿayy.

Ibn Ishāq said that they practised the system of *basl*. This entailed the practice among the Arabs of considering eight months of their year as sacrosanct. The Arabs would recognize that and allow them safe-conduct in those months and they would allow them the same. Rabīʿa and Muḍar, however, to my knowledge only considered four months a year as sacred, these being Dhū al-Qaʿda, Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram; and concerning the fourth, Rajab, they differed. Muḍar considered that it fell between Jumādā and Shaʿbān, while Rabīʿa maintained it came between Shaʿbān and Shawwāl.

It has been established in both of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, on the authority of Abū Bakrah, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated in his *khuṭbat al-wadāʿ*, farewell address, “Time has revolved in its own fashion since the day God created the heavens and the earth, the year consisting of twelve months, four of which are sacred. Three of these are contiguous: Dhū al-Qaʿda, Dhū al-Ḥijja, and al-Muḥarram, and there is also Muḍar’s month of Rajab which comes between Jumādā and Shaʿbān.” Thus by saying this he expressed preference for the view of Muḍar and not for that of Rabīʿa.

God the Almighty and Glorious stated in the Qurʾān, “With God the months number twelve, so ordained by God, (since) the day he created the heavens and the earth; of these four are sacred” (*sūrat al-Tawba*, IX, v.36).

This constitutes a reply to Banū 'Awf b. Lu'ayy for their considering the sacred months eight in number. In so doing they added to God's decree, introducing therein something which was not part thereof.

His statement in the *ḥadīth* that "three are contiguous [months]" is a disapproval of the attitude of the *al-nasī'* people who delayed the sacred month, making it Ṣafar, rather than al-Muḥarram. Also, the phrase therein "Muḍar's month of Rajab" is a refutation of Rabi'a's view.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Ka'b b. Lu'ayy had three sons, Murra, 'Adi and Huṣayṣ. Murra also had three, named Kilāb, Taym and Yaḡaza, from three mothers.

Kilāb gave birth to two sons, Quṣayy and Zuhra; the mother of both was Faṭīma, daughter of Sa'd b. Sayal, one of the al-Jadara of Ju'thumat al-Asad from the Yemen, who were allies of Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna. Of her father a poet spoke the verse:

"We have never seen any person, of all the people we have known, like Sa'd b. Sayal

A knight who combats with both his right hand and left; if his foe stood down from battle he would dismount

A knight luring horsemen to destruction like a kestrel with partridges."

According to al-Suhayli, Sayal's full name was Khayr b. Jamāla and he was the first person who had swords plated with gold and silver.

Ibn Ishāq stated that they were known as the "al-Jadara" because 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Khuzayma b. Ju'thuma had married the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍaḍ the Jurhumite. The Jurhum were at that time guardians of the House of God and built a *jidār*, a wall, around the *ka'ba*; 'Āmir was therefore named al-Jādir and his descendants al-Jadara.

An Account of Quṣayy b. Kilāb and of his part in regaining guardianship over the ka'ba for Quraysh by taking it from Khuzā'a. How Quraysh gathered together at the holy place which God secured for the worshippers, after having lived scattered and fragmented in the mountains and hollows.

What happened was that when his father died, Quṣayy's mother was married to Rabi'a b. Ḥarām of 'Udhra and he took her and her son to his own country. Later, when he grew up, Quṣayy came to Mecca and married Ḥubbā, daughter of the chief of Khuzā'a, Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya.

Regarding Khuzā'a, they say that Ḥulayl entrusted guardianship over the holy House to Quṣayy because of the large family Quṣayy had with his daughter. Ḥulayl told him, "You have more right to it than I do."

Ibn Ishāq stated that this account was heard only from Khuzā'a. He said that others claim that he sought the assistance of his maternal brothers, their leader being Rizāh b. Rabi'a, and of the tribes of Kināna and Qudā'a and of some men in the Mecca region from Quraysh and others. And so he ousted them (Khuzā'a) from the House of God and he himself assumed control over it.

This all occurred because the prerogative of the pilgrims' *ijāza*²⁹ was held by the Sūfa. They were the tribe of al-Ghawth b. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭabikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. People did not throw their stones (Jimār) until they (the Sūfa) had done so, nor did they leave Minā before the Sūfa did; these prerogatives remained theirs until they died out.

Then Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm inherited these rights from them by kinship. The first of them was Ṣafwān b. al-Ḥārith b. Shijna b. Uṭarid b. 'Awf b. Ka'b. b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. This power resided in his people until the rise of Islam in the time of the last of them, who was Karib b. Ṣafwān.

The *ijāza*, the descent from al-Muzdalifa,³⁰ was the prerogative of 'Adwān until the coming of Islam in the time of the last of them, who was Abū Sayyāra 'Amīla b. al-A'zal. His name was said to have been al-'Āṣ, while al-A'zal's name was Khālīd. He used to give people the permission while seated on a one-eyed ass he had, for 40 years moving forth on it at that station. He was the first person to establish the bloodwit at 100 camels, as well as the first to say the phrase, "Mt. Thabir shines so that we may ride forth."

That is what al-Suhaylī related.

And there was 'Āmir b. al-Zarīb al-'Adwānī. In the case of all conflicts arising among the Arabs, they would come to him for adjudication and accept whatever he decided. On one occasion they asked him to resolve the matter of inheritance to a hermaphrodite. He lay awake all night reflecting on how to adjudicate this and when a slave-girl of his, Sukhayla by name, who used to pasture his sheep, saw him thus, she enquired of him, "What is wrong with you, poor thing, that you spend the night awake?" So he told her, in case she might be of help. And she replied, "Judge by where from urination comes." He commented, "Sukhayla, you've shown the way well, by God." And that was how he did decide.

Al-Suhaylī pointed out that reaching a decision by such logic constituted use of *al-istidlāl bi al-amārāt wa al-'alāmāt*, "inference from signs and indications", a method with a basis in the law. God stated in the Qur'ān: "And they brought his shirt with false blood upon it" (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.18) since it bore no signs of a wolf's fangs. God also stated, "If his shirt has been torn from the front, she has

29. The giving of permission to the pilgrims to descend from Mt. 'Arafāt.

30. A station midway between Minā and 'Arafāt where pilgrims spend the night of 9th Dhū al-Ḥijja on their return journey from 'Arafāt.

told the truth and he is a liar, whereas if the shirt has been torn from behind, then she lied and he is truthful" (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.26–7). And in the *ḥadīth*, there are the words, "Wait for her; if she delivers it (the baby) as comely, light-brown, and with curly locks, then indeed it is (the child) of him whom she was accused of being with."

Ibn Ishāq went on to state that *al-nasb*, the postponement of sacred months, was decided by the time of Fuḡaym b. 'Adī b. 'Āmir b. Tha'labā b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḏar. He reported that the first of the Arabs to intercalate the months was al-Qalammas, who was Ḥudhayfa b. 'Abd b. Fuḡaym b. 'Adī. After him came his son 'Abbād, and then Qala' b. 'Abbād, followed by Umayya b. Qala' and 'Awf b. Umayya. The last of them was Abū Thumāma Junāda b. 'Awf b. Qala' b. 'Abbād b. Ḥudhayfa, the last named being al-Qalammas. Islam arose during Abū Thumāma's time.

When the Arabs had completed the pilgrimage they would gather around him and he would address them, specifying which months were sacred. If he wanted to establish a free period, he would declare al-Muḥarram free and substitute Ṣafar for it to accord with the number of months God had made sacred. He would state, "O God, I have made free the first of the al-Ṣafar months, and postponed the others till next year." And the Arabs would follow him in that. On this matter the following verses were spoken by 'Umayr b. Qays, one of Banū Fīrās b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kināna; 'Umayr was also known as Jadhīl al-Ṭī'ān:

"Ma'ad have learned that my people are noble, that they have noble forebears.

Which people have escaped our retribution and which have we not bridled?

Are we not those who intercalate for Ma'ad, deciding which free months shall be made sacred?"

Quṣayy was lord and master over his people, obeyed and revered. Eventually he gathered Quraysh together from their various locations in the Arabian peninsula and gained the help of the Arab tribes that obeyed him in making war on Khuzā'a, in removing them from the House of God, and in handing over its guardianship to himself. They engaged in many battles with much bloodshed and then agreed upon arbitration. They appointed as arbitrator Ya'mur b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. 'Āmir b. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna who decreed that Quṣayy was more fit for guardianship over the House than Khuzā'a was. He ruled that all losses inflicted on Quṣayy by Khuzā'a and Banū Bakr were an issue that should be "crushed underfoot", and that what losses Khuzā'a and Banū Bakr had received from Quraysh, Kināna, and Qudā'a should be compensated by bloodwit payment. His decision meant that Quṣayy should be given free access to Mecca and the *ka'ba*. Thereat Ya'mur was nicknamed *al-Shadhdhākḥ*, "the crusher".

Ibn Ishāq further related that Quṣayy thus gained guardianship over the House and control over Mecca. He brought together to Mecca his people from their dwellings and acted as king over them and over all the Meccans as well; and they treated him as king. However, he confirmed the Arabs in their prior practices, considering that to be a duty incumbent upon himself that he ought not change. He thus confirmed Ṣafwān, ‘Adwān, *al-nasa’a*, “the intercalators”, and Murra b. ‘Awf in their previous practices, until Islam came and God destroyed all of that.

Quṣayy was the first of Banū Kaʿb who took the kingship and was obeyed as such by his people. He had rights of the *ḥijāba*, the *saqāya*, the *rifāda*, the *nadwa*, and the *liwāʾ*.³¹ Thus he controlled all of Mecca’s honours. He divided up Mecca among his people into quarters and he settled each family of Quraysh into their dwellings there.

And so I say, that thus right was done to those worthy of it, justice returning after having left. Quraysh settled in their dwellings, ended the aims and aspirations of Khuḏāʿa, and regained their ancient and venerable house. Nevertheless, they kept what Khuḏāʿa had instituted, including the worship of idols, setting them up around the *kaʿba*, making sacrifice to them, praying near them, and beseeching help and fortune from them.

Quṣayy settled the Quraysh tribes in the plains and also in the heights of Mecca and they were henceforth known respectively as the “plains Quraysh” and the “highland Quraysh”.

Quṣayy b. Kilāb enjoyed total authority, including being guardian and keeper of the *kaʿba* and the awarder of battle banners. He also constructed a building to prevent violence and resolve disputes; this he named the *dār al-nadwa*, the assembly house. When a conflict became serious the chiefs of each of the tribes would meet, take counsel there, and decide the issue. All contracts and marriage agreements would be made there. And that was also the only place where a girl would first wear the *daraʿ*, the sleeved chemise, when she reached the age to do so.

The door to this building was facing the *masjid al-ḥarām*, the holy mosque. Later it became owned by Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, after belonging to Banū ‘Abd al-Dār. He sold it, during the reign of Muʿawiya, for 100,000 dirhams. Muʿawiya criticized him for having done so, saying, “You’ve sold your people’s honour for 100,000.”

But Ḥakīm replied, “But today nobility is measured by one’s piety. I bought it, by God, before Islam for a skinful of wine and now here I’ve sold it for 100,000. And I swear that the money will go to charity in God’s cause, so which of us had been cheated?” This was related by al-Dārquṭnī in the *Asmāʾ Rijāl al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* (*Identities of the Men in the Muwaṭṭaʾ*) (of Mālik b. Anas).

31. These terms refer, respectively, to the guardianship of the temple, the provision of water for the pilgrims, the provision of food for them, the presiding over their assemblies, and the issuance of the banners carried by them.

He had the prerogative of providing drink for the pilgrims; they drank only from his cisterns. At that time, in Mecca the holy well, *zamzam*, was obliterated, as it had been since the time of Jurhum. People had forgotten about it because of its great antiquity and they could not locate its whereabouts. According to al-Wāqidī, Quṣayy was the first person to institute lighting a fire at al-Muzdalifa to guide people coming there from 'Arafāt.

The word *al-rifāda* means providing food for the pilgrims during the pilgrimage season until they leave to return to their own countries.

Ibn Ishāq went on to relate that Quṣayy had imposed this *rifāda* on his people, having said, "O People of Quraysh, you are God's neighbours and the inhabitants of Mecca and of the holy places. The pilgrims are God's guests and visitors to His House. They have full right to hospitality. So provide food and drink for them during the pilgrimage days, until they depart from you." And so they did. Each year they would set aside a portion of their wealth as a tribute they would pay him. He would use it to provide food for the people during the days they were at Minā. This practice was followed at his command during *al-jāhiliyya*, the pre-Islamic period, and it has passed on thereafter up to the present. It is the food the sultan provides for people at Minā each year until the pilgrimage ends.

My own comment is to add that this practice ended after the time of Ibn Ishāq. It was then ordered that a portion of the *bayt al-māl*, the general treasury, be spent to transport food and drink for wayfarers arriving for the pilgrimage. This was a good policy for reasons too many to mention. But duty dictates that this expense should come directly from the treasury as a priority; most appropriately, it should come from the masses of the *dhimma*, the protected non-Muslims, since they do not make pilgrimage to the ancient House. It is stated in the *ḥadīth* sayings, "Regarding him who is able to make the pilgrimage but does not do so, let him die, if he wishes, a Jew or a Christian."

One of their poets said in praise of Quṣayy and his honour among his people.

"Quṣayy was known, I swear it, as the 'gatherer'; through him God gathered together the tribes of Fīhr.

They filled the plain with glory and power and drove from us the satanic Banū Bakr."

Ibn Ishāq related that when Quṣayy had finished his war, his brother Rizāḥ b. Rabī'a left for his own country accompanied by his three paternal brothers, who were Ḥunn, Maḥmūd, and Julhuma by name. And Rizāḥ spoke the following verses in responding to Quṣayy:

"When an envoy came from Quṣayy saying, 'Respond to your friend',
We arose to him leading our fine horses, leaving aside the slow and overweight.
We travelled with them by night till dawn, sheltering by day to survive.

They were speedy as sand-grouse to the water, as we answered Quṣayy's messenger.
We gathered men from al-Sirr³² and the two Ashmadhs,³³ collecting tribesmen from each village.

What a band of horse that night, over a thousand, running free and fast,
When they passed by 'Asjar and took the quick route from Mustanākh,
Skirting the edge of Wariqān and passing by al-'Arj and a tribe encamped,
Overstepping the pasture, not tasting it, racing on, night-long, from Marr,
Keeping the colts near their dams to minimize their neighing.
When reaching Mecca, we destroyed the men tribe after tribe,
Switching them with our sword-blades, rendering them witless from all sides
Crushing them beneath our horses' hooves, as does the strong and mighty to the lowly.

We killed Khuzā'a in their own home, and Bakr group by group.

We banished them from the Sovereign's land, so that they would never settle good land again,

We captured them in irons and quenched our vengeance thirst from all their tribes."

According to Ibn Ishāq, when Rizāḥ returned home, God gave him increase. He also gave Hunn increase; they constitute the two tribes of 'Udhra to this day.

Again according to Ibn Ishāq, Quṣayy b. Kilāb said in that regard,

"I am the son of Banū Lu'ayy, the defenders; my home is in Mecca, there was I raised,

And on to the plains, as Ma'ad learned; with its lush pastures I was really content.

I would not have conquered it, had the sons of Qaydhar and al-Nābit not settled there.

Rizāḥ was my supporter and by him I came supreme; I fear no evil for as long as I shall live."

According to al-Umawī, citing al-Ashram from Abū 'Ubayda, from Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ, Rizāḥ only arrived after Quṣayy had expelled Khuzā'a. God knows best.

Section.

When Quṣayy grew old he entrusted all the prerogatives he had enjoyed – leadership of Quraysh and its honour of governing the provision of food and drink for the pilgrims, guardianship of the House, the issuance of banners, and the summoning of assemblies – to his son 'Abd al-Dār, who was his oldest.

He only entrusted him with all these prerogatives because the rest of his brothers, 'Abd Manāf, 'Abd Shams, and 'Abd had become noblemen during

32. A valley.

33. Two mountains between Medina and the town of Khaybar.

their father's rule and had attained great power and prestige. Thus Quṣayy wished for 'Abd al-Dār to be equal to them in prestige and so gave him alone these powers. 'Abd al-Dār's brothers did not dispute his action. But when they all had passed away their sons came into conflict about this and said, "Quṣayy only entrusted 'Abd al-Dār with all that to equalize him with his brothers; we are entitled to what our fathers were due."

'Abd al-Dār's family replied, "This is a matter that Quṣayy decided in our favour, and we have the greater right."

And so a great dispute arose among them; and Quraysh split into two factions, one giving allegiance and alliance to the family of 'Abd al-Dār, the other to the family of 'Abd Manāf with whom they made a formal pact. Upon making the oath they placed their hands into a deep dish containing perfume. Then they went and wiped their hands on the corners of the *ka'ba*. This was thereafter known as the "Treaty of the Perfumed".

On the 'Abd Manāf side there were the Quraysh tribes of Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-Uzza b. Quṣayy, Banū Zuhra, Banū Taym, and Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihir. On the side of 'Abd al-Dār's descendants were Banū Makhzūm, Banū Sahm, Banū Jumāh, and Banū 'Adī. The tribes of Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy and Muḥārīb b. Fihir remained separate from the rest, not allying with either side.

Ultimately they made peace, agreeing that the prerogatives of feeding and watering the pilgrims should be held by Banū 'Abd Manāf, while those of guardianship of the *ka'ba*, issuance of banners, and calling of assemblies were to be held by Banū 'Abd al-Dār. This arrangement became firm and permanent.

Al-Umawī related from al-Ashram, on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda that a number of the Khuzā'a claim that after Quṣayy had married Ḥubbā daughter of Ḥulayl, he (Ḥulayl) found the guardianship of the *ka'ba* onerous and passed it on to his daughter Ḥubbā, appointing Abū Ghubshān Salim b. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy b. Malkān b. Quṣayy b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir as her trustee for it. Quṣayy purchased the guardianship of the *ka'ba* from him for a skin of wine and a young riding camel. And so there arose the saying, "A worse deal than that of Abū Ghubshān!" When Khuzā'a saw this happen they attacked Quṣayy, who called for assistance from his brother; when he and his men arrived the issue was resolved as reported above. Ultimately Quṣayy passed on the prerogatives of protection and guardianship of the House, issuance of banners, calling of assemblies, and feeding and watering the pilgrims to his son 'Abd al-Dār, as will be related in detail. The *ijāza*, giving permission to leave Muzdalifa, was established as a right of Banū 'Adwān, the *nasī*, the right of calendar intercalation, went to Fuqaym, while the Ṣūfa enjoyed that of *ijāza*, that is, of the *nafr*, the giving of the signal to leave Minā. All this information on the prerogatives of these people has been detailed above.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Quṣayy had four sons and two daughters, the sons being ‘Abd Manāf, ‘Abd al-Dār, ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, and ‘Abd, the daughters Takhmur and Barra. The mother of all these was Ḥubbā, daughter of Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Salūl b. Ka‘b b. ‘Amr, al-Khuzā‘i. It was from Ḥulayl that Quṣayy b. Kilāb took control over the Sacred House.

According to Ibn Hishām, ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy had four sons, Hāshim, ‘Abd Shams, and al-Muṭṭalib, their mother being ‘Ātika daughter of Murra b. Hilāl. Another son of his was Nawfal b. ‘Abd Manāf, his mother being Wāqida, daughter of ‘Amr al-Māziniyya.

Ibn Hishām stated as well that ‘Abd Manāf also fathered Abū ‘Amr, Tumāḍir, Qulāba, Ḥayya, Rayṭa, Umm al-Aktham, and Umm Sufyān.

Also according to Ibn Hishām, Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf had four (*sic*) sons and five daughters. The sons were named ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Asad, and Abū Sayfī; the daughters were Naḍla, al-Shaffā’, Khālida, Da‘ifa, Ruqayya, and Ḥayya. The mother of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Ruqayya was Salmā, daughter of ‘Amr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. ‘Āmir b. Ghanm b. ‘Adi b. al-Najjār from Medina. Ibn Hishām also gave the names of the mothers of the remaining children.

He stated that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had ten sons and six daughters. The sons were al-‘Abbās, Ḥamza, ‘Abd Allāh, Abū Ṭālib (whose name was ‘Abd Manāf and not ‘Umrān), al-Zubayr, al-Ḥārith, who was the first-born of his father who was therefore accorded his name, Jahl (whom some name as Ḥajl), who was nicknamed *al-Ghaydaq*, “the liberal”, for his generosity, al-Muqawwim, Ḍirār, and Abū Lahab (whose name was ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā). His daughters’ names were Ṣafiyya, Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā’, ‘Ātika, Umayma, ‘Arwā, and Barra. And Ibn Hishām also gave the names of their mothers. He stated that the mother of ‘Abd Allāh, Abū Ṭālib, al-Zubayr and all the girls except Ṣafiyya was Fāṭima, daughter of ‘Amr b. ‘Ā’idh b. ‘Umrān b. Makhzūm b. Yaḳza b. Murra b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy b. Ghālīb b. Fihir b. Mālīk b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma‘ad b. ‘Adnān.

He said further that ‘Abd Allāh fathered Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the lord of all Adam’s children. His mother was Āmina daughter of Wabb b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy. He then gave mention of all her maternal forebears.

Ibn Hishām concluded that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was the most noble of Adam’s children in worthiness and descent from both his father and his mother.

Previously recounted is the following statement of al-Awzā‘i on the authority of Shaddād Abū ‘Ammār from Wāthila b. al-Asqa‘: “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘God chose Kināna from Ishmael’s progeny and Quraysh from Kināna, Hāshim from Quraysh, and myself from Hāshim.’” Muslim recounted this tradition.

There will follow hereafter an account of the noble birth of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and of the events and circumstances surrounding it. And in recounting his honoured ancestry there will be other useful information not here given, if God Almighty so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.

An Account of a variety of events that occurred in the jāhiliyya.

It has already been recounted how Jurhum assumed control over the House from Banū Ismā'īl out of envy for them because they were the children of their daughters. And similarly how it was that Khuẓā'a fell upon Jurhum and took over the House from them, and how ultimately its guardianship fell to Quṣayy and his sons, continuing in their hands until God sent his Messenger (ṢAAS) and how those prerogatives became established as they were.

Section: Information about a group of men famous in the jāhiliyya.

An Account of Khālīd b. Sinān the 'Absite who lived in the inter-prophet period and who some allege was a prophet.

But God knows best.

The ḥafīẓ Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī stated that Aḥmad b. Zuhayr al-Tasaturrī related, quoting Yahyā b. al-Mu'allā b. Maṣṣūr al-Rāzī, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt, quoting Qays b. al-Rabī', from Sālim al-Aḥṣas, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, and from Ibn 'Abbās as follows, "The daughter of Khālīd b. Sinān came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he smoothed out his robe for her (to sit on), saying, 'Here's the daughter of a prophet whose people squandered him.'"

The ḥafīẓ Abū Bakr al-Bazzār reported it from Yahyā b. al-Mu'allī b. Maṣṣūr, from Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt, from Qays, from Sālim, from Sa'īd, from Ibn 'Abbās, as follows, "Someone made reference to Khālīd b. Sinān in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who commented, 'That was a prophet whose people squandered him.'"

Al-Bazzār then said, "And we have no direct reference of this ḥadīth to the Prophet other than in this form. Qays b. al-Rabī' was highly respected, though he was not regarded as having been a good memorizer. He had a son who would add extraneous material into the traditions he related. But God knows best." Al-Bazzār stated, "This ḥadīth was also related by al-Thawrī from Sālim al-Aḥṣas, transmitted forward indirectly from Sa'īd b. Jubayr."

The ḥafīẓ Abū Ya'qūb al-Mawṣilī stated that al-Mu'allā b. Maḥdī al-Mawṣilī related to him, as did Abū 'Awāna, from Abū Yūnis, from 'Akrama and down to Ibn 'Abbās, that a man from 'Abs called Khālīd b. Sinān said to his people, "I

shall put out from you the fire of al-Ḥarratayn!" But one of his people responded, "O Khālīd, you have only ever told us the truth; what have you to do with the fire of al-Ḥarratayn you claim you will extinguish?"

So Khālīd went forth accompanied by some of his people, including 'Umāra b. Ziyād, until they reached where the fire emerged from a fissure in the mountain. Khālīd then drew a line at which he made them sit, saying, "If I am delayed, do not call for me by my name." As the fire spurted out, it looked like sorrel-red horses following one another. Khālīd approached it and began beating it with his stick saying, "Badā, badā, badā kullu hudā; the son of the goatherdswoman claimed I won't come out from it bearing my clothes in my hand." Then he went inside the fissure with the fire. When he had been gone a long time, 'Umāra b. Ziyād said to Khālīd's people, "By God, if he were alive he would have come out to you by now!" Some said, "Call out to him by name."

The account continued, indicating that others replied, "He forbade us to call him by his name." But some did so and he emerged carrying his head, complaining, "Didn't I forbid you to call me by name? By God, you've killed me, so bury me! And if some donkeys pass, one of which is bobtailed, then exhume me and you'll find me alive."

They did bury him and some donkeys did pass by, one of them being bobtailed. So some wanted to exhume him as he had told them to do but 'Umāra argued, "No don't exhume him. By God, Muḍar won't go around saying that we dig up our dead!" Khālīd had also told them, "In my wife's possession there are two tablets into which you must look if you should have difficulties; if you do so you will find a response to your questions. But do not let a menstruating woman touch them." They therefore went to his wife and asked her about these tablets and she brought them out. However, she was in menstruation, and so whatever knowledge was in them had gone.

Abū Yūnus stated that Sammāk b. Ḥarb responded that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was asked about Khālīd and he replied, "That was a prophet whose people squandered him."

Abū Yūnus also reported that Sammāk b. Ḥarb said that the son of Khālīd b. Sinān came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) who told him, "Welcome to my brother's son!" This comment is traced back to Ibn 'Abbās who makes no reference to his being a prophet. The accounts that do so cannot use this comment as a proof that he was a prophet. What is most probable is that he was a pious man with certain qualities and gifts. This is because if he had indeed lived in the inter-prophet period, it was firmly established as incontrovertible in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "The closest of men to Jesus son of Mary is myself, for there came no prophet between him and me." And if Khālīd had lived earlier, he could not have been a prophet,

because God Almighty stated, "that you may warn a people to whom no warner had come before you" (*sūrat al-Sajda*, XXXII, v.3).

A number of scholars have stated that God Almighty sent no prophet to the Arabs after Ishmael except Muḥammad (ṢAAS), the Seal of the Prophets mentioned by Abraham, God's true follower, who built the venerated *ka'ba* which God made the direction of prayer as a law for all the earth's people; and the other prophets announced to their peoples his coming, right on up to the last of them to do so, namely Jesus son of Mary, upon whom be peace.

And in this same way may be refuted the reports of al-Suhaylī and others concerning the dispatch to the Arabs of another prophet named Shu'ayb b. Dhī Muhdhim b. Shu'ayb b. Ṣafwān, lord of Madyan. Also the story that Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān was sent to the Arabs and that since both he and Shu'ayb had been disowned, God imposed Bukhtunaṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) over the Arabs who suffered from him killing and captivity similar to those endured by the Israelites; all this occurred in the time of Ma'ad b. 'Adnān.

What is evident is that these people were all good men advocating righteousness. But God knows best. We have previously given mention of 'Amr b. Luḥayy b. Qam'a b. Khindif in the account of Khuza'a following Jurhum.

An Account of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'i, a good and generous man of the jāhiliyya period.

He was Ḥātim b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥashraj b. Imru' al-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aḥzam b. Abū Aḥzam, the name of the last being Harūma b. Rabī'a b. Jarwal b. Tha'ī b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyī' Abū Saffāna al-Ṭā'i. Ḥātim was the father of 'Adī b. Ḥātim *al-ṣahābi*, "the Companion of the Prophet". He was a generous man much praised in the *jāhiliyya* period, as was his son after the coming of Islam.

Ḥātim was a man of such distinction and generosity that many extraordinary events and strange accounts are associated with him. However, by these deeds he did not seek the grace of God or the hereafter but was motivated by desire for fame and recognition.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his compilation of traditions that Muḥammad b. Mu'ammār related to him, as did 'Ubayd b. Wāqid the Qaysite, as did Abū Naṣr who was al-Nājī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Dinār, from Ibn 'Umar that Ḥātim was referred to in the presence of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he commented, "That man wanted something, and he attained it."

This is a curious tradition. Al-Dārquṭnī said that 'Ubayd b. Wāqid was unique in transmitting it, on the authority of Abū Naṣr al-Nājī, whose name is said to have been Ḥammād.

According to Ibn 'Asākir, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim made a distinction between Abū Naṣr al-Nāji and Abū Naṣr Ḥammād and that he was not named "al-Nāji". Yet several accounts related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir refer to an "Abū Naṣr Shayba al-Nāji". But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) stated that Yazīd b. Ismā'īl related to him, as did Sufyān, from Sammāk b. Ḥarb, from Marī b. Qaṭarī, from 'Adī b. Ḥatīm who stated that he said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); "My father was very generous to his kinsfolk and very active on their behalf; does he get something for that, some reward?" He responded, "Your father had sought something, and he attained it."

This tradition was similarly reported by Abū Ya'qā, from al-Qawāriri, from Ghandar, from Shu'ba, from Sammāk, in the form: "He responded, 'Your father had wanted something, and he got it.'" By this he meant reputation. Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī related it thus, from 'Alī b. al-Ja'd from Shu'ba.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* tradition compendium it has been established that the three kinds of people by whom the fires of hell are fed include the man who spends his money (on others) so that he will be considered generous. His pay-off is in having that said of him on earth. So, too, is it with the scholar and the warrior. And in another tradition in the *ṣaḥīḥ* it tells how people asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra, saying, "He was hospitable, freed slaves, and gave to charity; did that benefit him?" He responded, "But he never once said, 'O God, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day.'" This man was also one of those who were famous for their generosity, who gave food in years of famine and times of destitution.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-'Umānī, that Abū Sa'id 'Ubayd b. Kathīr b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Kūfī related to him, as did Ḍirār b. Ṣurd, and 'Āsim b. Ḥamid, from Abū Ḥamza al-Thamālī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jandab, from Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakh'ī who said that 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib exclaimed, "Glory be to God! How many a man acts pious for gain! How strange is someone who is approached by his Muslim brother in need yet does not see his way to doing good. For even if he did not hope for reward or fear punishment he ought to make haste in acting with nobility for it is such deeds that lead to success."

A man thereupon arose to ask him, "O Commander of the Believers, I pledge you my father and my mother, did you hear that from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" 'Alī replied, "Yes. And I've a tale even better than that. When Ṭā'ī's women were brought in as captives, one of them was red-haired, cherry-lipped, smooth-skinned, slender-necked, fine-nosed, with a straight figure, raised head, full ankles, plump legs, rounded thighs, slim waist, slender sides and well-shaped body. I was much struck by her when I saw her and said I would request

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to award her to me in my portion of the booty. But when she spoke I forgot her beauty for the eloquence I heard. She said, 'O Muḥammad, will you not release me and spare me the malicious gloating of the Arab tribes, for I am the daughter of the leader of my people. My father was guardian of our sacred objects, he relieved the distressed, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, gave generous hospitality, provided the best of food, spread peace abroad and never refused the request of the needy. I am the daughter of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'O girl, all that truly describes the believers. Had your father been a believer, we would certainly have been merciful to him. Release her, for her father was a man who loved to perform good deeds, and God Almighty loves good deeds.'

"At that Abū Burda b. Niyār arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, does God really love good deeds?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'By him in whose hand is my soul, no one will enter heaven except by good deeds.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā stated that 'Umar b. Bakr related to him, from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭā'ī (his name being al-Qāsim b. 'Adī) from 'Uthmān; from 'Arakī b. Ḥulays al-Ṭā'ī, from his father, from his grandfather (who was the brother of 'Adī b. Ḥātim from his mother's side), that someone said to al-Nawār, wife of Ḥātim, "Tell us about Ḥātim."

She replied, "Everything about him was wonderful. Once we were afflicted with a year of utter desolation when the earth quaked, the skies filled with dust and wet nurses were too drained to suckle their children. The camels had become completely emaciated, their bones showing through, and not producing a drop of milk. And our money was all dried up.

"One interminable, cold night, with the small children writhing from hunger (their names were 'Abd Allāh and 'Adī and Saffāna), he said, 'By God, we don't have anything to pacify them with.' So he arose to one of the boys and lifted him up, while I went over to the girl to pacify her. And, by God, they only quietened down after a good part of the night had elapsed. After that we went to the other boy and rocked him until he became quiet, or almost so.

"Then we spread out a frayed Syrian rug we had and laid out the children on it, with me and him sleeping in the one room with the children in between us. Then he approached me, soothing me so I would sleep. I knew what he wanted, so I pretended to sleep. He asked, 'How are you? Have you fallen asleep?' I said nothing and he commented, 'I see that she has fallen asleep, but I'm not sleepy.'

"When the night became pitch black, the stars having almost disappeared and there was neither sound nor movement astir, the side of our tent was lifted. He called out, 'Who is there?' The person went away. At daybreak, or thereabouts, he again said, 'Who is there?' and a woman replied, 'It is your neighbour

so-and-so, Abū 'Adī; I have no one to turn to but you. I'm coming to you from my children who are moaning like wolves from their hunger. 'Bring them to me quickly,' he told her."

Al-Nawār went on, "I jumped up and exclaimed, 'What are you doing? Lie down! Your children are writhing from hunger and you've no means to soothe them, so what can you do for her and her children?' He responded, 'Be silent; by God, I will satisfy you, if God wills it.'"

She went on, "So in she came, carrying two children and with four others walking at her side, as though she were an ostrich surrounded by her chicks. Then he went over to his horse, thrust his spear in its upper chest and struck his flint and lit a fire. Next he brought a long knife and skinned the horse after which he handed the knife to the woman saying, 'After you.' Then he said, 'Now send your children.' And she did so. Then he said (to al-Nawār) 'You, evil woman, would you eat something before a poor man's children!'

"He then went all round to each one of them until they had all got up and approached the horse. Then he wrapped himself up in his cloak and stretched out to one side watching us. And, by God, he did not taste one bite himself, even though he was the most of all in need. And by next morning there was nothing of the horse left but bones and hooves!"

Al-Dārquṭnī stated that *Qāḍī* (judge) Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Muḥāmīlī related to him, as did 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Sa'd, as did 'Uthaym b. Thawāba b. Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī from his father, from his grandfather, that Ḥātim's wife said to Ḥātim, "O Abū Saffāna, I desire that you and I eat alone together, with no one else there." So he gave her instructions, and she moved her tent a *parasang*, a couple of miles, away from the rest. He ordered food and it was prepared, and the tent curtains were let down for him and for her. When the food was cooked, he took off his head-covering, then spoke these verses,

"Do not you cook my pot with your curtains hiding it; for me, then, what you cook is forbidden.

But at that hill light the fire with heavy wood if you do light it, not with quick kindling wood."

The narrator continued, "Then he drew aside the curtains, brought out the food and invited in the people. He and they then ate. She told him, 'You haven't fulfilled what you said.' And he responded, 'I couldn't bring myself to do it. My spirit was too noble to bring blame on me for this, when before I have always been generous.' He then spoke the following:

'I oppose the miser's spirit till I overcome it and leave alone that of the generous man, not battling it.

My neighbour woman has no complaint of me except that I do not visit her when her husband is away.

My goodness shall attain her, and her husband will return to her, while her veils have not fallen short for her.”

Ḥātim's verse includes the following:

“If I spent the night drinking and drinking in order to get drunk, may I never quench my thirst!

If I spent the night deceiving my neighbour to cheat with his wife, hiding by the dark, may I never be unseen!

Would I disgrace my neighbour woman and betray my neighbour?

By God, that I'll never do so long as I live.”

And also:

“It never harmed my neighbour next to whom I live that his door had no curtain;

I look down when my neighbour's wife appears, until the women's quarters hide her again.”

He also recited:

“It's not of my nature to curse a cousin or to reject someone's request,

And many an envious word I've heard for no wrongdoing on my part and said, ‘Let it pass and spare me.’

They blamed it on my account but it never blemished me; my forehead never sweated for it.

The two-faced finds me free but does not imitate me when he leaves.

I overcome his evil and turn from him, preserving my repute and my faith.”

And also he composed:

“Ask, O Umm Mālik, the wretched and cold if, when he comes to me between my fire and larder,

I smile on him. He is the first person served; on him I lavish charity, denying him not.”

He also said:

“If you give your stomach its request, and your sexual desire too, they'll both together reach the utmost blame.”

The judge Abū al-Faraj al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyā' al-Jarīri said that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim al-Kawkabī related to him, as did Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mubarrid that al-Thawrī told him, from Abū ʿUbayda, that when the following verses of al-Mutalammis reached Ḥātim al-Taʿī,

“One of little wealth you can repair and he survive, but not the man of much corruption.

And preserving wealth is better than exhausting it and wandering abroad without provisions”,

he said, "What's wrong with him, may God cut his tongue! Is he advising people to be miserly? Should he not have said,

'Generosity will not exhaust one's wealth before its going, nor stinginess increase the miser's wealth.

So don't seek wealth through living miserly; for every day there's a blessing that comes anew.

Do you not see that wealth comes and goes, and that He who gives to you is not far away.'

The judge Abū al-Faraj commented, "He (Ḥātim) spoke well with those words, 'He who gives to you is not far away,' and if he had been a Muslim, good would have been hoped for him in the hereafter. For God stated in the Qur'ān, "Ask of God from His bounty" (*sūrat al-Nisā*, IV, v.32) and also, "If my servants ask you about me (then say) that I am nigh and that I answer the call of those who pray to me" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.186).

And from al-Waḍḍāḥ b. Ma'bad al-Ṭā'ī comes the account that Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī presented himself at the court of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, who received and honoured him. Then upon his departure he gave him two camels loaded with gold and silver, as well as valued produce of his land. So off went Ḥātim, to be met by bedouins of the Ṭayyī tribe as he approached home. They addressed him thus, "O Ḥātim, you've just come from the king, whereas we have come from our people in poverty!" Ḥātim responded, "Come and take what I have, and distribute it amongst you." They rushed forward to do so, taking and distributing the gifts of al-Nu'mān. Then his maidservant, Ṭarifa, came out to Ḥātim and said, "Both be pious and keep some for yourself; these people won't leave you a dinar or a dirham, a sheep or a camel." Ḥātim responded by speaking the verses,

"Ṭarifa said: 'You keep us no dirhams, though we are neither wasteful nor overburdened with them.'

If what we have is used up, then God will provide for us from someone else and it is not we who will provide for ourselves.

No sooner does the dirham get acquainted with our rags than it passes on over and leaves again.

If our dirhams were once to assemble together, they'd compete with one another for ways to give charity."

Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh said that Ḥātim was once asked whether any other Arab was more generous than he and he replied, "All the Arabs are more generous than me!" Ḥātim then went on to relate that once he overnighted with a young Arab, an orphan, who had 100 sheep. So he slaughtered for him one ewe and when he brought it in and offered him its brain, Ḥātim commented, "What delicious brain!" Thereupon the young Arab kept on bringing him more and more of it until he told him he had had enough. Next morning Ḥātim found out that the young Arab had killed all 100 of the sheep and had nothing at all left for

himself! Ḥātim was asked what he did then, and he replied, "However could I thank him enough if I were to do all in the world for him? But in any case, I did give him 100 of my very best camels."

Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Kharā'iṭi stated in his book *Makārim al-Akhlāq* (*Acts of Nobility of Character*), that al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl al-Rab'ī related to him, as did Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, as did Ḥammād al-Rāwīyya and some elderly men of Ṭayyī, that it is said that 'Anṭara, daughter of 'Affī b. 'Amr b. Imru' al-Qays, the mother of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'i, could never hold on to anything due to her munificent generosity. Her brothers would restrain her but she ignored them. Since she was a woman of wealth they ultimately imprisoned her inside a house for a year, even feeding her there to make her change her behaviour. After a year they released her, believing she had reformed, and paid her over a portion of her money and told her to enjoy it. But a woman from Hawāzin who used to visit her came and asked her for money and she responded, "Take this money, for, by God, I've so suffered hunger myself, I'll spare no effort not to deny anyone who asks of me." Then she spoke the following verses,

"By my life, I have been so bitten before by hunger, that I'll spare no efforts never to deny the hungry,

So say now to this man blaming me, 'Spare me, and if you don't then chew on your own fingers!'

What can you tell your sister except your blame or the reproach of those who are misers.

What you witness today is only my nature, and how, O brother, should I abandon my nature?"

Al-Haytham b. 'Adī stated, on the authority of Maḥān b. 'Arakī b. 'Adī b. Ḥātim, on the authority of his father and his grandfather that he witnessed Ḥātim's excessive generosity and that Ḥātim had said to him, "Now, son, I pride myself on three qualities – I've never exposed a woman neighbour to suspicion, never given my trust and not fulfilled it, and no one has ever come to harm from me."

Abū Bakr al-Kharā'iṭi said, "'Alī b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-'Adawī, quoting Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, on the authority of Abū Miskīn (otherwise known as Ja'far b. al-Muḥarrir b. al-Walīd) from al-Muḥarrir Mawlā Abū Hurayra, as follows: 'A party of men from the 'Abd al-Qays tribe passed the grave of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'i and came near by. One of them, Abū al-Khaybarī by name, went over and began running his foot over his grave, saying, "O Abū Ja'd³⁴ give us hospitality!" One of his companions exclaimed, "What are you doing, talking to a decomposed corpse!" After darkness had fallen they went to sleep, but the man who had addressed Ḥātim awoke in a fright and began shouting, "Everyone, look to your mounts; Ḥātim came to me while I slept and spoke verses I've memorized that went:

34. Nickname of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'i.

'O Abū al-Khaybarī, you're a man who brings disgrace and dishonour to the tribe. You brought your companions to seek hospitality at a grave whose corpse had perished.

Do you wish to blame me when you stay here, while around you is the Ṭayyīʾ tribe and their generosity?

We're ones to satisfy our guests, and delay the milking of their camels when they come to us.'"³⁵

"He (Abū Hurayra) went on: 'And then, to their surprise, the camel of the man who had spoken to the grave began hobbling on three legs. So they killed it and cooked and ate it, saying: "By God, Ḥātim hosted us both alive and dead!"

" 'Next morning they mounted their friend behind another rider and set off and were surprised to see a man waving to them as he approached on a camel, leading another behind him. "Which of you is Abū al-Khaybarī?" he asked. Abū al-Khaybarī identified himself and the man explained, "Ḥātim came to me in my sleep and told me he had hosted your companions with your camel, and so he asked me to bring you this mount. Take it!" And he gave it to him.' "

An Account of some matters relating to 'Abd Allāh b. Judʿān.

His genealogy was 'Abd Allāh, son of Judʿān, son of 'Amr, son of Kaʿb, son of Saʿd, son of Taym, son of Murrah, lord of the Banū Taym. He was the nephew of the father of Abū Bakr *al-Ṣiddiq*, "the trusting", God bless him.

He was a noble knight during the era before Islam, one of those who gave generously to the needy.

At first he was poor and deprived, mean and sinful, so that his people, tribe, kinsfolk, and family all hated him, even his father too.

One day he went off into the outskirts of Mecca, aimless and miserable, and noticed a fissure in a mountain. He thought there might be something there that would harm him, so he approached it, so that he might die and so be relieved from his sufferings.

When he drew near it, he saw a serpent coming out towards him, darting at him. He tried to avoid it, jumping away, but it was no use. But when it was upon him, he saw it to be of gold, its eyes of sapphire. So he destroyed it, picked it up, and went into the cave. To his amazement, there he found the graves of some of the kings of Jurhum, including that of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ, who had long ago disappeared without trace. On their heads he found plaques of gold giving the dates of their death and the periods of their reigns. All about them were large quantities of jewels, pearls, gold, and silver. Of these he took what he wanted and left, after having marked the entry to the cave. When he reached his people

35. So that the guests can keep the milk of their camels for themselves.

he made gifts to them so that they loved him and then he became their leader. He would feed the people and when he ran out of valuables he would go off to the cave, get more and return. Of those who reported this were 'Abd al-Mālik b. Hishām in his book *al-Tijān* (*The Crowns*), and Aḥmad b. 'Ammār in the work entitled *Rayy al-Āṭish wa Uns al-Wāḥish* (*Quenching the Thirsty and Comforting the Lonely*). He had a watering trough from which mounted riders would feed; the trough was so large that a boy fell in and drowned.

Ibn Qutayba and others reported that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I used to shelter in the shade of 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān's watering trough during the sweltering heat of midday."

In a *ḥadīth* relating to the death of Abū Jahl, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his Companions, "Look for him among the dead; you will recognize him by a scar on his knee. I was competing with him among the crowd at a feast given by Ibn Jud'ān. I knocked him over and he fell against his knee which broke, the damage still being visible there on it." And they did find him just so.

People report that he used to feed people with dates and barley and with milk to drink until he heard the verses of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt:

"I've seen doers and their deeds, and found their noblest to be Banū al-Dayyān.

Wheat mixed with honey is their food, not what Banū Jud'ān entertain us with."

So Ibn Jud'ān sent off 2,000 camels to Syria, and they returned bearing wheat, honey and butter. Then he had a man call out each night from the *ka'ba* roof, "You're all to come to Ibn Jud'ān's trough." Whereupon Umayya spoke the following:

"He has one energetic fellow summoning (people) in Mecca, while another calls out from above its *ka'ba*

To come to large wooden platters filled with ears of wheat mixed with honey."

Yet despite all this, it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* tradition collection of Muslim (b. al-Hadjdjāj) that 'Ā'isha said: "O Messenger of God, Ibn Jud'ān used to donate food to eat and was hospitable to guests; will that benefit him on Judgement Day?" He replied, "No; he never once said: 'O my Lord, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day.'"

An Account of Imru' al-Qays b. Hujr al-Kindī, author of one of the mu'allaqāt odes.

His ode is the most magnificent and best known of them all, and it begins:

"Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling . . ."

Al-Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, as did Abū al-Jahm al-Wāsiṭī, from al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: "Imru' al-Qays will be the company commander of the poets on their way to hell-fire!"

A large number of transmitters related this tradition from Hushaym, including Bishr b. al-Ḥakam, al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa, 'Abd Allāh b. Hārūn, the Commander of the faithful al-Ma'mūn, brother of al-Amin, and Yaḥyā b. Ma'in. Ibn 'Adi considered the transmission chain to be through 'Abd al-Razzāq from al-Zuhri, but this would then be discontinuous and bad from another direction, through Abū Hurayra; and it would not be a reliable tradition except from the first chain of transmission.

The *ḥāfiz* Ibn 'Asākir gave the genealogy of Imru' al-Qays as having been the son of Hujr, son of al-Ḥārith, son of 'Amr, son of Hujr, the *ākil al-mirār*,³⁶ son of 'Amr, son of Mu'āwiya, son of al-Ḥārith, son of Ya'rub, son of Thawr, son of Murta', son of Mu'āwiya b. Kinda. He was also known as Abū Yazīd, Abū Wabb, and Abū al-Ḥārith al-Kindī. He lived in the regions of Damascus and mentioned a number of these in his poetry, as for example in the lines:

"Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling at the winding ridges between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal,

Tūḍīḥ and al-Miqrāt; its traces have not been erased by the interweaving winds from south and north."

These are well-known places in Ḥūrān.³⁷

He then related, on a chain of authorities through Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī that Farwa b. Sa'id b. 'Afīf b. Ma'dī Karib related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, that while he and others were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along came a delegation from Yemen. They said, "O Messenger of God, God gave us life by two verses from the poetry of Imru' al-Qays." He replied, "How so?" They explained, "We were making our way to visit you but lost our way *en route*, spending three days unable to get water. So we split up at the base of an acacia and a mimosa so that we each could die in the shade of a tree. When we were at our last gasp, there was a man speeding on his camel. When one of our men saw him, he spoke the following verses, the rider hearing them:

'And when she (the wild ass) says that the water was her desire but that the white of her veins was bloody³⁸

She made for the well at Ḍārij, its green slime shading it, overflowing.'³⁹

36. One who ate the bitter desert plant *Centaurea calcitrapa*.

37. Ḥūrān is a plateau south of Damascus in Syria.

38. He implies that though the animal was thirsty, it was afraid that hunters might shoot it and that its veins would bleed.

39. Ḍārij was near where the 'Abd tribe dwelt. The verse suggests that the animal headed for that well to be able to hide from hunters in the thick underbush.

"So the rider asked, 'Whose verses are those?' He saw our state of exhaustion. We answered, 'Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr.' Then he said, 'By God, he did not lie; this is Ḍārij, where you are now.' So we looked, and there was the water about 50 arm's-lengths away. We slowly made our way to it on our mounts and found it just as Imru' al-Qays had said, with 'green-slime shading it'.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'That's a man who is remembered on earth but forgotten in the next world, honoured in the former but ignored in the latter. In his hands he will carry the banner of the poets, leading them to hell-fire.'"

Al-Kalbī reported that Imru' al-Qays advanced with his banners flying intending to battle Banū Asad after they had killed his father and passed by Tabāla. There was the shrine of Dhū al-Khalāṣa, an idol at which the Arabs would seek divine support. Imru' al-Qays asked for prophecy and the arrow for negation came out. This then happened a second and a third time. At that he broke the arrows and struck them against the face of Dhū al-Khalāṣa, exclaiming: "You'd bite your father's penis! If your father were the man murdered, you'd not impede me!" He then launched a raid against Banū Asad and engaged them in swift battle.

And al-Kalbī commented that (from then on) until the arrival of Islam, support from Dhū al-Khalāṣa was not sought.

Some say that Imru' al-Qays gave praise to the Byzantine emperor and asked his support and assistance in certain wars but did not receive encouragement from him. Consequently Imru' al-Qays spoke verses against him, and it is said that the emperor gave him poison to drink and so killed him. Death came to him when he was beside the grave of a woman on a mountain called 'Asīb and it was there he wrote the verses:

"Oh neighbour, the shrine is near and I rest where a mountain cleft is established.

Oh neighbour, we are strangers here and all strangers are of a common kin."

They say that the seven *mu'allaqāt*, the select, displayed odes, were hung up on the *ka'ba*. That was because when one of the Arabs composed an ode he would exhibit it to Quraysh. If they approved of it they would hang it on the *ka'ba* in recognition of its worth. It is from this practice that the seven odes were gathered. The first of these, as previously noted, was by Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr the Kindite, as previously mentioned. It begins:

"Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling at the winding ridges between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal."

The second ode was by al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī, whose given name was Ziyād b. Mu'āwiya. He is also said to have been Ziyād b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya, who was the son of Ḍabbāb b. Jābir b. Yarbū' b. Ghayẓ b. Murra b. 'Awf b. Sa'd

b. Dhubyān b. Baghid. His ode begins:

“Oh abode of Mayya at al-‘Alyā, the mountain top; your people have gone for so long and earlier generations dwelt there.”

The third ode was by Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā, also named Rabi‘a b. Riyāḥ al-Muzanī. It begins:

“Are there still some voiceless remnants of Umm ‘Awfa’s dwelling at the plain of al-Darrāj and al-Mutathallam?”

The fourth was composed by Ṭarafa b. al-‘Abd b. Sufyān b. Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Ḍubay‘a b. Qays b. Tha‘laba, the son of ‘Ukāba b. Ṣa‘b b. ‘Alī b. Bakr b. Wā’il. It opens:

“On the rocky ground of Thahmad, there are traces still of Khawla, visible like the shadow of an old tattoo on the back of a hand.”

The fifth ode was by ‘Antara b. Shaddād b. Mu‘āwiya b. Qurād b. Makhzum b. Rabi‘a b. Mālik b. Ghālib, the son of Qutay‘a, the son of ‘Abs the ‘Absite. It begins:

“Have the poets left anything unsaid, or have you recognized the abode after using imagination?”

The sixth was by ‘Alqama b. ‘Abda b. al-Nu‘mān b. Qays, a member of Banū Tamīm. It opens:

“Though your heart is burdened with care, there is joy in beautiful women; soon after youth comes time for greyness.”

The seventh ode – and there are some who do not affirm it to have been one of the *mu‘allaqāt*, as, for example al-Asma‘ī and others – is by Labīd, the son of Rabi‘a b. Mālik b. Ja‘far b. Kilāb b. Rabi‘a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa‘a b. Mu‘āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Maṣṣūr b. ‘Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays b. ‘Aylān b. Muḍar. It begins:

“The place where she dwelt at Minā; its water-troughs and its mountains have been deserted.”

As for the ode of unknown authorship, according to Abū ‘Ubayda, al-Asma‘ī, al-Mubarrid and others, it reads:

“Is there any reply for one who asks at the ruins; or has it ever been accustomed to speak?”

It is a lengthy poem and has many fine lines.

*SOME INFORMATION ABOUT UMayyA b. AbŪ AL-ṢALT AL-THAQAFĪ;
HE WAS A PRE-ISLAMIC POET WHO LIVED ON TO THE TIME OF
ISLAM.*

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir said that his name was Umayyā b. Abū al-Ṣalt, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Rabi'ā b. 'Awf, the son of 'Uqda b. 'Izza b. 'Awf b. Thaqif b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawāzin, known as Abū Uthmān and some say Abū al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī.

He was a pre-Islamic poet who went to Damascus before Islam. It is said that he was a righteous man and initially a man of the faith, but he turned away from it, and that God was referring to him in the words: "Tell them of him to whom we brought our signs, but he passed them by; so Satan followed him, and he went astray" (*sūrat al-A'raf*, VII, v.175).

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said that Ruqayyā daughter of 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf gave birth to Umayyā the poet, the son of Abū al-Ṣalt, whose name was Rabi'ā b. Wahb b. 'Ilāj b. Abū Salama b. Thaqif.

Others said that his father was a famous poet of Ṭā'if, and that Umayyā was their best poet.

'Abd al-Razzāq said that al-Thawrī stated that Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit reported to him that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr said that by God's words: "Tell them of him to whom we brought our signs but he passed them by; so Satan followed him and he went astray", Umayyā b. Abū al-Ṣalt was implied.

And thus did Abū Bakr b. Mardawayh, from Abū Bakr al-Shāfi', from Mu'adh b. al-Muthannā, from Musaddad, from Abū 'Awāna, from 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Umayr, from Nāfi' b. 'Āṣim b. Mas'ūd. He said that he was in a circle in which was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr. One person there quoted the verse in the Qur'ān chapter *al-A'raf*: "Tell them of him to whom we brought our signs but he passed them by." So he asked, "Do you know who he is?" Someone said: "Ṣayfi b. al-Rāhib." Someone else said, "No, he is Bal'am, an Israelite." "Incorrect," he replied. Someone asked, "Who, then?" "Umayyā b. Abū al-Ṣalt," he answered.

Abū Ṣāliḥ and al-Kalbī said the same, and Qatāda reported it from several others.

Al-Ṭabrānī said that 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Shabīb al-Rab'ī, quoting Muḥammad b. Maslama b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, quoting Ismā'īl, the son of al-Ṭurayḥ b. Ismā'īl al-Thaqafī, that his father told him on the authority of his father, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, from Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān from his father, saying: "I and Umayyā b. Abū al-Ṣalt went on business to Syria and whenever we stopped anywhere for the night Umayyā would take out a sacred book he had and would read it to us. This went on until we stopped at a Christian village. So its people came to him, honoured him and gave him presents, and he went off with them to their houses.

"Late in the morning he came back, threw off his two garments and took out two black ones he had and dressed in them. He then asked me: 'Abū Sufyān, do you have access to any Christian scholar well versed in the Bible you could ask a question?' I replied, 'I've no interest in that; if such a person were to tell me something I wanted, I'd not trust him. And if he told me something I disliked, I'd certainly be very angry with him.'"

He went on, "So he went away and a Christian sheikh disputed with him. Then Umayya came in to me and said: 'What prevents you from going to this sheikh?' I replied that I was not of his religion, but Umayya responded, 'So what? You'd hear and see wonderful things from him.' Then he said: 'You're of Thaqif, aren't you?' 'No,' I replied, 'but I am of Quraysh.' 'Well,' he asked, 'so what prevents you from going to the sheikh? He likes you, I swear it, and he'd counsel you.'

"Umayya then left and remained with them till he returned to us later that night; he undressed and lay down on his bed. But I swear he was restless!

"Next morning he was sad and depressed, his 'evening drink dropping on his morning draught' (as the saying goes) not speaking to us, nor we to him. Eventually he said, 'Won't you ride?' I responded: 'You want to leave then?' He replied, 'Yes.'

"So we rode away and travelled for two nights. Then on the third night he said: 'Wouldn't you like to talk, Abū Sufyān?' I replied, 'There's something you want to tell? I swear, I never saw anything like the way you came back from your friend.'

"'Well that's something you've nothing to do with; but it's to do with something that scared me about my *munqalab* (hereafter).'

"'Do you have a *munqalab* then?' I asked.

"'Yes, by God,' he replied, 'I'm to die then be brought back to life.'

"'Want to take my wager?' I asked.

"'What about?'

"'That you'll not be brought back nor be called to account.'

"He laughed, then said, 'Oh but yes, by God, Abū Sufyān; we certainly will be brought back, and then called to account so that one group can enter heaven and another hell-fire.'

"'And which group are you in according to what your friend told you?'

"'He has no knowledge of that, either in my case or his own.'

"We journeyed on for two more nights, with him wondering at me and me laughing at him, until we reached the Damascus valley. There we sold our goods, remaining there two months.

"Then we again journeyed on until we reached a Christian village, where we made a stop. When they saw him they came to him, gave him gifts and he went with them to their houses. He came back in the afternoon, put on his two garments

and went to them. He returned later that night, threw off his clothes and fell on his bed. But I swear he did not sleep a wink.

"Next morning he was sad and depressed, not talking to us nor we to him. Then he said, 'Wouldn't you like to move on?'"

"'Why yes,' I responded. So we travelled on several nights, with him still depressed. Eventually he spoke, asking, 'Abū Sufyān, would you like to travel on in advance of our companions?'"

"'Would you like that?' I responded.

"'Yes,' he replied.

"'So off we went and travelled one hour's distance ahead of our companions. Then he said: 'Let's go to a rock.'"

"'What do you want,' I asked him and he replied, 'Tell me about 'Utba b. Rabī'a; does he avoid doing wrong or evil?'"

"'Certainly, by God.'

"'Is he held in esteem by high and low, a central figure in the tribe?'"

"'Yes.'

"'Do you know any man of Quraysh more noble than him?'"

"'No, by God, I know of no one.'

"'Is he financially needy?' he asked.

"'On the contrary, he's a man of great wealth.'

"'How old is he?'"

"'He's over a hundred,' I replied.

"'So nobility, age, and wealth have brought him contempt.'

"'Why should all that bring him contempt? No, by God, they benefit him.'

"'Just so; would you like to rest here?' he then asked.

"'I would,' I replied.

"'So we rested till our fatigue passed. Then we travelled on till we alighted at the next rest station where we stayed. When it was night he spoke to me: 'Abū Sufyān.'

"'What do you want?' I asked.

"'Would you like to proceed as yesterday?'"

"'Would you?' I asked.

"'Yes,' he replied.

"'So on we went on two long-necked camels until we were ahead. He said: 'Let's go to a rock and talk again about 'Utba b. Rabī'a.'

"'Let's talk of him again,' I replied.

"'Does he avoid wrongdoing and evil and do good and order good be done?' he asked.

"'Yes, by God, all that he does.'

"'Is he wealthy?'"

"'Yes, he's wealthy.'

"Do you know of any man of Quraysh more central than him?"

"No, no one."

"How old is he?" he asked.

"He is over a hundred."

"So his age, nobility, and wealth have brought him contempt?"

"Certainly not, by God; if you have something to say, then do so."

"No," he replied, "Just remember what I said, whatever results from it."

"Then he went on: 'What so affected me was going to that scholar and asking him some things and then saying to him, "Tell me about the prophet who is expected."

"He replied that he was an Arab; I responded that I knew that, and asked him from what group of Arabs.

"He said: "He is from the people of a house to which the Arabs make pilgrimage."

"I said, "We have a house to which the Arabs make pilgrimage."

"He replied: "He is one of your brothers from Quraysh."

"This had an impact on me, by God, like nothing ever had before, and the success of this world and the next left my grasp. I had wanted to be him. I asked him then:

"If so it will be, describe him to me."

"He is a man young when he entered old age; he started out avoiding wrongdoing and evil, doing good and ordering it. He is poor, respected by high and low and has a central position in the tribe. Most of his army are of angels."

"What is the sign of that?" I asked and he replied:

"After the death of Jesus son of Mary, peace be upon him, Syria suffered 80 earthquakes, each causing a disaster. One overall quake is left which will bring several disasters."

Abū Sufyān went on: "I responded: 'But, by God, that's silly; if God sent a messenger he would only take him away in age and honour.'

"Umayya spoke up, 'But by him whose name you invoked, that's how it is, Abū Sufyān. He is reiterating that the Christian's statement is true. Shall we rest here?'

"Yes, I'd like that," I responded."

He went on: "So there we stayed until our fatigue left us and we travelled on till we were a two-stage or two-nights' distance from Mecca. Then a rider caught us up from behind; we questioned him and he said: 'After you left, the people of Syria suffered an earthquake that devastated them and caused them heavy losses.'"

Abū Sufyān went on: "Then Umayya approached me and asked: 'So what do you think about what the Christian said, Abū Sufyān?'

"I replied: 'By God, it's my considered view that what your friend told you was right.'"

Abū Sufyān continued: "So we arrived at Mecca where I settled my current affairs, then left for Yemen on business, staying there five months before returning to Mecca.

"While there at my house people come to greet me and ask me about their goods. Eventually Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh came to me; Hind was there with me playing with her children. He greeted me, welcomed me back and asked me about my journey and accommodations, but he did not enquire about his goods. Then he rose. I commented to Hind, 'By God, that surprises me! Every one of Quraysh who had goods with me asked me about them, but this man did not ask about his.'

"Hind asked: 'Don't you know what's going on with him?'

"Apprehensive, I asked her what, and she replied: 'He claims to be a messenger from God.'

"She dumbfounded me. I recalled what the Christian had said, and I shivered. Hind asked me what was the matter and I came to myself and said: 'This is crazy! He is too smart to say that.'

"'On the contrary,' she explained, 'he really is saying that and promulgating that. He also has followers in his religion.'

"'This is crazy,' I repeated."

Abū Sufyān continued: "I then went outside and while performing a ritual circumambulation of the *ka'ba* I met up with him. I said to him: 'Your goods totalled up to so-and-so and there were profits. Send someone to receive them; I won't be taking out the cut I charge my own people.'

"But he refused that, saying: 'Then I won't accept them.' I went on: 'Then send someone to take them and I will subtract the cut I get from my people.' So he did send for his goods and received them, while I had from him what I would take from others."

Abū Sufyān went on: "Soon thereafter I left for Yemen. Then I went to Ṭā'if, where I stayed with Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt. He said he wanted to ask me something, and I enquired what. He said: 'Do you remember what the Christian said?'

"I replied: 'I do remember and it has come about.'

"'Who is he then?' he asked.

"'He is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh,' I replied.

"'The son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?'

"'Yes, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.' Then I related to him what Hind had said.

"'Well, God alone knows!' he exclaimed, and began sweating profusely.

"Then he said: 'By God, Abū Sufyān, perhaps it is him! The description certainly fits him. And if he has appeared while I'm alive, I'll seek from God success from him in absolution.'

"I then went off to Yemen and soon heard there of his appearance as a prophet. So I went forth until I reached Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt in al-Ṭāʾif and asked: 'Oh Abū ʿUthmān, you must have heard about about what's going on with the man.'

"It has come to pass, by my life.'

"So how do you stand with him, Abū ʿUthmān?"

"He replied, 'I wasn't one to believe in any prophet coming from any tribe other than Thaḳif.' "

Abū Sufyān continued: "I went on again to Mecca which didn't take long since it was not far, and I found that his companions were being beaten and reviled.

"So I began asking myself: 'Where are his hosts of angels?' And I was assailed by the jealousies that enter people."

This (previous) anecdote was also reported by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī in the book *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) from a *ḥadīth* via Ismāʿīl b. Ṭurayḥ. But the sequence given by al-Ṭabrānī we have quoted is fuller and lengthier. But God knows best.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Nufayl related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Shabīb, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, quoting Mujāshiʿ b. ʿAmr al-Asadī, quoting Layth b. Saʿd, from Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, from Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who said that: "Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt had been (with me) at Ghazza or Iliyāʾ and while we were returning home Umayya asked me: 'Abū Sufyān, would you like to go on in advance of our companions so that we can talk?'

"Yes,' I agreed.

"So we did."

"Then he asked: 'What about ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa?'

"Honoured by high and low.'

"And does he avoid sin and evil deeds?'

"Yes.'

"Is he aged and of noble birth?'

"Both aged and of noble birth.'

"Nobility and age have brought him contempt!'

"You lie; his increase in age brought him only increase in honour.'

"Abū Sufyān, that's a word I've never heard anyone say to me since I reached awareness; don't rush to judgement before I tell you.'

"Well then do so,' I responded.

"In my books I would find reference to a prophet who would be sent from this area of ours and I thought – indeed I had no doubt – that I would be him. But when I enquired of scholars, he was to be of Banū ʿAbd Manāf. So I looked

into Banū 'Abd Manāf and the only person I found worthy of such a mission was 'Utba b. Rabi'a. And when you told me of his age, I knew that it was not him, since he had passed the age of 40 and had not received revelation."

Abū Sufyān went on: "So destiny struck its blow and revelation came to the Messenger of God (SAAS). And I left in a party of Quraysh on a business trip to Yemen, so I passed by Umayya and commented mockingly: 'Well Umayya, the prophet you were describing has emerged.'

"Indeed he is true, you should follow him,' he replied.

"But what prevents you from following him?' I enquired.

"Nothing but the embarrassment before the women of Thaqif. I have been telling them that I was him, then they would see me a follower of a young man of Banū 'Abd Manāf!'

"Then Umayya continued: 'It's to me as though, Abū Sufyān, you've defied him then have been bound fast like a billy goat and taken to him for whatever judgement he might want.'

'Abd al-Razzāq said that Ma'mar related to him, from al-Kalbī, as follows: "Umayya was once lying down with two of his daughters present when one of them got scared and screamed to him. 'What's wrong?' he asked her. She replied: 'I saw two eagles rip off the roof of the house. Then one of them swooped down on you and split open your belly while the other perched on top of the house. The latter asked: "Is he aware?" "Yes," was the response. "Is he pure?" the eagle asked again. "No," came the answer.'

"He then said: "This was good expected of your father; but he did it not."

This was also told from another source in another way. Ishāq b. Bishr said, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'id b. al-Musayyib and 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'id b. al-Musayyib that al-Fāri'a, sister of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt, went to see the Messenger of God (SAAS) after the conquest of Mecca. She was a person of reason, intellect, and beauty, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) was much impressed by her. One day he asked her: "Fāri'a, do you know any of your brother's poetry?" "Yes indeed; and even more remarkable than that is what I've seen."

She went on: "My brother was on a journey and after he left he appeared to me, and came and lay on my bed while I was stripping hair off a piece of hide I held. Suddenly two white birds – or what seemed like two white birds – appeared. One alighted at the high window while the other came in and descended on to him. The latter then made a split between his chest and his pubic region, put its hand inside him, drew forth his heart, placed it on its palm then sniffed it. The other bird then asked: 'Is he aware?' 'Yes, he's aware,' the second replied. 'Is he pure?' it asked again. 'He declined,' answered the second. Then it replaced his heart where it belonged and the wound was healed in the twinkling of an eye. Then the two birds were both gone.

"When I had seen that I went over to him and stirred him, saying: 'Do you feel anything?' He answered, 'No, except for some weakness in my body.'

"I had been alarmed at what I had seen and he asked, 'Why do I see you upset?'

"So I told him what had happened, and he responded: 'Goodness was wanted of me but was averted from me.' He then spoke the verses:

'My cares' distresses flowed on, blinding my eyes, my tears preceding,
From the certainty that had come to me, and I had been brought no disavowal conveyed by anyone who spoke (to me),

Will I be one of those blazed by fire surrounding them like a tent (by its smoke and flames)

Or will I dwell in the paradise promised the guiltless, its cushions piled high?
The two positions are not equal there, nor are actions equal in kind,
They are two groups, one who enter paradise, its gardens enfolding them,
And another group sent to hell, its installations painning them;
These hearts were long accustomed, whenever tending to good, to have barriers set up against them,

And these were diverted to misfortune away from the pursuit of paradise by a world which God will erase.

A slave who called for his soul and censured it, knowing that God, the acutely aware, is clearly watching,

What gives the spirit a desire for life? Even though it lives a while, death overtakes it.

One fleeing his fate will one day soon unexpectedly agree to it,

If you don't die exultant you will die decrepit; death has a cup and man must taste it.' "

She went on: "Then he continued on his journey, but only a little thereafter he was borne along in his bier. When news of it came to me I went to him and found him laid out in his burial winding-sheet. When I drew near him he emitted a deep sigh and stared; he looked up to the ceiling and raised his voice, saying:

"*'Labbaykumā! Labbaykumā!* At your service, at your service both of you; here I am before you both, not with money to ransom me nor with a clan to protect me.'

"He then lost consciousness, having emitted a deep sigh. So I said, 'The man has expired!'

"But he stared up to the ceiling and raised his voice, saying: 'At your service, at your service both; here am I before you both. Not innocent to seek forgiveness, nor with kinsfolk to achieve victory.'

"Then he lost consciousness, but suddenly emitted a deep sigh, stared up to the ceiling and said: 'At your service, at your service both, here am I before you both, blessed by good fortune but destroyed by wrongdoing.'

"Then he lost consciousness, but suddenly emitted a deep sigh and said, 'At your service, at your service you both, here I am before you both.

"If, O Lord, you forgive, forgive *en masse*; what slave of yours has no pain.'

"Then he lost consciousness but soon emitted a deep sigh, and said: 'Each life, though it may last very long, is moving on but once till when it ceases.

"Would that I were, before what appeared to me, shepherding goats in the mountain heights.'"

She went on: "And then he died. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me: 'O Fāri'a, your brother is like him to whom God brought his signs but he passed them by . . .' (to the end of the verse)" (*sūrat al-A'rāf*, VII, v.175).

Al-Khaṭābī spoke of the strangeness of this *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir related of al-Zuhri that he said, "Umayya b. Abū al Ṣalt spoke the verse:

'Is there not a messenger to us from us who can inform us what is the distance of our ultimate goal from the beginning of our course.'"

Al-Zuhri went on: "Then Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt left for Bahrain and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) claimed prophecy. Umayya resided eight years in Bahrain then went to Ṭā'if, where he asked people, 'What is Muḥammad son of 'Abd Allāh saying?'

"They replied: 'He claims that he is a prophet; he is the one you were wishing for.'"

He continued: "So Umayya left for Mecca where he met him and asked: 'O son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, what is this you are saying?' He replied: 'I say that I am the Messenger of God, and that there is no God but Him.' Umayya said, 'I would like to speak with you; give me an appointment tomorrow.' 'Certainly, you have an appointment tomorrow,' came the reply. Umayya then asked: 'Would you like me to come alone or with a group of my friends?' 'Whichever you prefer,' responded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 'Then I will come with a group, and so you too come with a group,' concluded Umayya.

"So early morning Umayya appeared with a group from Quraysh while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came with a number of his Companions. They all sat down in the shade of the *ka'ba*. Umayya began by making an address, then spoke some rhyming prose, and recited some poetry. When he had finished the poetry, he said: 'Answer me then, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.' At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, 'In the name of God the beneficent, the merciful, Yā Sin. By the Qur'ān full of wisdom.' (*sūrat Yā Sin*, XXXVI, v.1-2). When he had finished the chapter, Umayya arose suddenly and walked off, dragging his feet. The Quraysh men followed him, asking, 'Well, what do you have to say, Umayya?' 'I bear witness', replied Umayya, 'that he is right.' 'Will you follow him?' they asked. 'Until I look into his case,' he replied."

He continued: "Umayya went off to Syria and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Medina. Then, following the deaths of the people at the battle of Badr, Umayya returned from Syria and stayed at Badr. He travelled on to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Someone asked Umayya: 'O Abū al-Ṣalt, what do you want?' 'I want Muḥammad,' he replied. 'What will you do?' he was asked. He replied, 'I believe in him and I will throw him the keys of this affair.' Someone asked him: 'Do you know who is in the burial pit?' 'No,' he answered. He was told: 'In it are 'Utba b. Rabī'a and Shayba b. Rabī'a, your maternal uncle's sons, along with his mother Rabī'a, daughter of 'Abd Shams.'"

He went on: "So Umayya mutilated the ears of his riding camel and cut off its tail,⁴⁰ then stood over the pit and spoke the verses:

'What is in Badr – Mt. 'Aqanqal but chiefs and noble lords ...'

(up to the end of the ode, which we will give in full in relating the history of the battle of Badr, if God wills it.)

"He then returned to Mecca and Ṭā'if and left Islam."

The source then related the story of the two birds and that of his death as we have given. At his death he spoke the verses:

"Each life, though it may last very long, is moving on but once till when it ceases.

Would that I were before what appeared to me, shepherding goats in the mountain heights,

So keep death before your vision and beware the destruction of fate, for fate has its evil demons

Their claws attaining lions, wild bulls, and the young child with red eyes⁴¹ at a lighthouse,

And the mountain vultures, the fleeing gazelles, and the young ostrich, mixed in flock, thin."

He means in these verses that wild animals in the deserts do not escape death, nor do vultures living on mountain tops; death does not leave alone the young for their youth, nor the old for their age. Al-Khaṭābī and others have spoken of the rarity of these accounts.

Al-Suhaylī mentioned in his book *al-Ta'rif wa al-I'lām (Identifying and Informing)* that Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt was the first who said, "bismika Allāhumma", i.e. "in your name, O God". And concerning that he told a strange tale, as follows. He says that they were among a group of Quraysh who went away on a journey. They included Ḥarb b. Umayya, the father of Abū Sufyān. On their way they came across a snake and killed it. But that evening a spirit woman came to them and berated them for killing that snake. With her she had a

40. Presumably actions denoting his mourning for his relatives.

41. Presumably from weeping.

staff which she struck on the ground so hard that it completely stampeded their camels and they scattered in all directions. So off they went and chased them till they had them back. When they were all gathered, she again appeared, struck her staff on the ground and stampeded the camels. So off they went to search for them but having failed they asked Umayya, "By God, do you have any way out of our problem?" He replied, "No, by God, but I'll look into it." So they travelled on into that region hoping to find someone whom they could ask for some solution to their trouble. Eventually they saw a light ahead in the distance. When they arrived there they found an old man lighting a fire at the door of his tent. But he was in fact an evil spirit who was extremely tiny and ugly. They greeted him and he asked them what they wanted. (When they told him) he said: "When she comes to you, say: 'In your name, O God' and she will flee." So when the travellers had assembled their camels and she came for the third or fourth time, Umayya looked her in the face and said: "In your name, O God." She promptly fled in disarray. But the evil spirits attacked Ḥarb b. Umayya and killed him with that snake. His companions buried him there far from home or friend. On that subject the spirits spoke the verse:

"The grave of Ḥarb is in a wasteland and there is no grave near that of Ḥarb."

Some people say that Umayya sometimes understood the languages of the animals. When passing some bird in his travel he would tell his companions, "This one says so-and-so." But they would say they did not know whether he spoke the truth. But once they passed by a flock of sheep from which an ewe and her kid had been separated. She turned to it and bleated, as though urging it to hurry. Umayya asked his companions whether they knew what it said and they replied that they did not. He explained: "She's saying, 'Let's hurry along so the wolf won't come and eat you up like one did your brother last year.'" The group moved quickly on and asked the shepherd whether a wolf had eaten a sheep in that area the previous year. He replied in the affirmative! One day, moreover, Umayya passed by a mule carrying a woman and raising its head to her and grumbling. Umayya said: "The mule is telling the woman that there's a needle in the saddle which she mounted on him." So they took the woman off, untied the saddle, and discovered there was a needle as he had said.

Ibn al-Sikkīt recounted that Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt was drinking when a crow cawed. Umayya said, "May you have dust twice in your mouth!" His companions asked Umayya what it was saying and he replied that it had said: "You'll drink that cup in your hand then die." At that point the crow cawed again and Umayya reported: "It says: 'The proof is that I'm going to fly down to this garbage pile, eat some and a bone is going to stick in my throat so I will die.'" At that the crow swooped down to the garbage pile, ate something, a bone lodged in its throat and it died!

Umayya said, "Well, he spoke the truth in this about himself but I'm going to see whether he was right about me or not." He then drank that cup in his hand, keeled over, and died!

The following anecdote is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Maḥdī from al-Thawrī from 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Umayr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: "The truest word spoken by a poet is the verse of Labīd:⁴²

'Is not all vain except God.'

"And Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt almost became a Muslim."

The Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Zakariyā' b. Ishāq, from Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, that he heard 'Amr b. al-Sharīd say that al-Sharīd stated, "I was riding on the same camel as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he asked me, 'Do you know any of the verses of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt?' 'Why yes,' I replied. 'So recite them,' he asked. I then did recite a line and he went on asking for more, with me reciting till I had spoken a hundred lines for him. At that point the Prophet (ṢAAS) remained silent as did I."

This anecdote is similarly told by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna from Abū Tamīm b. Maysara. In another line we have it from 'Amr b. al-Sharīd from his father al-Sharīd b. Suwayd al-Thaqafī from the Prophet (ṢAAS). In some accounts the Messenger of God's words were, "If he had almost become a Muslim."

Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd stated that Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Ḥātim b. Abū Ṣufra, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from 'Amr b. Nāfi', from al-Sharīd al-Hamdānī (whose uncles were of Thaqīf) that he said, "We went off with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the 'farewell pilgrimage'. While I was walking along one day I sensed the tread of a camel behind me and it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said: 'Al-Sharīd?' I replied, 'Yes.' Then he asked, 'Can't I give you a ride?' 'Why certainly,' I accepted. I was not tired but wanted the *baraka*, the blessing, of riding with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). So he made his camel kneel and carried me, asking: 'Do you know any verses of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt?' I replied in the affirmative and he asked me to recite them, which I did. 'I think he spoke a hundred verses,' he commented. Then he added, 'God has knowledge about Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt.'"

Ibn Sa'īd then stated, "This is a strange *ḥadīth*; and in what is related is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said of Umayya: 'His poetry believed but his heart disbelieved.' God alone knows."

Imām Aḥmad stated: "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad – who was Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba – related to us, quoting 'Abda b. Sulaymān, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq,

42. A poet mentioned earlier as one of the authors of the famous *mu'allaqāt* odes.

from Ya'qūb b. 'Utba, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) declared Umayya to be truthful in a piece of his poetry which says:

'As a man with a bull beneath his right foot, and an eagle for the other, and a lion in waiting;

And the sun appears at the end of each night, its colour red in the morning and turning rosy;

It is reluctant to arise for us, in its gentleness, unless tortured or else flogged.'

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said (of this verse): "He spoke the truth."

In an account of Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, he (the Prophet) said, "The sun never rises until it is urged up by 70,000 angels saying: 'Come on up! Come on up!' And it replies: 'I will not rise above any people who worship me to the exclusion of God.' When just about to rise a devil comes to the sun intending to divert it, but it rises between the devil's horns and burns him. And when the sun gathers itself for its setting it directs itself to God, the Almighty and Glorious. So a devil comes to it wishing to divert it from its obeisance but it sets between his horns and burns him."

Ibn 'Asākir gives this anecdote at greater length.

In his poem on the throne-bearers, Umayya recited:

"And there's many a bearer of one of the supports of his throne, who, were it not for the God of creation, would be fatigued and slow-moving,

Standing on their feet, weary beneath it, their jugular veins trembling from the severity of their fear."

These verses were transmitted by Ibn 'Asākir.

It is reported from al-Aṣma'ī that he would recite the following verses of Umayya:

"Glorify God, for He is worthy of glory; our Lord in heaven has been mighty.

There in his great edifice that existed prior to man, above the heavens, where he laid down his throne.

Longer it is than sight can see, before it you see *al-malā'ik* (the angels) bow down."

According to al-Aṣma'ī, the word *al-malā'ik* (in the last line quoted), is the plural of *malak*, angel, while the word *al-ṣūr* (translated as "those bowing down") is the plural of *aṣwar*, meaning "bending the neck". These are they who bear the throne.

The following verses praising 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'an of Taym are also from the poetry of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt:

"Should I make mention of my need or is your sensitivity enough for me; your nature is goodness

And your knowledge of rights; you are of lofty status; refinement, high esteem, and majesty are yours.

You are a generous man whose fine character no morning or evening time can change.

You compete with the wind by your nobility and generosity when cold winter nights prevent the dog from staying outside (the tent).⁴³

Your land is one of all nobility built by Banū Taym, and you are its sky.

Any man who one day praises you has in offering praise in itself reward enough."

Umayya offered him other verses of praise in his poetry.

This man 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'an was a much praised, very noble, and famous man. He had a platter from which a rider could eat while on his mount, since it was so large and piled with food. He would fill it with the finest wheat mixed with butter and honey. He used to pay to free slaves and help the unfortunate. 'A'isha asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) whether all that would ultimately benefit him. But he replied: "He never once said the words: 'O Lord, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day!'"

Other fine lines of his poetry include:

"They do not plough the earth with wooden branches, when requests are made of them, as if seeking an excuse.⁴⁴

Rather, when asked they uncover their faces and you see them cheerful with the finest of colouring.

And if the needy stay amidst their dwelling, they make him again a master of neighing horses and slaves,

And whatever dangerous enterprise to which you invite them, they block out the sun's rays with their knights."

This ends the biographical notice relating to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt.

BAḤĪRĀ THE MONK.

It was he who perceived prophethood in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was with his uncle Abū Ṭalib and went to Syria in a company of merchants of Mecca. He was at that time 12 years of age. (Baḥīrā) saw a cloud shading him apart from the rest, so he made food for them and invited them to be his guests, as we will relate in the biography.

Al-Tirmidhī related an account which we discussed in detail therein. The ḥāfiẓ Ibn 'Asākir recounted various testimonies and evidences relating to the biography of Baḥīrā, but did not recount what al-Tirmidhī told; and that is strange.

Ibn 'Asākir reported that Baḥīrā lived in a village called al-Kafr situated some six miles from Baṣra. That is the place known as "Baḥīrā's monastery". And it is

43. Barking dogs and fires lit outside the tent in the desert were signals for passers-by that a tribe was encamped, and that guests were welcome to stop and rest, and enjoy hospitality there.

44. That is, by pretending to be too busy.

also said that he lived in a village called Manfa'a in the plain of Balqā', beyond Zayrā. But God knows best.

An Account of Quss b. Sā'ida al-Iyādī.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Sahl al-Kharā'iṭi said in his book *Hawāṭif al-Jān* (*The Calls of the Spirits*) that Dāwūd al-Qanṭarī related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mashriqī, from Abū al-Ḥārith al-Warrāq, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Mūriq al-ʿIjlī, from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit that the latter said that when the delegation from the tribe of Iyād came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) he asked: "O members of the Iyād delegation, what happened to Quss b. Sā'ida al-Iyādī?" They replied, "He died, O Messenger of God." He commented, "Well, I once witnessed him at the 'Ukāẓ festival mounted on a red camel speaking words of strange and wonderful eloquence that I find I don't recall." A bedouin from the far back of the group came up to him and said: "I remember it, O Messenger of God," and the Prophet (ṢAAS) was pleased at this. "Yes", the man went on, "he was at the 'Ukāẓ festival on a red camel and saying, 'O people gather around, for all those who have passed away are gone. And things to come will come. Gloomy nights. Castle-filled skies. Seas that rage. Splendorous stars. Towering mountains. Flowing streams. In the heavens there is notice; on earth there is warning. How is it I see people pass away and do not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep? Quss swears by an oath beyond reproach, that God has a religion more pleasing than the one you follow.' Then he recited as follows:

'In those who first passed away in ages gone there are signs for us,
Since I saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings,
And I saw my people passing towards them, young and old alike,
Not anyone who has passed on will come to you, nor will any of those who stay
remain behind;

I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone.'"

This chain of authorities as given is strange. Al-Ṭabarānī related it from another line, stating in his book *al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr* (*The Great Encyclopedia*) that Muḥammad b. al-Sarrī b. Mahrān b. al-Nāqid al-Baghdādī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥassān al-Sahmī, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj, from Mujālid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Ibn 'Abbās, that he said: "The delegation from 'Abd al-Qays came to see the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he asked them, 'Which of you knows al-Quss b. Sā'ida al-Iyādī?' They replied, 'We all knew him, O Messenger of God.' 'Well, what's he done?' he asked. 'He died,' they told him. He went on: 'I'll never forget him at the 'Ukāẓ festival in the sacred month. He was on a red camel addressing the people in the words, "O people, gather, listen

and take note. Those who live die. Those who die pass away. And what is to come will come. In heaven there is notice and on earth there is warning. A resting-place is put down and a roof is raised up. Stars move to and fro and seas do not empty. And Quss swore a true oath that if there be contentment in the matter, then discontent will follow! God has a religion more beloved by Him than that in which you engage. How is it I see people pass away and do not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep?" Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Can anyone among you recite his poetry?' One of them responded:

'In those who first passed away in ages gone there are signs for us.
Since I never saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings,
And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike,
The past will never return for me, nor will any of those who stay remain behind.
I have become sure I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone.'

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī thus transmitted it in his book, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) in a line from Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Sahmī. And thus did we relate it in the fragment collected by al-Ustādh Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Darstawayh relating to Quss. He stated: "'Abd al-Karīm b. al-Haytham, the man from Dayr 'Āqūl, related it to us from Sa'īd b. Shabīb, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj Abū Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī, a resident of Baghdad, known as *ṣāhib al-harisa* ('master of the beef and bulgar dish'). And he was called a liar by Yahyā b. Ma'īn and Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī and al-Dārquṭnī. Also, more than one, including Ibn 'Adī, accused him of fabricating the *ḥadīth*."

Al-Bazzār and Abū Nu'aym related it from the account of this Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj. And Ibn Darstawayh and Abū Nu'aym recounted it by way of al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās. And this chain is preferable to that preceding it. In this account it is Abū Bakr who tells the story in its entirety, both its poetry and prose, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

And the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym related it from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ishāq al-Khatmī. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī related to us, quoting Abū Ḥatīm al-Sijistānī, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab from Ibn 'Abbās as follows: "A delegation from Bakr b. Wā'il came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he asked them, 'What did your ally do whose name was Quss b. Sā'ida al-Iyādi?' " Then he recounted the anecdote at length.

Sheikh Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭalīb al-Ḥajjār, the authority on lines of transmission and travel, recounted to us, on the basis of *ijāza*⁴⁵ if not *ṣamā'a*⁴⁶ that Ja'far b. 'Alī al-Hamdānī told him the following tradition by *ijāza*, quoting the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū

45. Having heard it from a secondary source.

46. Having heard it himself from a named authority.

Ṭahir Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Salafī, who told this account as having himself heard it directly. He stated that he read it from his Sheikh, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dhahabī. Also Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abū Bakr al-Khallāl recounted it as one the latter had himself heard directly. He also said that he heard it directly from Ja'far b. 'Alī, and also directly from al-Salafī. Also, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāzī informed us, quoting Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Isā al-Sa'dī, quoting Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Muqri', and it was also related to him by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Darstawayh, the grammarian, by Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Sa'dī, the *qāḍī*, judge, of Fāris (Persia) by Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Sayf b. Yahyā b. Dirham al-Ṭā'ī who was a man from Ḥarrān, by Abū 'Amr Sa'id b. Yarbu', from Muḥammad b. Ishāq. Abū Ṭalīb was also told by some of our scholars on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, that the last mentioned said: "Al-Jārūd b. al-Mu'allā b. Ḥanash b. Mu'allā al-'Abdī was a Christian of great learning in the interpretation and analysis of the holy texts, an expert on the history and sayings of the Persians, well versed in philosophy and medicine, a man of evident good manners and culture, fine in appearance and of great wealth. He went to see the Prophet (ṢAAS) as a member of a delegation of men of sound judgement, maturity, eloquence, and scholarship from the tribe of 'Abd Qays. When he approached the Prophet (ṢAAS) he stood before him, gestured towards him and spoke the verses:

'O Prophet of the right guidance, men have come to you through deserts and mirages,

Crossing down the flat open lands towards you, not counting fatigue for you as fatigue at all.

All the short-legged beasts greatly urged along in speed by our young she-camels,

The fine horses racing over the land, bolting with their mailclad warriors like stars, glinting,

Seeking to avert the suffering of an awful day, one of terror, pain, and great distress,

A day when all mankind will be brought together, a day separating out all who strayed in disobedience,

Moving towards a light from God, a proof, a favour and a grace to be attained,

God distinguished you with all good, O son of Āmina, through her; when (for others) good only comes and goes.

So, give your blessings in abundance, O proof of God, unlike the blessings of a false (prophet).'

"When he finished, the Prophet (ṢAAS) invited him to sit down close to himself and said, 'O Jārūd, both you and your people are late in coming.'

"Al-Jārūd responded, 'By my father and my mother, anyone late coming to you is indeed unfortunate, that being the greatest of faults, the worst of sins. But

I'm not one of those who saw you or heard of you, aggressed against you, and followed someone other than you. I now follow a religion of which you have knowledge. But I have come to you and here I am, abandoning it for your religion. Will that not have faults, sins, and misdeeds forgiven and please the Lord?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I will guarantee you that! So sincerely express your belief in the unity (i.e. monotheism) and give up the religion of Christianity.'

"Al-Jārūd replied: 'By my father and my mother, extend your hand, for I bear witness that there is no God but God alone and that He has no associate; and I testify that you are Muḥammad, His slave and His Messenger.'

"And so he accepted Islam, as did some of his people.

"And the Prophet (ṢAAS) was pleased at their accepting Islam and treated them with such honour and generosity as to make them very happy and delighted.

"Then the Messenger of God went over to them and asked, 'Does any one of you know Quss b. Sa'īda al-Iyādi?'

"Al-Jārūd replied: 'By my father and mother, we all know him. And I am one who knows a lot about him. Quss, O Messenger of God, was a fine Arab knight. He lived 600 years, of which he spent five lifetimes living in the wastelands and deserts, crying out the glory of God like Jesus did. He settled nowhere, had no home to shelter him and no neighbour to appreciate him. He dressed in hair-cloth and outdid the fasting ascetics. He never tired of his monastic ways, on his journeys living off ostrich eggs and befriending lions, enjoying the darkness, observing and considering, thinking and experiencing.

"He therefore became one whose wisdom was legion, awe-inspiring things being discovered through him, and he attained the leadership of the disciples of Christ in reputation.

"He was the first Arab to acknowledge God and to accept His unity. He devoted himself firmly to God, becoming fully convinced of life after death and of judgement. He warned of the evil of refusal and enjoined action before it was too late. He reminded of death and spoke of his acceptance of fate without either anger or pleasure. He visited graves and preached of resurrection day. He spoke verses in elegy. He gave thought to the fates and informed about the heavens and about nature. He talked of the stars and discussed the water. He described the seas and informed of ancient relics. He orated while riding and exhorted with perseverance. He admonished against grief and against an excess of anger. He wrote many sermons and made mention of all things terrible. He spoke compellingly in his orations, gave explanation in his writings, expressed fear of time, cautioned against weakness, exalted God's power, avoided any blasphemy, expressed yearning for the pure faith, and called for immersion in religious life and thought.

“He is the person who said on the day of the ‘*Ukāz* festival:

“East and west, orphans and groups, peace and war, dry and moist, brackish water or sweet, suns and moons, winds and rains, nights and days, females and males, lands and seas, seeds and plants, fathers and mothers, united and scattered, signs followed by signs, light and dark, abundance and nothingness, a Lord and idols, mankind has gone astray, the raising of a child, the burial of a dead one, the cultivation of a harvest, rich and poor, benefactor and evil-doer, woe to the indolent, let the worker improve his labour, and let the hopeful lose his hope. Nay; on the contrary He is one God, neither given birth nor a father. He both repeats and does for the first time. He makes to die and brings to life. He created male and female, Lord of the first life and of the after life.

“Moreover, O tribe of Iyād, where now are Thamūd and ‘Ād? Where are the fathers and their forefathers? Where now are those (who were) ill and those who visited them? To each is his appointed time. Quss swears by the Lord of mankind, and the one who flattens the smooth ground, you will be gathered individually, on assembly day, when horns will be blown and drums be beaten, when the earth will shine, and the preacher exhort and the despairing withdraw and the observer gazes out; woe to him who turns away from the truth most evident, and the shining light, and the great Judgement Day, on the day of separating, and the scales of justice, when He who decrees decides, and the apostle gives testimony, and the allies are far off, and the faults are apparent, and so one group goes to paradise, and one group to hell-fire.”

“It is he who spoke the verses:

“The heart passionately recalled and reflected: nights within which there are days.

And bucketsful pouring from storm clouds that burst forth with water, there being fire in their insides,

Their light blinded the eye and violent thunder was cast in east and west;

There are lofty castles possessed of wealth while others are empty and uninhabited.

There are unshakable mountains towering, and seas whose waters abound,

There are stars which flash in the dark of night which we see every day are revolved,

And then there is a sun urged on by moon of night, each pursuing the other and in motion.

There are the young, the hoary, and the old, all of them one day to meet above.

And there is plenty beyond the surmise of those whose mind is not perplexed.

All these I mentioned are signs of God for the souls of good guidance and wisdom.””

Al-Ḥasan went on: “And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: ‘Whatever else I may forget, I will never forget him (Quss) at the ‘*Ukāz* festival, standing up on a red camel and addressing the people: ‘Gather around and listen, and having heard, be aware, benefit! And speak, and if you speak, tell the truth! He who lives dies, he who dies is gone, and all that is coming will come, rain and plants, the living and the dead, dark nights and skies with zodiac signs, and stars that

shine, and seas that rage, and light and shade, and nights and days, and innocence and sins. There is knowledge in the heavens and lessons on earth such as to amaze even the perspicacious. There is a ground laid out, a roof raised up, stars that set, seas that do not empty, destinies drawing near, a treacherous fate, as sharp as a surgeon's knife and as accurate as a precise scale. Quss swears an oath, neither insincere nor sinning thereby, that if there be any pleasure in this matter, then there will surely be discontent.' Then he said, 'O people, God has a religion which is more pleasing to him than this religion of yours you engage in. And this is its time, its epoch.' Then he said, 'How is it I see people go but not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned to some of his Companions and said, 'Which one of you can recite his verses to us?' Abū Bakr, the truthful, replied, 'By my father and my mother, I witnessed him on that day when he spoke the verses:

"In those who went first in ages past are clear proofs for us.
Since I saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings.
And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike.
The past will never come back to me, nor will any of those who stay remain behind;
I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone."

"Then a tall, broad-shouldered, venerable old sheikh of 'Abd Qays approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'By my father and my mother, I saw something remarkable from Quss.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'What was it you saw, O brother from 'Abd Qays?'

"He explained: 'In my youth some camels I owned wandered off, so I hurried and followed their trail into rocky desert land where there were thorny twigs, wastelands of dead tree roots and palm trunks, waterlily ponds, and ostrich tracks and nests. While I passed along the trails in these high and low wastes, I came to a hilly area whose upper slopes were thick with thorn trees, their branches hanging low, their first fruits like seeds of pepper and heads of chamomile. Suddenly there was a bubbling spring, a green meadow, and a lofty tree. And there too was Quss b. Sā'ida at the base of that tree, standing with a stick in his hand. I approached him and said, "Good morning to you!" "Good morning to you likewise" he replied. There were many lions going down to drink at the water-hole. Whenever one tried to drink from the hole before another he would strike it with his stick and say: "Be patient! Wait till the one before you drinks!" I was absolutely amazed at that. He looked across at me and said, "Don't be afraid." Then I saw two graves with a mosque between them. I asked him, "What are these graves?" He replied, "They're the graves of two brothers who

used to pray to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, at this spot. I remain here between their two graves, praying to God until I join them." I asked him, "But wouldn't it be better for you to join your people and enjoy their well-being and explain to them what it is they do that is evil?"

"“May your death make your mother grieve! Don't you know how Ishmael's sons abandoned the faith of their father and followed rival gods and venerated idols?"

"Then he approached the graves and spoke the following verses:

"O my two friends, arise; long have you lain. I urge you not to prolong your slumber;
I see sleep between your skin and your bones, as though he who gives a drug to drink has given it to you.

Is it from your long sleep that you do not respond to him who calls you, as though he who gives a drug to drink has given it to you?

Do you not know that I am in Najrān alone, with no friend there but for you two?

Living at your graves, not leaving night after night until your response is heard.

I weep for you throughout my life, and what had the heartbroken gained that we weep for you both?

If a soul were to be a ransom for the soul of another, I would strive to have my soul become ransom for you both

As if death were the closest goal for my soul when death had come to you in your two graves.”"

Al-Ḥasan went on: "So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'God have mercy on Quss! He will be resurrected as a whole nation by himself on Judgement Day.'"

This tradition is very strange in this regard; and it is *mursal*.⁴⁷ However, al-Ḥasan did hear it from al-Jārūd. God knows best!

Al-Bayhaqī related it, quoting the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir, from another route, from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Qurashī al-Akhbārī, as follows: "My father related to us, quoting 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī, from 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, may God be pleased with them both, as follows: 'Al-Jārūd b. 'Abd Allāh came forward and recalled almost the same anecdote, at length, with much additional prose and poetry. In that account there is the story of the man whose camels went astray and he went to find them. The man recited, "So I stayed the night in a valley where I was scared for my life, having only my sword to rely on, watching the stars, peering into the blackness, until the night had gone its term and morning was almost breathing; I then heard someone speak aloud the verses:

'O you lying down in the pitch black of night, God has sent a prophet in the sacred sanctuary,

47. That is, its authority chain extends back to a successor rather than a Companion of the Prophet.

From Ḥāshim, a people of trust and honour, illuminating all most gloomy, dark and impenetrable.”

“The man continued, “I turned but saw no one and heard nothing else. So I then spoke the following:

‘O you who speaks in darkest night, welcome indeed to you, a phantom who visited us!

Explain, may God give you guidance, in tone of words, what it is you urge that can be gained?’

““I then heard a clearing of the throat and a voice saying, ‘The light has appeared; and falsehood has been defeated. For God has sent Muḥammad with righteousness, the master of the red mount, and the crown and the helmet, he of the shining visage, and the full eyebrows, and the eyes of marked contrast between the white of the cornea and the black of the iris, the man responsible for the words of the “shahāda”, or testimony of the faith: “*lā ilāha illā Allāh*”, “there is no God but God”. That person is Muḥammad, the one sent to the black and the white, to the people of the village and the people of the deserts.’” Then he recited the words:

“Praise be to God who did not create nature in vain;
He did not once leave us forsaken after Jesus, nor was He uncaring.
He sent among us Aḥmad, the best Prophet ever dispatched.
May God bless him whenever parties of men hurried (to seek audience with) him.” ’

The same source attributes the following verses to Quss b. Sāʿida:

“O announcer of death and of the grave, in the tomb there are men in rags which are remnants of their clothing.

Leave them, for one day they will be called; and they, if they do waken from their sleep, will stay awake.

Until they revert to some state other than theirs, to a new creation similar to what they were before.

Some will be naked, some in their clothes, some of which will be new, some quickly frayed and tattered.”

Also, al-Bayhaqī related it from Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Asbahānī who said that Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Fardakh al-Akhmīmī of Mecca related it to him, quoting al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥdī, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Abū Ḥamza al-Thamālī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. The latter related the anecdote and the recitation and said that they found at his head a sheet on which were the verses:

“O announcer of death and of the dead, in the tomb there are men in rags which are remnants of their clothing,

Leave then, for one day they will be called, just as those who have fainted away at thunder will be aroused from their sleep.

Some will be naked and others will be dead in their clothes, some of which are bluish and shabby."

So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "By Him who sent me with the truth, Quss did believe in Judgement Day!"

The origins of this tradition are well known; these other lines of transmission despite their weakness, are helpful in affirming the origin of the anecdote.

Abū Muḥammad b. Darstawayh commented upon the strangeness of what occurred in this *ḥadīth*; most of it is obvious, if God Almighty wishes it so. We have drawn attention in our marginal commentary to what is extremely strange about it.

Al-Bayhaqī said that Abū Sa'd Sa'id b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Shu'aythī informed him that Abū 'Amr b. Abū Ṭāhir al-Muḥammadabādhi related to him verbally that Abū Lubāba Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī al-Abyurdī related to him, quoting his father, quoting Sa'id b. Hubayra, quoting al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān from his father, all from Anas b. Mālik, who said: "A delegation from Iyād went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he asked: 'What did Quss b. Sā'ida do?' They replied: 'He died.' He commented, 'Well, I heard some words from him I no longer recall.' Some of those present told him they remembered them, so he asked them to tell them. One of them responded, 'He stood up at the 'Ukāz festival and said, "O people, listen, hear, and take note. All those who live die. And all those who die pass away. And all that is to come will come. Dark nights. Skies with zodiac signs. Stars that shine. Seas that rage. Mountains tower above. Rivers flow. In heaven there is notice and on earth there is warning. I see people die and not return. Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep? Quss swears an oath by God, not sinning thereby, that God has a religion which is more pleasing to Him than that you engage in." Then he recited the verses:

"In those who went first in ages past are clear proofs for us.

Since I saw ways leading to death for people which had no beginnings,

And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike.

I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone."'''

Al-Bayhaqī then traces it back by other routes that we have referred to heretofore. After all of this, he then stated: "That *ḥadīth* was narrated from al-Kalbī from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās, with additions and deletions. It is also related via another way and with an incomplete line of transmission from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. It is also related in abbreviated form in a *ḥadīth* from Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and Abū Hurayra." And I comment: also from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, as given above, and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, as related by Abū Nu'aym in his book

al-Dalā'il (The Signs), from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Wāsiṭī, from Abū al-Walid Ṭarīf, son of 'Ubayd Allāh the *mawlā* (freedman) of Abū Ṭalīb of al-Mawṣil from Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥammānī, from Abū Mu'āwiya, from al-A'mash, from Abū al-Ḍuhā, from Masrūq, from Ibn Mas'ūd, and he related it. And Abū Nu'aym also related the *ḥadīth* of the aforementioned 'Ubāda and Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ.

Then al-Bayhaqī stated, "And since the *ḥadīth* is related from other routes, even if some of them are weak, it shows that it did have an origin. But God knows best."

An Account of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, God be pleased with him.

He was Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh b. Qurz b. Razāḥ b. 'Adī b. Ka'b b. Lu'āyy al-Qurashī al-'Adawī.

Al-Khaṭṭāb, father of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was both his uncle and brother from his mother. That was because 'Amr b. Nufayl had had a child by his father's wife after his father. She had had his brother al-Khaṭṭāb by Nufayl. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and Muḥammad b. Ishāq told us of this.

Zayd b. 'Amr gave up the worship of idols and abandoned their religion; he would only eat what had been slaughtered in the name of God alone.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq as follows: "Hishām b. 'Urwa related to me, from his father, that Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, said: 'I saw Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl leaning his back against the *ka'ba* saying, "O tribe of Quraysh, by Him in whose hand is Zayd's soul, not one of you apart from myself follows the religion of Abraham." Moreover, he would say, "O God, if only I knew the way most favoured by you, I would worship you by it, but I do not know." Also he would bow in prayer while on his mount.'"

Abū Usāma too related this, from Hishām, and added, "He would pray towards the *ka'ba* and say, 'My God is the God of Abraham, and my religion is that of Abraham.' He would give life back to girls about to be killed at birth, telling a man wishing to kill his daughter, 'Don't kill her. Give her to me to look after. When she grows up, you can take her back or if you wish give her up.'"

Al-Nasā'ī derived this account through Abū Usāma; and al-Bukhārī commented upon it saying, "And al-Layth said: 'Hishām b. 'Urwa wrote to me about it from his father.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, as follows, "There was a group of Quraysh who consisted of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, and 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Rṣāb b. Ya'mur b. Šabra b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghunm b. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, whose mother was Umayya

daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and whose sister was Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) married after his *mawlā*, his freedman, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, as we will relate hereafter. These men were present among Quraysh when they were before an idol of theirs to which they would make sacrifice at one of their feast days. As they all gathered, this group of men met apart and agreed that they would make a secret pact of friendship with one another. One of them said, 'By God, you know that your people are doing nothing; they have strayed from the religion of Abraham and gone against it. Why worship some idol incapable of doing harm or good? Seek out for yourselves!'

"So they left, seeking and searching throughout the land to find the *ḥanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham.

"As for Waraqa b. Nawfal, he became a Christian and became learned in Christianity, seeking out its scriptures from its adherents until he acquired a great knowledge from those who follow the Bible.

"None of this group was a man more honourable in deed nor more dedicated than Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl. He gave up the idols and abandoned all the religions, of the Jews, the Christians, and all the sects except the *ḥanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham. He spoke of the unity of God alone and cast aside the gods beneath Him. He ate none of the meat his people slaughtered, and warned them of the judgement they would suffer from the practices they followed."

He went on: "Al-Khaṭṭāb so persecuted him that eventually Zayd left him by going to the heights of Mecca. So al-Khaṭṭāb assigned a group of young Quraysh thugs to watch him and told them not to let him enter Mecca. He never did so except without their knowledge, and when they found out they harmed him and evicted him violently, hating that he should spoil their religion for them or get others to join him in his own practice."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated that he heard someone he trusted give a report about Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl to the effect that he would criticize Quraysh for the slaughter of their beasts, saying, "Sheep were created by God and He brings down from the skies the water that makes vegetation grow for them from the earth, so why do you slaughter them in the name of gods other than God, denying all that and venerating them?"

Yūnus said, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq: "Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl had determined to leave Mecca and travel across the land seeking the *ḥanafiyya*, the religion of Abraham. His wife Ṣafiyya, daughter of al-Ḥadramī, whenever she saw him preparing to make the departure he wished, would warn al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl.

"Zayd did leave for Syria, enquiring and seeking the religion of Abraham among the people of the first holy book. They say he went on doing this until he covered al-Mawṣil and all Mesopotamia, finally reaching Syria and travelling throughout it. Eventually he came upon a monk in a church in the region of

al-Balqā' who had, as they claim, much learning in Christianity. Zayd asked him about the *ḥanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham, and the monk replied, 'You are asking about a religion you'll not find anyone today to instruct you in. Those who had knowledge and familiarity with it have faded away and gone. But the emergence of a prophet draws near, his time having come.' Now Zayd had examined Judaism and Christianity, but had not been content with anything in them, and so he left quickly for Mecca after what the monk had told him. But when he was in Lakhm territory he was attacked and killed. Waraqa spoke the following verses eulogizing him:

'You followed the proper course and did right, O son of 'Amr; and indeed you have avoided the ovens of hell,

By your worshipping a Lord unlike any other and by your abandoning the idols of tyrants as they are,

Man may indeed be reached by God's mercy, even though he be seventy valleys beneath the earth.' "

Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba said, "Aḥmad b. Ṭāriq al-Wābishi related to us, quoting 'Amr b. 'Aṭiyya, from his father, from Ibn 'Umar, from Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, that the latter worshipped God before the coming of Islam. He once came to a Jew and told him he wanted him to induct him into his religion. The Jew replied, 'I will not accept you in my religion until you experience your share of God's anger.' Zayd replied, 'It is from the anger of God that I am fleeing.'

"Zayd went on further till he came to a Christian, telling him he would like to engage with him in his religion. The Christian replied, 'I'll not accept you in my religion until you experience your share of false guidance.' Zayd replied, 'It is from false guidance that I flee.' The Christian then told him: 'I will show you the way to a religion in which, if you follow it, you will be rightly guided.' 'What religion is that?' asked Zayd. 'The religion of Abraham,' he replied. So Zayd said, 'O God, I swear to you that I will follow the religion of Abraham; in it I shall live and die.'

"When Zayd's story was referred to the Prophet (ṢAAS) he stated, 'He will be as a nation all by himself on Judgement Day.'"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba, on the authority of Sālim from Ibn 'Umar, related approximately the same.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated: "'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sayf al-Qurashī related to us, from Ismā'īl, from Mujālid from al-Sha'bī, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb as follows: 'Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl said, "I examined Judaism and Christianity and disliked them both. I travelled in Syria and the neighbouring lands and eventually came to a monk in a cell. I told him of my alienation from my own people and of my dislike for the worship of idols,

Judaism, and Christianity. He told me, 'I see you desire the religion of Abraham, O brother from the people of Mecca. You are searching for a religion that today no one adheres to, the religion of your father Abraham. He was a *hanif*, neither a Jew nor a Christian. He prayed and prostrated himself in the direction of that house which is in your land. So you must go to your own country. God will send from your people in your land one who will bring the religion of Abraham, the *hanifiyya*; he is the most noble of creation in God's sight.'?"

Yūnus stated that Ibn Ishāq said, "A member of the family of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl related to me the following, 'Zayd used to say when he entered the *ka'ba*, "Here I am before you, really and truly, in worship, verity and submission. I turn in submission quoting Abraham, facing the *ka'ba*." He would stand as he would say, "O my God, I am submissive to you, fearful, and humble. Whatever painful task you impose, I will perform it. It is faith I desire, not vanity. He who journeys in the heat is not as one who naps in the afternoon.'"

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated, "Al-Mas'ūdī related to us, from Nufayl b. Hishām b. Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl al-'Adawī, on the authority of his father, from his grandfather, that Zayd b. 'Amr and Waraqa b. Nawfal went off seeking religion and finally met a monk at al-Mawṣil. The monk asked Zayd, 'Where have you travelled from, O camel master?' 'From Abraham's building,' he replied. 'What are you seeking?' then asked the monk. 'I am seeking the religion,' replied Zayd. The monk responded, 'Go back; it is soon to appear in your land.'

"Zayd went on: 'Now Waraqa did adopt Christianity; but in my case, although I intended to become Christian he (the monk) would not accept me.' So Zayd returned home and spoke the words: 'Here I am before You, in truth, in worship and in submission. It is faith I desire, not vanity. Is he who journeys in the heat as one who naps in the afternoon? I believe in what Abraham believed in.' He also said, 'O my God, I am submissive to You, fearful, and humble. Whatever painful task You impose, I will perform it.' Then he would bow down and prostrate himself in prayer."

The account continues, "His son, by whom I mean Sa'īd b. Zayd, one of the *ashra*,⁴⁸ the ten, God bless him, said, 'O Messenger of God, my father was as you have seen and heard; seek forgiveness for him.' He replied, 'Yes; he will be raised up on Judgement Day as a nation, by himself.'"

It continues: "And Zayd b. 'Amr b. Zayd came to the Messenger of God when the latter was in the company of Zayd b. Ḥāritha; the two men were eating from a dining-table set out for them. They invited Zayd b. 'Amr to eat with them, but he replied, 'I am not one who eats what has been slaughtered on sacrificial stones.'"

48. *Al-ashra al-mubashshara* (the promised ten) denotes ten persons variously reported in non-canonical traditions as having been assured places in paradise. They include: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Talḥa, Zubayr, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, Sa'īd b. Abī Waqqās, and Sa'īd b. Zayd, along with the Prophet (SAAS).

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, "Muḥammad b. 'Amr related to us, Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra related to me, from Mūsā b. Maysara, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from Ḥajar b. Abū Ihāb, as follows, 'I saw Zayd b. 'Amr while I was at the idol named Bawāna, just after he had returned from Syria. He was observing the sun; when it set he approached the *ka'ba* and performed the prayer of two prostrations. Then he said, "This is the *qibla*, the prayer site, to which Abraham and Ishmael directed themselves. I do not worship a stone, nor pray to it, nor eat what was sacrificed to it, nor will I seek the judgement of divining arrows. Yet I will pray towards this house till I die."

"He would also perform the pilgrimage and station himself on Mt. 'Arafāt. He would also make the prayer call saying, "*Labbayk!* At Your service; there is no partner to You, nor any peer." Then he would leave 'Arafāt, walking and praying, saying, "*Labbayk!* At Your service, in worship and submission."'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "'Alī b. 'Isā al-Hakamī related to me, from his father, from 'Āmir b. Rabī'a as follows, 'I heard Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl say, "I await the coming of a prophet from the progeny of Ishmael, then from the tribe of 'Abd al Muṭṭalib. I do not see myself living to his time. But I have faith in him, assert his truthfulness, and testify that he is a prophet. If you live on a long time and see him, then tell him of my greetings to him. I will inform you of his qualities so that he will not be unknown to you." I replied, "Do so then."

"He continued, "He will be a man neither tall nor short with neither much nor little hair. Redness is never absent from his eye. He bears the mark of prophethood between his shoulders. His name is to be Aḥmad and this country will be the place of his birth and his mission. Then his people will expel him from it and will disapprove of his message until he will emigrate to Yathrib; and so his authority will appear. Take care that you are not deceived about him, for I have travelled all over seeking the religion of Abraham. And those of the Jews, Christians, and Magians to whom I made enquiry answered, 'That religion is behind you.' And they would describe him as I have described him to you and say, 'There is no prophet but him.'"

"Āmir b. Rabī'a stated, 'And when I became a Muslim I informed the Messenger of God (SAAS) of the words of Zayd b. 'Amr and did pass on his greetings to him. He returned such greeting to him and prayed for mercy for him, saying, 'I have seen him in paradise in long, flowing robes.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection in his account on Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to him that Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān related to us, quoting Mūsā b. 'Uqba, that Sālim related, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, that the Prophet (SAAS) met Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl in the lowlands of Balḍāḥ, before revelation descended upon the Prophet. A meal was set out for the Prophet (SAAS) but he, Zayd, refused to eat of it. Then Zayd said, "I'm not going to eat from what you slaughter on your sacrificial stones; and I will only

eat what has had the name of God spoken over it." Zayd b. 'Amr would criticize Quraysh for the animal sacrifices they made, saying, "Sheep are created by God; He sends rain down from the skies and makes things grow for them from the earth. But then you slaughter them in the name of gods other than Him, denying all of that and venerating them!"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba said that Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh related to him (indicating that he would not acknowledge what he related except that he spoke of it on the authority of Ibn 'Umar) that Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl left for Syria enquiring after the religion he would follow and met a learned Jew whom he asked about his religion. Zayd said, "I'm inclined towards adopting your religion, so tell me of it." The man replied, "You will not be in our religion until you receive your share of God's anger." Zayd replied, "But it's only God's anger from which I flee; I bear none of God's anger, nor could I. Can you then direct me to something else?" He replied, "I don't know of anything – except for you to be a *ḥanīf*." "What", asked Zayd, "is a *ḥanīf*?" "The religion of Abraham, peace be upon him; he was neither a Jew nor a Christian and worshipped none but God."

So Zayd left and met a Christian scholar to whom he spoke as before. But the Christian replied, "You will not be of our religion until you take your share of the curses of God." Zayd replied, "But it's only from the curses of God that I flee. I do not at all ever bear the curses of God or His anger, nor could I. So would you direct me to something else?" "I don't know of anything, except for you to be a *ḥanīf*," the Christian answered. "What is a *ḥanīf*?" Zayd asked. "It is the religion of Abraham," the Christian answered; "he was neither a Jew nor a Christian and worshipped none but God."

Having considered their statement about Abraham, Zayd went outside and when he was in open country, he raised his hands and said, "O God, I testify that I follow the religion of Abraham."

Al-Bukhārī went on: "And al-Layth said, 'Hishām b. 'Urwa wrote to me, on the authority of his father, and that of Asmā' daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with them both; he quotes her as having said, "I saw Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl standing leaning his back against the *ka'ba*, saying, 'O tribe of Quraysh, by God, none of you is in Abraham's religion except me.' And he used to give life back to a girl about to be killed at birth, saying to the man who wished to kill his daughter, 'Don't kill her; I will take care of providing for her.' Then he would take her away, and when she grew up he would tell her father, 'If you like, I'll either return her to you or provide for her.''" This brings to an end al-Bukhārī's account of Zayd.

This last anecdote was corroborated by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir in a line of authority from Abū Bakr b. Abū Dāwūd from 'Isā b. Ḥammād, from al-Layth, from Hishām, from his father back to Asma', and his account is similar.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād said that on a line of authority from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, Asmā’ said: “I heard Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl say, as he was resting his back against the *ka‘ba*: ‘O tribe of Quraysh, beware of adultery; it bequeaths poverty.’”

Here in his account Ibn ‘Asākir gave several very strange anecdotes, some of which are extremely implausible. Then he related from a variety of lines back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said: “He will be raised up on Judgement Day as a nation all by himself.” These accounts include the one by Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Abū Shayba in which he indicated that Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb al-Ṣaffār and Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Umawī related to him, from Mujālid, from al-Sha‘bi, from Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl having approached the *qibla* before the coming of Islam and saying, “My God is the God of Abraham, and my religion that of Abraham” and then making the prayer prostrations. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “That man will be gathered (on Judgement Day) as a nation all by himself between me and Jesus son of Mary.” The chain of authorities for this is very good.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Mūsā b. Shayba related to him, from Khārija b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b. b. Mālīk, who said, “I heard Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab make reference to Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl with the words, ‘He died while Quraysh were building the *ka‘ba*, five years before the divine inspiration descended upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And death came to him while he spoke the words, “I follow the religion of Abraham.”’ His son Sa‘īd b. Zayd became a Muslim and a follower of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Once ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Sa‘īd b. Zayd approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl and he responded, ‘May God give him forgiveness and grant him mercy. He died following the religion of Abraham.’ And after that day Muslims never failed to pray for forgiveness and mercy for him whenever they mentioned his name. And then Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab himself spoke the words, ‘May God grant him mercy and forgiveness.’”

Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd quoted al-Wāqidi as having said, “Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā al-Sa‘īd related to me that he heard his father say, ‘Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl died in Mecca and he was buried at the foot of Mt. Ḥirā’.”

We, however, stated previously that he died in the land of al-Balqā’ in Syria, when he was attacked by some men of the tribe of Lakhm who killed him at a place called Mayfa’a. But God knows best.

Al-Bāghandi said, giving a line of authorities through Abū Sa‘īd al-Ashajj, Abū Mu‘āwiya, Hishām and his father, that ‘Ā’isha said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘I entered paradise and saw that Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl had two fine, lofty trees.’”

Among the verses of Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl, God have mercy on him, are the lines:

"To God I give my praise and homage, expressing a lasting joy that time will not fade.

To the Sovereign Lord all high, above whom there is none, a God to whom no other Lord can draw close."

It is also said that these lines are of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt. But God knows best.

Among his verses affirming the oneness of God are the lines related by Muḥammad b. Ishāq and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, among others:

"I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the earth bearing heavy rocks submits;
He laid it down and when it settled He made it firm and level, then raised up the mountains above it.

I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the clouds bearing sweet cool water submit,

When they are drawn along to a place, they obey, and pour water down copiously upon it.

I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the wind, changing direction hither and yon, submits."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said, "I heard from Hishām b. 'Urwa that, according to his father, Zayd b. 'Amr spoke the verses:

"Is it one Lord or one thousand I'm to worship according to your calculations?

I have abandoned al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā together; thus do all those who are firm and determined.

It is not al-'Uzzā I worship, nor her daughters, nor do I visit the two idols of the 'Amr tribe.

Nor do I worship Ghanm, though he was our Lord when I had little wisdom.

I was perplexed – and at night many things are strange that a sensible man understands well by day –

That God erased many men who lived in wickedness,

Yet gave long life to others through the faith of a people so that from them a young child could multiply,

And though a man may falter, one day he may be cured, as a green tree branch will leaf again,

But I worship the All-merciful, my lord, that the compassionate Lord may forgive my sins.

So preserve your fear of God your Lord; while you preserve it you will not be lost.

You will see that the abode of the innocent is paradise, and that there is a burning hell-fire for disbelievers,

Shame while alive and when they die they will suffer terrible torture."

This is the complete text of this poem as given by Muḥammad b. Ishāq. Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī related it from Mus'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, from al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād.

Hishām b. ʿUrwa stated, from his father, that Asmā³, daughter of Abū Bakr, said, "Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl spoke the following verses:

‘I have abandoned all spirits and demons; thus do all those who are firm and determined;

It is not al-ʿUzzā I worship, nor her daughters, nor do I revere the two idols of the Ṭasam tribe.

Nor do I worship Ghanm, though he was our lord when I had little wisdom,

Is it one lord or a thousand I’m to worship according to your calculations?

Do you not know that God erased many men who lived in wickedness,

And gave long life to others through the faith of a people so that from them a young boy could grow up.

And though a man may falter, one day he may be cured, as a green tree branch will leaf again.”

Waraqa b. Nawfal spoke the following poetry:

“You followed the proper course and did right, O son of ʿAmr, but indeed you have avoided the hot ovens of hell,

For your worship of a Lord unlike any other and for your abandoning as they are the spirits of the mountains,

I say that when I descend into some eerie place: have pity, do not let enemies appear before me.

Have pity! For you are the hope of the spirits; and you are my God, our Lord, and my hope.

Let the mercy of his Lord attain a man, even if he be seventy valleys down beneath the earth.

I worship a Lord who responds, and I will not be seen worshipping someone who does not ever hear anyone calling.

I say as I pray in every church: ‘Blessed be You; I have indeed prayed much in Your name.’”

It has been stated earlier that Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl left for Syria along with Waraqā b. Nawfal, ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. All became Christians except Zayd, who adopted no religion but remained in his natural state of the worship of God alone and without partner, following as best he could the religion of Abraham, as we have mentioned.

As for Waraqā b. Nawfal, his story will be told in discussion of the beginnings of the divine mission.

As for ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, he remained in Syria until he died there while with Caesar. His story is very strange and was related by al-Umawī. In brief it is as follows. When he approached Caesar and complained to him of the treatment he had received from his own people, Caesar wrote for him to Ibn Jafna, the king of the Arabs of Syria, to the effect that he should provide an army to go with him to make war against Quraysh. He did decide to do so, but the

bedouins wrote to him advising him against that action because of what they saw to be the greatness of Mecca, and also how God had treated the army that had come with the elephants. So Ibn Jafna invested him with a tunic dyed with poison and he was killed by it. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl eulogized him in poetry recorded by al-Umawī which we have left out for brevity's sake.

His death occurred some three years before the mission of Islam. But God, All-glorious and Almighty is He, knows best.

*An Account of some of the events that occurred in the time of the fatra,⁴⁹
including the building of the ka'ba.*

It has been said that it was Adam who first built it. Such a statement comes down in a *ḥadīth* that is *marfū'*⁵⁰ and came on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr ; Ibn Lahī'a is one of its chain of authorities and he is an authority considered *ḍa'īf*, weak.

The most credible of statements is that Abraham, *al-Khalīl*, "the true friend", peace be upon him, was the first who built it, as reported above. Simāk b. Ḥarb so related, from Khālīd b. 'Ar'ara back to 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib who said, "Then it collapsed, was rebuilt by *al-'amāliqa*, 'the giants', fell down and was built again by Jurhum; thereafter it collapsed and was rebuilt by Quraysh."

Here I will recount its being built by Quraysh; this occurred some five, or as some say fifteen, years before the coming of Islam. Al-Zuhri stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had by then attained puberty." Material related to all that will come in its proper place, if God wills it, and in Him there is trust.

An Account of Ka'b b. Lu'ayy.

Abū Nu'aym related in a line from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaṣan b. Zabala, from Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-Taymī, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith back to Abū Salama who said, "Ka'b b. Lu'ayy would gather his people on Friday, a day Quraysh used to name *al-'arība*, and he would address them as follows: 'And moreover you must listen, learn, understand, and know. Tranquil night, sunlit day; the earth is flat, the skies erected, the mountains bulwarks, the stars markers. The first are as the last, the female and the male, the couple, and whatever excites, all heads for decay. So respect your ties of relationship and preserve your kinship,

49. *Al-fatra* is a word given in Arabic to mean the period or the interval between two prophets. Here it refers to the interval between the life of Jesus and that of Muḥammad.

50. A tradition related by a Companion of the Prophet and reporting the latter's words or actions.

and make your wealth multiply. For did you ever see return someone who expired, or a dead person revived? The (eternal) abode is before you and thought is not what you express. Embellish and venerate your sanctuary and preserve it well; for to it glorious tidings will come. And from it will emerge a noble prophet.'

"Then he would say,

'Daytime and night, every day has a happening; the same to us whether by day time or night.

They both bring events when they arrive and their coverings over us bring many blessings.

The Prophet MuḤammad will come unexpectedly, and bring such news; believable indeed is their bearer.'

"Then he would say, 'By God, were I but part of them, by hearing and sight, by hand and foot, I would vigorously rise up like a camel, and charge into it like a stallion.'

"Then he would say, 'Would that I could witness the impact of his mission, when the tribe seeks the truth without vigour.'

Between the death of Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there was a period of 560 years.

An Account of the re-digging of the well zamzam by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, its whereabouts having been lost from the period when Jurhum filled and levelled it, up to his own time.

MuḤammad b. Ishāq stated, "'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was sleeping in the sacred enclosure when he received a vision ordering him to dig up *zamzam*.

"'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the first to begin digging it, according to what was related to me by Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī from Marthad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yazani, from 'Abd Allāh b. Dhurayr al-Ghāfiqī, namely, that the last mentioned heard 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, telling how 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had been ordered to dig *zamzam*. 'Alī reported 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as saying: 'I was sleeping in the sanctuary when a vision came to me and said, "Dig *ṭiba*!" "But what's *ṭiba*?' I asked. But it vanished.

"Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig *barra*!" "But what's *barra*?' I asked. But it vanished.

"Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig *al-maḍnūna*!" "But what's *al-maḍnūna*?' I asked. But it vanished.

"Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig *zamzam*!" "But what's *zamzam*?' I asked. "It will never fail or dry up; it

will water the grand pilgrim. It lies between the dung and the blood, near the nest of the crow with the white leg and the ants' nest.”

“The matter having been clarified and he having been directed to its location, and knowing that he had been spoken to in truth, he took up his pick-axe next day and went off in the company of his son al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his only son at that time. So he dug down for it and when the coping stone appeared to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib he let out a cry of praise for God. Quraysh therefore knew that he had achieved his purpose so they came and told him, ‘O ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is the well of our father Ishmael; we have a right to it, so make us partners in it with yourself.’ ‘I will do no such thing; I was specifically assigned to this without you; I was given it from among you all,’ he replied. They asked again, ‘Treat us fairly; we’ll not leave you alone till we share with you in it.’ ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied, ‘Then appoint someone of your choice for me to ask to adjudicate the matter with you.’ ‘The woman diviner of the Banū Sa’d b. Hudhaym,’ they suggested. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib agreed; the woman lived in the uplands of Syria.

“So ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib mounted up with a company of men of the Banū Ummaya, along with members of each tribe of Quraysh and they all left. The earth at that time was waterless and having travelled some distance ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and his friends had used up their water. They were so thirsty that they became convinced they were doomed. They therefore asked the other party for water, but they refused, saying, ‘We’re in a waterless desert and we fear for ourselves a similar plight that afflicts you.’ ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib then said, ‘I think each man should dig a grave for himself with the strength he has remaining, so that when anyone dies his friends can put him in the hole and cover him up, and so on till there is only one man left. Better the loss (without burial) of one than that of a whole company.’ ‘What you instruct is good,’ they agreed.

“So each man dug himself a hole, and they sat down to await death from thirst. But then ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib told his companions, ‘By God, our casting ourselves down by our own hands like this for death without searching the land and exerting ourselves is truly weakness; God may well provide us water somewhere in this land. Mount up!’ So they did so. But when ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib urged his mount up, a spring of sweet water burst up from beneath its hoof! ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib made exclamations of God’s greatness, as did his companions; he and they dismounted, drank, and filled their water flasks. Then ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib called the Quraysh tribesmen who had been watching all this, saying, ‘Come on over to the spring. God has given us water.’ So they came and drank, all filling their flasks. They then said, ‘Judgement has been made, by God, in your favour against us! We won’t ever dispute with you over *zamzam*. He who gave you this water in this desert is also He who gave you *zamzam*. So return to your drawing of water, it being your right.’

"So he and they all went back without consulting the diviner. And Quraysh gave 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib free access to *zamzam*."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And that is the account I heard on the authority of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib concerning *zamzam*."

He also said, "I heard someone relate a tradition that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was told, when ordered to dig *zamzam*:

'Then pray for abundant water without impurities to quench God's pilgrims at all the sacred sites.

'There's nothing to fear so long as it provides.'

"Having been told so, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went to Quraysh and said to them, 'You should know that I have been ordered to dig *zamzam*.' They asked, 'And was it explained to you where it lies?' When he responded in the negative, they told him, 'Then go back to your bed where you had your vision. For if it in truth came from God, it will be made clear to you, whereas if it came from Satan, it will not reappear to you.' 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib did return and slept and did receive a visitation, being told: 'Dig *zamzam*. You will not regret if you do dig it. It is an inheritance from your most mighty Father. It will never fail or dry up. It will water the grand pilgrim. Like fleeing ostriches, it will never be divided. A truth-sayer vows it to a benefactor. It will be an inheritance and a secure contract. It is not as some things you might have known. And it lies between the dung and the blood.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "It is claimed that when this was said to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he asked, 'Then where is it?' He was then told that it was near the ants' nest where the crow would peck the next day. But God knows whether that was so.

"Next day 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went with his son al-Ḥārith, his only son at that time (al-Umawī added: 'along with his servant Aṣram') and found the ants' nest and the crow pecking near by, between the two idols Isāf and Nā'ila, at which Quraysh would make sacrifice. So he brought his pick-axe to dig where he had been told. But Quraysh stood in his way saying, 'By God, we'll not allow you to dig down between our two idols to which we make sacrifice.' 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib addressed his son al-Ḥārith, 'Protect me so I can dig, for by God I shall carry on and do what I was ordered.' When Quraysh realized that he would not back down, they made way for him to dig and left him alone. He had not been digging for long before the coping stone appeared and he acclaimed the greatness of God, knowing that truth had been spoken to him. Persisting in the digging, he found there two golden gazelles that Jurhum had buried, along with some white metal swords and some breast-plates.

"Quraysh then addressed him, 'O 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, we have a right to share in this.' 'No,' he replied, 'but let us decide what is equitable between us. Let us use divinatory arrows over it.' 'What shall we do then?' they asked. He replied, 'I will make two arrows for the *ka'ba*, two for myself, and two for you. Whoever

has his arrows come out for something, that he shall have. Whoever has his arrows left behind gets nothing.' They agreed that this was fair. So he made two yellow arrows for the *ka'ba*, two black ones for himself, and two white ones for them. Then he gave the arrows to the diviner at the site of the idol Hubal, who was to cast them. And Hubal was the largest of their idols; that was why Abū Sufyān said at the battle of Uḥud, 'Arise, O Hubal!', referring to that idol. So 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said a prayer to God."

Yūnus b. Bukayr recounted, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib began saying:

"O God, You are the much-praised King; my Lord; You are the one who initiates and repeats,

The one who is firmly holding the rocky mountain; from You comes all that is new or that is old.

If You wish, You give inspiration as You want, to find the place of the ornaments and the steel.

So make clear today what You wish; I have made a vow to Him who decides

Give it, O my Lord, to me, and I'll not go back."

"The diviner cast the arrows and the two yellow ones went towards the gazelles, giving them to the *ka'ba*, the two black ones came out for the swords and armour, making them for 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, but the two arrows for Quraysh remained behind. So 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib hammered down the two swords into a door for the *ka'ba* into which he incorporated the two golden gazelles. This was, so they say, the first decoration of gold the *ka'ba* had."

Thereafter 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib took charge of providing water from *zamzam* to the pilgrims. And Ibn Ishāq and others relate that Mecca had many wells in it prior to the appearance of *zamzam* at the time of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Ibn Ishāq, moreover, enumerated and named them, and told their whereabouts in and around Mecca as well as those who dug them. His account of this concludes, "*Zamzam* overshadowed all the other wells, their customers preferring to go to it, because of its proximity to the holy mosque, the superiority of its water over the rest, and its having been the well of Ishmael, son of Abraham. The 'Abd Manāf tribe expressed because of it a superiority over all Quraysh as well as all the other Arabs."

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim in the material relating to the adoption of Islam by Abū Dharr, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said the following about *zamzam*: "It is the taste supreme. It is the cure of disease."

The Imām Aḥmad (Ibn Hanbal) said, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Walid related to us, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'mil, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'The water of *zamzam* is for what is drunk from it.'"

Ibn Māja related this also, from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mu’mil. They spoke it and gave its wording as: “The water of *zamzam* is for what is drunk to it.” Suwayd b. Sa‘īd related it from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Mawālī, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Jābir, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) who said, “The water of *zamzam* is for what is drunk to it.” However, Suwayd b. Sa‘īd is a weak link. The tradition as preserved from Ibn al-Mubārak from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mu’mil is as given above. Al-Ḥākim related it from Ibn ‘Abbās in the form “The water of *zamzam* is for what is drunk to it.” And this is questionable. But God knows best.

Similarly, Ibn Māja and al-Ḥākim relate that Ibn ‘Abbās said to a man, “When you drink from *zamzam* face the *ka‘ba* and repeat the name of God. Then breathe deeply three times and drink from it until you are full. When finished, give praise to God. For the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘The evidence of the differences between us and the hypocrites is that they do not drink to the fill from the water of *zamzam*.’”

And it is related from ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib that he said, “O God, I do not allow a person to wash with it; it is for people to drink *ḥillun*, ‘freely available’, *wa*, ‘and’, *ballun*, ‘allowed’.”⁵¹

Some learned scholars report this from al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib but in fact it came from ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib himself, for it was he who restored *zamzam* as stated above. But God knows best.

Al-Umawī wrote in his *Maghāzī* work as follows: “Abū ‘Ubayd related to us, Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd informed us, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala, that the last mentioned said that he heard Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab relate that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim remarked when he dug *zamzam*, ‘I do not allow a person to wash with it; it is freely available and allowed for a person to drink it.’ To that purpose he had two basins for it, one for drinking, the other for the prayer ablution. At that point he said, ‘I do not allow a person to wash with it, deeming it inappropriate for the mosque to be washed in.’”

According to Abū ‘Ubayd, al-Asma‘ī stated that his saying *wa ballun* is an *itbā‘*,⁵² “corroboration of the preceding word”, *ḥillun*. But Abū ‘Ubayd objected that an *itbā‘* cannot occur with the *waw* of conjunction (*wa* meaning “and”) but it is used because, as Mu‘tamir b. Sulaymān had indicated, *ballun* in the language of Ḥimyar means *mubāḥ*, i.e. “allowed”.

Abū ‘Ubayd then said, “Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh related to us, from ‘Āsim b. Abū al-Nujūd, that he heard Zirr (say) that he heard al-‘Abbās state, ‘I do not allow a person to wash in it.’” And ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to us, as did

51. Discussion of these words *ḥillun wa ballun* follows in the text. Also, another meaning of the word *ballun* is “for wetting”.

52. In Arabic grammar *itbā‘* is intensification by repetition of a word with its initial consonant changed.

Sufyān, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alqama, that the last mentioned heard Ibn 'Abbās say the same."

And this tradition relating back to both of them is true; it has them so saying in their own era with the purpose of informing and establishing what 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had specified when he dug it; thus it does not contradict the preceding account. But God knows best.

The rights to providing water for the pilgrims remained with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as long as he lived, thereafter passing to his son Abū Ṭālib for a period. Then it so happened that he became impoverished for a while and went into debt to his brother al-'Abbās for 10,000 from one year to the next. Abū Ṭālib spent the money on matters relating to watering the pilgrims, and when the next year arrived he had nothing left. So he asked his brother for a loan of 14,000 to the following year, at which time, he promised, he would repay the total debt. But al-'Abbās agreed only on condition that if Abū Ṭālib did not repay it, control of the well would transfer to himself. To this Abū Ṭālib agreed.

When the next year arrived Abū Ṭālib had nothing to give to al-'Abbās and so he relinquished control of the well to him. Thereafter it went to 'Abd Allāh, al-'Abbās' son, then to 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, to Dāwūd b. 'Alī, to Sulaymān b. 'Alī and to ʿIsā b. 'Alī. Then al-Manṣūr took it over and entrusted its control to his *mawlā*, his freed slave, Abū Ruzayn. Al-Umawī gave this account.

An Account of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's vow to sacrifice one of his sons.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It is claimed that when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib received such opposition from Quraysh over the digging of *zamzam*, he vowed that if ten sons were born to him who grew up and protected him, he would sacrifice one of them for God at the *ka'ba*.

"Eventually he had ten sons grown up whom he knew would give him protection. Their names were al-Ḥārith, al-Zubayr, Ḥajl, Ḍirār, al-Muqawwim, Abū Lahab, al-'Abbās, Ḥamza, Abū Ṭālib, and 'Abd Allāh. He assembled them and told them of his vow and asked them to honour his pledge to God, Almighty and All-glorious is He. They obeyed, and asked him what he wanted them to do. He asked each of them to take an arrow, write his name on it and return to him.

"They did so and he went with them inside the *ka'ba* to the site of their god Hubal where there was the well in which offerings to the *ka'ba* would be placed. There, near Hubal, were seven arrows which they would use for divining a judgement over some matter of consequence, a question of blood-money, kinship, or the like. They would come to Hubal to seek a resolution, accepting whatever they were ordered to do or to refrain from."

The outcome was that when ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib came to seek judgement with the arrows from Hubal, the one with the name of his son ‘Abd Allāh came forth. He was his youngest boy and the one he loved most, but ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib took his son ‘Abd Allāh by the hand, drew out his knife, and went up to Isāf and Nāʾila⁵³ to sacrifice him. At this Quraysh left their meeting-places and asked him what he intended to do. When he replied that he was going to sacrifice ‘Abd Allāh, they, along with ‘Abd Allāh’s brothers, said, “By God, do not sacrifice him without seeking forgiveness for him; if you do this men will keep bringing their sons to sacrifice and how could that go on?”

Yūnus b. Bukayr related from Ibn Ishāq that al-‘Abbās was the one who drew ‘Abd Allāh out from beneath his father’s foot when he had placed it on him to sacrifice him. And it is said that he scarred his face so badly that it remained visible there till he died.

Thereafter Quraysh advised that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib should go to the Hijāz where there was a woman diviner who had an attendant spirit, and that he should consult her. “That”, they said, “is the best you can do. If she then orders you to sacrifice him, do so; but if she tells you to do something that provides you a way out, then accept it.”

So they left for Medina, where they found that the diviner whose name was Sajāh, as Yunus b. Bukayr reported from Ibn Ishāq, was at Khaybar. They rode off again and went to her and sought her advice, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib telling her of the whole problem regarding him and his son. She told them: “Leave me today, until my attendant spirit comes and I can ask him.”

They left her and ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib prayed to God. Next day they went back to her and she informed them that she had had a message. “How much is the blood-money you prescribe?” she asked. “Ten camels,” they told her, that being then the case. “Then go back to your land and present your man as an offering and do the same with ten camels. Then cast arrows to decide between him and them. If the divining arrow points to him then add to the number of camels until your god is satisfied; if it points to the camels, then sacrifice them in his place. That way you will please your god and save your man.”

So they went back to Mecca and, when they had agreed to do as she had said, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said prayers to God. Then they offered up ‘Abd Allāh and the ten camels as sacrifice and cast the arrow. It came out against ‘Abd Allāh so they added ten more camels and tried once more. Again it came out against him and they added ten more, then kept on doing so until the camels reached one hundred in number. When they next cast the arrow it came out for the camels. At that point the men of Quraysh told ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was standing near Hubal praying to God, “It’s all over! Your God is pleased, O ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.” It is

53. Two idols referred to earlier.

claimed that he then replied, "No, not until I cast the arrows three times." So they did cast three times, the arrow always indicating the camels, which were slaughtered and left there for anyone to take without hindrance. And Ibn Hishām reported "And it is said, for any wild beast to take as well."

It is otherwise related that when the number of camels reached 100 the arrow was still against 'Abd Allāh, so they added another 100, making 200, and the same thing happened. Likewise it did with 300. It was then that the arrow came out against the camels, whereupon 'Abd al Muṭṭalib slaughtered them. But the first account is the true one. Though God knows best.

Ibn Jarīr related, from Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'ālā, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhri from Qabiṣa b. Dhu'ayb that Ibn 'Abbās was asked for advice by a woman who had vowed to sacrifice her son at the *ka'ba*. He told her to sacrifice 100 camels instead and related to her the above account about 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She then asked 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar but he gave her no legal decision, simply refraining from doing so. The problem then reached Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was the governor of Medina. He said, "Neither of them gave a correct decision." He then ordered the woman to perform whatever acts of charity she could, forbidding her from sacrificing her son and not ordering her to slaughter any camels. And the people accepted Marwān's judgement in the matter. But God knows best.

*An Account of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's marriage of his son 'Abd Allāh to
Āmina bint Wahb al-Zuhriyya.*

Ibn Ishāq stated: "'Abd al-Muṭṭalib then left, holding his son 'Abd Allāh by the hand. They passed, it is claimed, a woman of Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy who was named Umm Qattāl; she was the sister of Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy and had been there at the *ka'ba*. She stared into the face of 'Abd Allāh and asked him where he was going. 'With my father,' he replied. 'If you will have me now,' she said, 'you can have the like number of camels that were sacrificed for you!' 'But I am with my father, and I may not oppose him or leave him,' he answered."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib took him further on till they reached Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr who was at that time leader of Banū Zuhra in both age and honour. He agreed to marry to 'Abd Allāh his daughter Āmina, who was then the woman most highly regarded among his people.

It is claimed that 'Abd Allāh consummated the marriage then and there, and that she conceived the Messenger of God (SAAS). Afterwards he left her and passed again by the woman who had made a proposition to him. He asked her,

"How come you're not making me the offer today you did yesterday?" She replied, "The light you bore yesterday has left you, and I need you no more." She had heard from her brother Waraqa b. Nawfal who had become a Christian and studied the Scriptures, that there was to be a prophet come to that nation, and she wanted him to be born to her. So God made him of the finest and most noble lineage, as the Almighty put it, in the Qur'ān, "And God knows best where to place His prophethood" (*sūrat al-An'am*, VI, v.124). We will relate the birth itself in detail.

And among the verses spoken by Umm Qattāl expressing her disappointment at her failure to get what she had wanted are the following lines related by al-Bayhaqī from Yūnus b. Bukayr from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God be pleased with him:

"And so on to Banū Zuhra, where they were, and to Āmina who bore a boy
She sees *al-Mahdī*, the right-guided, when he mounted her, and a light that had
preceded him ahead . . ."

and so on to the lines:

"All creation, all mankind, were hoping for him to lead the people as an Imām,
rightly guided.

God shaped him from a light, making it pure, its glow taking the gloom from us.

That is the work of your lord who singled him out, whether he would move ahead
one day or stay

He guides the people of Mecca after faithlessness, enjoining thereafter the fast."

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Kharāṣī said that 'Alī b. Ḥarb related to him, as did Muḥammad b. 'Umāra al-Qurashī, as did Muslim b. Khālīd al-Zanjī, as did Ibn Jurayj from 'Atā' b. Abū Ribāḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās that the latter said, "When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went off with his son 'Abd Allāh to arrange his marriage, he passed by a woman diviner of the Tibāla people who had adopted the Jewish faith and read the Scriptures, her name being Fāṭima daughter of Murr al-Khath'amiyya. She saw the light of prophethood on 'Abd Allāh's face and said, 'Young man, would you like to have me now and let me give you 100 camels?' 'Abd Allāh replied with the verse,

'I'd rather die than do the forbidden, and staying here is not allowed, I clearly see.
So how could we do what you desire?'"

Then 'Abd Allāh passed on with his father who married him to Āmina daughter of Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra; and he stayed three nights with her. Then he had an urge to accept the woman's offer so he went to her. "Well, what did you do after (seeing) me?" she asked. And he told her. She then said: "By God, I'm not a woman of doubtful morals; but I did see a light in your face, and I wanted it to be in me. But God refused to put it anywhere other than He wished." Then Fāṭima spoke the following verses:

"I saw a sign shine forth, glistening like raindrops in dark storm clouds,
Which appeared to me as a light illuminating all around it, as the full moon shines forth.

And I hoped to attain it, a source of pride I could capture, but not everyone who strikes his flint lights fire,

For God is what a Zuhriyya woman took, though your two garments are what she seized; but she did not know that."

She also spoke the verses:

"O Banū Hāshim, it came off from your brother to Umayna (Āmina) as they were passionately consummating their marriage,

As the lamp when it dies down leaves behind its wicks, stained with oil,

Not all the wealth a man holds is achieved by resoluteness, nor is what escapes him always from lassitude.

So be moderate in pursuing what you want; good luck and misfortune contending together should suffice you,

Suffice you either a hand tight closed or a hand laid open, fingers stretched.

When Umayna (Āmina) got from him what she had, she received from him an honour, never to come again."

And Imām Abū Nu'aym, the *hāfiz*, in his book *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), related on a chain from Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umrān, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from Ibn 'Awn, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, from Ibn 'Abbās as follows: "'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went to Yemen on a winter's journey and stayed with a Jewish high priest. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, 'And one of the monks – by that he meant a scholar of the Scriptures – said to me, "O 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, would you allow me to look at a certain part of you?" "Yes, if it be nothing shameful," I replied. Then the man opened up one of my nostrils and looked inside it, and did the same with the other one, saying, "I swear that in one of your hands you will have power and in the other prophethood. But we find that to be in the Banū Zuhra, so how can that be?" I replied that I did not know. The man then asked, "Do you have a *shā'a*?" I asked him what he meant by this word *shā'a* and he replied, a wife. I replied that I did not at that time and he said, "Well, when you go back marry someone from them (i.e. Banū Zuhra)."

"So when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib did return home he married Hāla, daughter of Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra, and she gave birth to Ḥamza and Safiyya. Then 'Abd Allāh son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married Āmina daughter of Wahb and she gave birth to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"When 'Abd Allāh married Āmina, the men of Quraysh commented, 'He won out', i.e. 'Abd Allāh beat out or defeated his father 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."

THE BOOK OF THE LIFE OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

An Account of his life story, his battles and raids, the delegations to him, and his natural qualities, his virtues, and the features distinguishing him.

CHAPTER: AN ACCOUNT OF HIS NOBLE ANCESTRY AND THE EXCELLENCE OF HIS HIGH LINEAGE.

God Almighty's words were: "God knows best where to place His prophethood" (*sūrat al-An'ām*, VI, v.124).

When Heraclius, the Roman emperor, asked Abū Sufyān questions relating to the qualities of the Prophet (ṢAAS), he wanted to know how good his lineage was in his people. Abū Sufyān replied, "He does indeed have good lineage in us." Heraclius commented, "Thus are the messengers given their missions within the ancestry of their own people." He meant from among peoples with the highest reputation and the most numerous tribal connections. May God's blessing be upon them all.

He was the best of Adam's sons, their pride on earth and the hereafter. He was known as the father of al-Qāsim and of Ibrāhīm, as Muḥammad, as Aḥmad, as *al-Māḥi*, "the Abolisher", the one by whom disbelief was abolished, as *al-Āqib*, "the Ultimate" after whom no prophet would follow, as *al-Hāshir*, "the Gatherer", i.e. he at whose feet the people would gather, as *al-Muqaffi*, "the Tracker", as *nabī al-Raḥma*, "the Prophet of Mercy", as *nabī al-Tawba*, "the Prophet of Repentance", as *nabī al-Malḥama*, "the Prophet of the Fierce Battle", as *khātim al-nabiyyīn*, "the Seal of the Prophets", as *al-fātiḥ*, "the Conqueror", as *Ṭāhā*, as *Yāsīn*, and as *ʿAbd Allāh*, "God's Servant".

According to al-Bayhaqī some authorities added more names to these. He said, "In the Qur'ān, God named him *rasūl*, 'messenger', *nabī*, 'prophet', *ummī*, 'unlettered', *shāhid*, 'witness-giver', *mubashshir*, 'bringer of good tidings', *nadhīr*, 'admonisher', *dāʿi ilā Allāh bi idhnihi*, 'he who calls to God with His permission', *sirāj munīr*, 'illuminating lamp', *raʿūf raḥīm*, 'kind and compassionate', and *mudhakkir*, 'reminder'. And God made him mercy, a blessing, and a guide."

We will give the accounts relating to the names attributed to him (ṢAAS) in a chapter we will include after the completion of the biography. For on this subject many traditions have come down, responsibility for gathering them having been assumed by two of the great *ḥuffūz* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī and Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir. Some people have written works specifically on these names, some

going so far as to gather as many as 1,000. But the great legal scholar Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī al-Mālikī, who interpreted the words of al-Tirmidhī in his book *ʿAridat al-Aḥwadhī* (*The Expert's Clear Review*), gives 64 such names. But God knows best.

He was the son of ʿAbd Allāh who was in turn the youngest son of his father ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; ʿAbd Allāh was the man who lay down to be sacrificed but was ransomed by 100 camels, as previously explained.

Al-Zuhri said, "And ʿAbd Allāh was the most handsome man in Quraysh. He was brother to al-Ḥārith, al-Zubayr, Ḥamza, Darār, Abū Ṭalib, whose own given name was ʿAbd Manāf, Abū Lahab, whose given name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, al-Muqawwim, whose given name was ʿAbd al-Kaʿba, though some say these were two men, Ḥajl, whose given name was al-Mughira, al-Ghaydāq, a man of great generosity whose given name was Nawfal, though some say that was Ḥajl. These, then, were the paternal uncles of the Prophet (SAAS).

"His aunts numbered six; they were Arwā, Barra, Umayma, Ṣafiyya, ʿĀtika, and Umm Ḥakim, she being al-Bayḍāʾ, 'the white woman'. We will talk of all of these later, if God wills it.

"All of these were children of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, whose own name was Shayba, 'grey', so known because of his grey hair; alternatively his name Shayba, meant 'the one praised for his generosity'. However, he was known as ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib because when his father Ḥāshim had passed through Medina on a trading mission to Syria, he had stayed at the house of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Ḥarām b. Khidāsh b. Khindaf b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār al-Khazrajī al-Najjārī who was the leader of his tribe. Ḥāshim was much taken with ʿAmr's daughter Salmā and asked her father to engage her in marriage. He did so but on condition that she should remain there with him. Some say that the condition was that she should only give birth there with him in Medina. When Ḥāshim returned from Syria he consummated marriage with her and took her with him to Mecca. When he next went away on business she was pregnant and he took her with him, leaving her in Medina. Ḥāshim then went off to Syria but died at Ghazza. When Salmā gave birth to her child she named him Shayba. He remained there with his maternal uncles of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār for seven years.

"Then his uncle al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf came and secretly took him away from his mother and returned with him to Mecca. When people there saw them both on his mount they asked him who the boy was and he replied, 'My ʿAbd, my servant!' Then they all came up and welcomed the boy, addressing him consequently as ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, i.e. al-Muṭṭalib's servant, and the name stuck to him.

"He rose to a great position of leadership among Quraysh, becoming their most honoured chief. They united behind him and in him rested the rights of *al-saqāya* and *al-rifāda*,⁵⁴ as had been the case with al-Muṭṭalib. It was al-Muṭṭalib who dug out the well *zamzam*, which had been covered up since the Jurhum era. He was the first to decorate the *ka'ba* with gold, overlaying its doors with those two golden gazelles he found in *zamzam* along with the two white-metal swords."

According to Ibn Hishām, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was brother to Asad, Naḍla, Abū Ṣayfi, Ḥayya, Khālida, Ruqayya, al-Shaffā' and Da'īfa. All these were children of Hāshim. His real name was 'Amr, but he was called Hāshim, i.e. "the crusher", because he would crush bread with meat and broth for his people during years of famine, as Maṭrūd b. Ka'b al-Khuzā'i said in his ode; the poem is alternatively attributed to al-Zaba'rā Wālid 'Abd Allāh. The verses are:

"'Amr is he who crushed the bread and meat for his people, the people of Mecca suffering drought and hunger.

He received charge of both expeditions, the winter caravan and that of the summers."

This related to his having been the first to institute the two expeditions, of winter and of summer; he was the oldest of his father's children. Ibn Jarir related that he was the twin brother of 'Abd Shams, and that Hāshim came forth with his leg attached to his twin brother's head, which was only separated after blood had flowed between them. People said that that signified wars between their progeny; and so there occurred the confrontation between Banū al-'Abbās and Banū Umayya b. 'Abd Shams in the year 133 AH.

Their third brother, al-Muṭṭalib, was his father's youngest boy; their mother was 'Ātika, daughter of Murra, son of Hilāl.

The fourth of the siblings was Nawfal, born to another mother named Wāqida daughter of 'Amr of the tribe of Māzin. These brothers ruled their people after their father; they were known as *al-mujirūn*, "the protectors". That is because they negotiated safe conduct for their people of Quraysh with the kings of the neighbouring lands so that they could enter them for trading. Hāshim won safe passage from the rulers of Syria, Byzantium, and Ghassān; 'Abd Shams won the same from the Great Negus, the emperor of Abyssinia; Nawfal gained it for them from the Chosroes, while al-Muṭṭalib received it from the kings of Ḥimyar.

It was of them that a poet composed the lines,

"O you, man, changing your luggage, have you not dismounted at the family of 'Abd Manāf?"

54. The provision of water and food to the pilgrims.

Hāshim enjoyed the rights of feeding and watering the pilgrims following his father, and it is to him as well as to his brother al-Muṭṭalib, that his kinsfolk claimed relationship. The two men were as one during both the pre- and post-Islamic periods, never differing. They (and their progeny) all together constituted one multi-sided tribe. But the progeny of their brothers 'Abd Shams and Nawfal separated out. That is why Abū Ṭālib stated in his ode:

"God requited us Abd Shams and Nawfal as a punishment for evil, immediate, not delayed."

No family from one father is known who were so far removed from one another in their deaths as they were. Hāshim died in Ghazza in Syria, 'Abd Shams died in Mecca, Nawfal in Salmān in Iraq, while al-Muṭṭalib, known as "the moon" for his fine looks, died in Radman on the way to Yemen. These, then are the four famous brothers, Hāshim, 'Abd Shams, Nawfal, and al-Muṭṭalib.

They did have a fifth brother who was not famous. He was known as Abū 'Amr, his own name being 'Abd, from the name 'Abd Quṣayy. People called him 'Abd b. Quṣayy; he died childless. This is what al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and others said. They also had six sisters whose names were Tamāḍur, Ḥayya, Rīṭa, Qilāba, Umm al-Aktham, and Umm Sufyān.

All these, then, were children of 'Abd Manāf. Manāf was the name of an idol, and the original name of 'Abd Manāf was "al-Mughīra". He took the leadership during his father's time, and his nobility was unexcelled. He was the brother of 'Abd al-Dār who was his father's eldest son. To him he delegated various appointments, as told above. There were also 'Abd al-Uzzā, 'Abd, Barra, and Takhmur, the mother of them all being Ḥubbā, daughter of Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Salūl b. Ka'b b. 'Amr the Khuzā'i. Her father was the last of the kings of Khuzā'a who were the guardians of the *ka'ba*. All were descendants of Quṣayy, whose given name was Zayd. He was known as Quṣayy because his mother had married Rabī'a b. Ḥarām b. 'Udhra after his father; Rabī'a travelled with her to his own land while her son was still young, and Quṣayy was so named because of this, i.e. "little stranger". He later, when fully grown, returned to Mecca and united Quraysh into one, having gathered them together from all parts of the land. He removed Khuzā'a's power from the House (the *ka'ba*) and expelled them from Mecca, thus restoring what was right. He became absolute ruler over Quraysh and controlled the feeding and watering of the pilgrims, systems he established, along with the *sadāna*, the *ḥijāba*, and *al-liwā*.⁵⁵ And his house was where public meetings were held, all of which is explained above. It is due to this that a poet spoke the line:

55. These offices referred, respectively, to the keeper of the *ka'ba*, the chamberlain, and the hoisting of the banner.

“Qusayy, by my life, was known as a ‘gatherer together’; through him God gathered up all the tribes of Fihir.”

He was the brother of Zuhra, both being sons of Kilāb, who was the brother of Taym and of Yaqza Abū Makhzūm. All three were sons of Murra, who was the brother of ‘Adī and Huṣayṣ.

All of these were progeny of Kaʿb. It was he who used to address his people each Friday and announce to them the glad tidings of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reciting poetry to that effect as we have given above. Kaʿb was brother to ‘Amir, Sāma, Khuzayma, Saʿd, al-Ḥārith, and ‘Awf, the seven being sons of Luʿayy, brother of Taym al-Adram. These latter two were sons of Ghālīb, brother of al-Ḥārith and Muḥārib. These three were sons of Fihir who was the brother of al-Ḥārith, both of them being sons of Mālīk. He was the brother of al-Ṣalt and Yakhlud, who were sons of al-Naḍr who was given due credit for bringing Quraysh together into the right way, as we have shown heretofore. He was the brother of Mālīk, Malkān, ‘Abd Manāt, and others. All these were born to Kināna, brother of Asad, Asada, and al-Hawn, sons of Khuzayma who was brother to Hudhayl. These two were sons of Mudrika, whose name was ‘Amr who was brother to Ṭabikha whose name was ‘Amir, and to Qamaʿa. These three were sons of Ilyās; his brother was ‘Aylān who fathered all of Qays. These two were sons of Muḍar, brother of Rabiʿa. These two men were known as *al-Sariḥān*, the candid ones, of the line of Ishmael; they had brothers named Anmār and Iyād who went to Yemen. These four were sons of Nizār, brother of Quḍāʿa, according, that is, to a group of those who consider Quḍāʿa to have been Ḥijāzī and ‘Adnānī in line, as we have explained above. These last two, Nizār and Quḍāʿa, were sons of Maʿad b. ‘Adnān.

This genealogy, described as above, is without dispute among scholars. All the tribes of the Arabs of Ḥijāz combine in this line of descent. That is why Ibn ‘Abbās and others comment on the Qurʾānic verse, “Say, I shall not ask of you all any other reward than that of love for those related” (*sūrat al-Shūrā*, XLII, v.23) by implying that there was not a single subtribe of Quraysh devoid of linear connection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn ‘Abbās, God be pleased with him, was correct and conservative in saying as he did. Namely, that all the ‘Adnān Arab tribes relate to him through their fathers’ lines and many through their mothers’ lines as well, as Muḥammad b. Ishāq and others showed through their tracing of all his mothers and of those of the rest back through their maternal lines at great length.

Ibn Ishāq, God have mercy on him, and the *ḥāfiz* Ibn ‘Asākir recorded all this.

In our comments above on the biography of ‘Adnān we gave details of his descent and matters relating thereto. He was very definitely of Ishmael’s line, though there is some variance in the number of generations between them, as is shown in accounts we explained above. But God knows best.

We also reported the rest of the genealogy back from 'Adnān to Adam, along with the ode of Abū al-'Abbās al-Nāshī² incorporating that material. All this was in the material relating to the Arabs of Hijāz, our thanks be to God.

The Imām Abū Ja'far b. Jarir, God have mercy on him, gave a very useful, succinct, and accurate account of that in the opening part of his history.

We have one *ḥadīth* relating to his descent from 'Adnān actually spoken when he was on the *minbar*, the pulpit, but God knows how authentic it is. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī said that Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ, the reciter in Baghdad, informed him that Abū 'Isā Bakkār b. Aḥmad b. Bakkār related to him, as did Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Sa'd in a transcription dated 296, quoting Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Abān al-Qalānisi, quoting Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Rabi'a al-Qaddāmi, quoting Mālik b. Anas, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, and from Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām as follows: "It reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) that some men of Kinda were claiming relationship to him, so he stated, 'Al-'Abbās and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb would say that only to make us look bad; we will never deny our forefathers. We are Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna.'"

The account states that the Prophet gave an address as follows: "I am Muḥammad son of 'Abd 'Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār. And whenever people divided off into two groups God placed me in the better. I was born from my two parents and was tainted by none of the debauchery of the era before Islam. I was the product of true marriage, not fornication, right down from Adam to my father and my mother. I am the best of you in spirit and the best of you in parentage."

This tradition is a very strange one from Mālik. Al-Qaddāmi alone transmits it, and he is a weak authority. Nevertheless we will give several testimonies in support of it from other sources.

Regarding his having said, as above, "I was the product of true marriage, not fornication", 'Abd al-Razzāq stated that Ibn 'Uyayna informed him, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, that his father Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir making reference to the Qur'anic verse, "A messenger has come to you from yourselves" (*sūrat al-Tamba*, IX, v.128) said that, "He was not tainted at all by his birth during the *jāhiliyya*, the pre-Islamic era"; and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was the product of true marriage, not fornication." This tradition is very incomplete in its transmission.

The same was related by al-Bayhaqī from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṣan'āni, from Yahyā b. Abū Bukayr, from 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God produced me from a true marriage, not from fornication."

Ibn ʿAdī related it with a complete transmission chain as follows, “Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ related to us, as did Muḥammad b. Abū ʿAmr al-ʿAdanī al-Makkī, as did Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, saying, ‘My father testified to me, on the authority of his father and his grandfather, as having heard from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “I was the product of true marriage, not fornication, from Adam right on up to when my father and mother had me. And I was not at all tainted by the fornication of the *jāhiliyya*.”’”

This is a strange tradition from this line of transmission and can scarcely be credited.

Hushaym said, “Al-Madīnī related to me, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Nothing of the fornication of the *jāhiliyya* was born in me; I was born from nothing but a true marriage, just like the true marriage of Islam.’”

This too is strange. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir passed it on, then substantiated it by a tradition of Abū Hurayra, and there is weakness in its transmission from him. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd said, “Muḥammad b. ʿUmar informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim, from his uncle al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I was born from a true marriage, not fornication.’”

Moreover Ibn ʿAsākir passed down from a tradition of Abū ʿĀṣim, from Shabīb, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās who with reference to the Qurʾānic verse “your ever-changing presence among those who prostrate in prayer” (*sūrat al-Shuʿarāʾ*, XXVI, v.219) quoted the Prophet as saying, “from prophet to prophet until I was brought forth as a prophet.” He related this on the authority of ʿAtāʾ.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd said, “Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī informed us, from his father who said, ‘I wrote out some 500 maternal ancestors for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and found fornication in not one of them, nor anything relating to (the evil ways) of the *jāhiliyya*.’”

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Abū ʿAmr from Saʿīd al-Maqbiri, from Abū Hurayra who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘I was sent on through the best of generations of humankind, age after age, until I received my mission in the century in which I lived.’”

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, from a tradition of al-Awzāʿī from Shaddād Abū ʿAmmār, from Wāthila b. al-Asqaʿ, comes the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): “God chose Ishmael from the children of Abraham, Banū Kināna from the tribe of Ishmael, Quraysh from the tribe of Kināna, Banū Hāshim from Quraysh, and myself from Banū Hāshim.”

The Imām Aḥmad (Ibn Hanbal) stated that Abū Nu'aym related to him, from Sufyān, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, from al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadā'a, who said that Al-'Abbās stated, "Certain things the people were saying reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) so he mounted the pulpit and asked, 'Who am I?' They replied, 'You are the Messenger of God.' He replied, 'I am Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; God devised creation and made me part of his best creatures. He made them all into two groups, placing me in the better of them. He created the tribes and placed me in the best one, subdivided them into *buyūt* (clans) and placed me in the best one. And so I am the best of you both in clan and in spirit.'" May God's grace and blessings be upon him always and forever till Judgement Day!

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān said that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, from al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, "I once said, 'O Messenger of God, when Quraysh meet one another they do so joyfully, but when they meet us it is as if we don't know them.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became extremely angry when he heard that and said, 'By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, faith will never enter the heart of any man until he loves you all for the sake of God and his Messenger.'

"I commented, 'O Messenger of God, Quraysh sat recalling their lines of genealogy and you they compared to a date palm in a hole in the ground.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'On the day when God created man he placed me among the best of them. Then when He divided them into tribes He placed me in the best one. And when He made the *buyūt*, clans, he placed me in the best one. And so I am the best of them in spirit and the best in clan.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related it from Ibn Fuḍayl from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith who said, "(The comment) reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he responded to it as above." But he (i.e. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith) made no mention of al-'Abbās.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān said that Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid related to him, as did Qays b. 'Abd Allāh, from al-A'mash, from 'Alīla b. Rub'ī from Ibn 'Abbās, who said: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'God divided creation into two parts and placed me in the better of them. This relates to His words (in the Qur'an) "and those of the right" and "those of the left". And I am of those of the right, indeed the best one of them. God then split these two parts into thirds placing me in the best third. This relates to His words "those of *al-maymana*" (the right wing) and to "*al-sābiqūn, al-sābiqūn*" (those in the forefront). I am one of those in the forefront; indeed I am the best of them.

"Then He made those thirds into tribes and placed me in the best of them. That relates to His words, "We made you into peoples and tribes so that you

would know one another; the most noble of you in God's sight are the most pious. God is indeed knowing, informed" (*sūrat al-Hujurāt*, XLIX, v.13). And I am the most pious of Adam's sons and the most noble of them with God. Without boast.

"God then made the tribes into *buyūt*, clans, and placed me in the best of them. This relates to God's words. "God wants only to remove from you what is unclear, O people of the house, purifying you thoroughly" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, XXXIII, v.33). And I and the people of my house are purified of sin."

This *ḥadīth* is somewhat strange and objectionable.

Al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* from Muḥammad b. Dhakwān, the uncle of the son of Ḥamād b. Zayd, from 'Amr b. Dinār, from Ibn 'Umar who said, "We were sitting in the courtyard of the Prophet (ṢAAS) when a woman passed by. Someone said, 'That's the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!'" Abū Sufyān then commented, 'Muḥammad's presence in Banū Hāshim is like a sweet basil plant amidst rotten garbage!' The woman hurried off and informed the Prophet (ṢAAS).

"Soon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, his face showing his anger. He said, 'What's the meaning of certain statements reaching me about people? God created all seven heavens and chose the highest for whomsoever of his creatures he wished to dwell there. Then he created all living things and chose from them mankind. From mankind he chose the Arabs and from them Muḍar. From Muḍar he chose Quraysh and from them the Banū Hāshim. From Banū Hāshim he chose me. I am the choicest of the chosen; so whoever loves the Arabs, it is through loving me that he loves them. Whoever hates the Arabs, it is through hating me that he hates them.'"

This too is a strange *ḥadīth*.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I am (to be) lord of Adam's sons on Judgement Day, without boasting."

Al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī recounted from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. 'Ubayda that 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nawfal related to him from al-Zuhri, from Abū 'Usāma or Abū Salama, from 'Ā'isha, God bless her, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Gabriel said to me, 'I searched the earth from east to west but found no man superior to Muḥammad; and I searched the earth from east to west but found no tribe superior to the Banū Hāshim.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī said, "These traditions, even though the transmitters of some are unreliable, do substantiate one another. And the message of all does relate back to the *ḥadīth* of Wāthila b. al-Asqa'. But God knows best."

On this subject Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses in praise of the Prophet (ṢAAS):

"Were Quraysh to gather one day to boast, 'Abd Manāf would be their heart and core,

And if the chiefs of 'Abd Manāf were assessed, their most noble and ancient of line would be from Hāshim,

Were they to boast one day, then Muḥammad would be the one chosen from their inmost, and their pride.

Quraysh, all and sundry of them, plotted against us, but they did not succeed and were confounded;

Since ancient days we reject injustice and if others turned away in contempt we set them straight.

Each day we protect their sanctuary from evil, repelling from their refuges all seeking them;

By us the dried-out branches are revived, their roots becoming moist and growing under our protection."

Abū al-Sakn Zakariyyā' b. Yahyā al-Ṭā'ī said in the famous anecdote ascribed to him: "Umar b. Abū Zuhr b. Ḥaṣīn said, on the authority of his grandfather Ḥamid b. Munhib, that his grandfather Khuraym b. Aws stated, 'I went away to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and came to him at his camp at Tabūk. I had become a Muslim. I heard al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib say, "Oh Messenger of God, I would like to speak verses in your praise." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Speak on and may God not block your tongue." So he recited,

"Before this you were pleasantly in the shade (of paradise) in a place where leaves clustered above.

Then you came down to this land; no human you, no embryo, no clot.

A droplet, rather, riding (Noah's) vessel, the deep having bridled an eagle and his family.

Being carried from loins to womb, one world passing, another surface appearing,

Until your supreme house encompassed Khindaf⁵⁶ so lofty (in honour), beneath her all other beings.

When you were born the earth glowed, the horizon shining with your light.

So we are in that illumination and that light, making our way upon the paths of righteousness."'''

This poem has been ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Asākir recounted in a line of transmission from Abū al-Ḥasan b. Abū Ḥadīd as follows that Muḥammad b. Abū Naṣr informed him, 'Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī told him, Abū Ḥaṣīn Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī related to him, as did Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zahid al-Khurāsānī, as did Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Sinān, as did Sallām b. Sulayman Abū al-'Abbās al-Makfūf al-Madā'inī, as did

56. Khindaf was the wife of Ilyās, mother of Mudrika, referred to earlier in the lineage from which the Prophet descended.

Warqā' b. 'Umar, from Ibn Abū Nājiḥ from 'Aṭā' and Mujaḥid from Ibn 'Abbās who said, "I posed the following question to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Where were you, may my parents be your ransom, when Adam was still in paradise?' He replied, smiling so broadly all his teeth could be seen, 'I was in his loins. Then the vessel carried me into the loins of my father Noah, who cast me out into the loins of my father Abraham. My parents never once engaged in fornication. God went on transporting me from respectable loins to chaste wombs, pure and unsullied, and whenever a line split I was always in the better half. God has covenanted prophethood in me and made Islam my pact. He made mention of me in the Torah and in the Bible. All the prophets made clear my qualities; the earth brightens with my light and the dark clouds with my face. He taught me His Book and gave me honour in His heaven. He cut off for me one of His own names; the enthroned One is Maḥmūd, while I am Muḥammad and Aḥmad. He promised me that He would reward me with a garden and with *al-kawthar*, the river of paradise, that He would make me the first intercessor and the first for whom there was intercession. He drew me forth, moreover, out of the best marriage for my people, and they are those who give much praise, enjoin good deeds and prohibit sin.'"

Ibn 'Abbās stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about the Prophet (ṢAAS):

'Before this you were pleasantly in the shade, and in a place where the leaves are plaited together,

Then you dwelt in this land; no human you, no embryo, no clot,

Purified, riding the vessel, the deep flood having bridled an eagle and his family,

You were carried from loin to womb; whenever one surface passed, another appeared.'

"So the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'May God have mercy on Ḥassān!' And 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib commented, 'Ḥassān deserves paradise, by the Lord of the *ka'ba*!'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir then stated: "This tradition is very strange!"

And I say, it is highly objectionable. And it is well established that these verses are by al-'Abbās, God be pleased with him. They were, moreover, passed on from a tradition of Abū al-Sakn Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭā'i, as above.

I also comment that some claim that the verses are of al-'Abbās b. Mardās al-Salamī. But God knows best.

An observation: The *qāḍī* 'Iyād stated in his book *al-Shifā'* (*Healing*): "Regarding the name 'Aḥmad' mentioned in the (holy) Books and of whom the prophets gave glad tidings, God in His wisdom prevented anyone to be named by it before Him, so that no confusion or doubt should descend on those weak of heart."

Similarly with "Muḥammad" as well; none of the Arabs or any other people was named by it until shortly before his birth word was spread that a prophet would be sent whose name would be "Muḥammad". And so a small Arab group did give their sons that name hoping that one of them would be he. But God knows best where to place His message.

These were "Muḥammad" b. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ al-ʿAwsī, "Muḥammad" b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, "Muḥammad" b. Barrā' al-Bakrī, "Muḥammad" b. Sufyān b. Mujāshīʿ, "Muḥammad" b. Ḥumrān al-Juʿfī, and "Muḥammad" b. Khūzaʿi al-Sulmī; no seventh person was so named.

It is said that the first person named "Muḥammad" was Muḥammad b. Sufyān b. Mujāshīʿ; in Yemen they say, however, that it was "Muḥammad" b. al-Yaḥmud of Azd.

Moreover, God protected those so named from claiming the prophethood or others from claiming it for them. Not one of them showed any manifestation that would cause anyone to suspect of such, until the two signs were realized in him (ṢAAS) "signs that could not be denied", that being His expression.

CHAPTER ON THE BIRTH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

He was born on a Monday. This is from what is related by Muslim in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* told by Ghaylān b. Jarīr from ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿbad al-Zimmānī, from Abū Qatāda to the effect that a bedouin said, "O Messenger of God, what do you say about fasting on Mondays?" He replied, "That is the day I was born, and the day I was first sent revelation."

The Imām Aḥmad said, "Mūsā b. Dāwūd related to us, as did Ibn Lahīʿa, from Khālīd b. Abū ʿUmrān, from Ḥanash al-Sanʿānī, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday. He received the prophethood on a Monday, left Mecca for Medina as an emigrant on a Monday, arrived at Medina on a Monday, died on a Monday, and raised up the stone on a Monday."

Only Aḥmad gives the tradition thus, but ʿAmr b. Bukayr related it from Ibn Lahīʿa with an addition of the words, "The Qurʾanic *sūrat al-Māʿida* (Ch. V) was revealed on a Monday, with the words, "This day have I completed for you your religion" (V, v.3).

Some others relate it thus from Mūsā b. Dāwūd with a further addition, "The battle of Badr was on a Monday." Yazīd b. Ḥabīb was one of those who stated this. But it is highly objectionable.

According to Ibn ʿAsākir what is generally accepted is that the battle of Badr and the revelation of "This day have I completed for you your religion" both occurred on a Friday. And Ibn ʿAsākir spoke the truth.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr recounted, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born and died on a Monday."

Similar reports from different lines of transmission also have Ibn 'Abbās saying that he was born on a Monday.

This, then, is a matter without dispute, namely that he was born on a Monday. Unlikely, indeed in error, is the view of those who say he was born on Friday, the 17th day, the month of Rabī' al-Awwal. This idea was transmitted by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Diḥya from what he had read in the book: *Plām al-Ruwāt bi A'lām al-Hudā* (*Informing the Narrators of the Signs of Righteousness*) written by certain Shi'ites. But then Ibn Diḥya proceeded to denigrate this account; and it is appropriate to criticize it since it contradicts authenticated tradition.

Most people believe that the birth occurred in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal, and, it is said, on the second day thereof. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr stated this in his exhaustive study and al-Wāqidi related it from Abū Ma'shar Nujayḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī.

Some say that it occurred on the 8th of the month. Al-Ḥumaydī related it so from Ibn Ḥazm. Mālik, 'Uqayl, and Yūnis Ibn Yazīd, and others related this from al-Zuhri, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr recounted that the historians had verified this, and the great *ḥāfiẓ* Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khawārizmī so determined it. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Khaṭṭāb b. Diḥya considered it likely in his book: *al-Tanwīr fī Mawlid al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr* (*Enlightenment on the Birth of the Warner and the Bearer of Glad Tidings*).

And it is said, in an account transmitted by Ibn Diḥya in his book, that it occurred on the 10th of the month; Ibn 'Asākir related this from Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir as did Mujaḥid from al-Sha'bi, as above.

The birth is also said to have come on the 12th of the month. Ibn Ishāq states this. Ibn Abū Shayba relates this too in his compilation, on the authority of 'Affān, from Sa'īd b. Mīnā', from Jābir and from Ibn 'Abbās, the latter two having stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the 'year of the elephant', on Monday the 12th of Rabī' al-Awwal. On that same day he received his mission, was carried up to heaven, emigrated from Mecca, and died. And this is what is widely known to most people; but God knows best."

He is also said to have been born on the 17th, as Ibn Diḥya reported from some of the Shi'a. But also on the 8th, Ibn Diḥya so stating from the writing of the *wazīr*, the government minister, Abū Rāfi', son of the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, from his father. What is correct about the account of Ibn Ḥazm, the first, that it occurred on the 8th, is as al-Ḥumaydī recounted from him; this is best established.

There is a second account, namely that he was born in Ramaḍān. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr transmitted this from al-Zubayr b. Bakkār. This is a very strange statement. Its basis is the fact that he doubtless received revelation in Ramaḍān, at the beginning of the 40th year of his life. And so his birth should be in Ramaḍān. However, this is debatable. But God knows best.

Khaytham b. Sulaymān, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related from Khalaf b. Muḥammad Kirdaws al-Wāsiṭī, from al-Muʿallā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday in *Rabiʿ al-Awwal* and revelation of his prophethood came down to him on Monday, the first of *Rabiʿ al-Awwal*; also the Qurʾān chapter *al-Baqara* (*The Cow*; II) was revealed on a Monday in *Rabiʿ al-Awwal*."

This is very strange. It is Ibn ʿAsākir who related it.

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "His mother became pregnant with him during *ayyām al-tashriq*, the celebratory feast days,⁵⁷ in the vale of Abū Ṭālib, near *al-jumrat al-wuṣṭā*, the central stoning pile at Minā. He was born in Mecca in the house known as that of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, brother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, on the 12th of Ramaḍān."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir recounted this from a line through Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUqba b. Makram, from al-Musayyab b. Sharik, from Shuʿayb b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was conceived on the day of *ʿĀshūrā*, the 9th or 10th day of Muḥarram, and he was born on Monday, the 12th of Ramaḍān in the 23rd year after the attack on Mecca by the troops with elephants."

Other sources relate that al-Khayzurān, the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when she performed the pilgrimage, ordered the conversion of this house into a mosque. It is known by her name to this day.

Al-Suhaylī gave the date of his birth as the 20th of Nisān, April. This was the most appropriate time and season; and that was in the year 882 of the era of Alexander, according to those who use astronomical almanacs.

And they claim that the ascendant was at twenty degrees from Capricorn, and that Jupiter and Saturn were joined together at a position within three degrees of Scorpio, a position in the middle of the heavens. This was in correspondence with the stages of Aries. The birth occurred as the moon first arose at the beginning of the night. Ibn Diḥya transmitted all this; but God knows best.

According to Ibn Ishāq, his birth occurred in the year of the elephant.

And this is what is well known to the people at large. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī said, "And this is something about which our scholars have no doubt, the fact that he was born in the year of the elephant; and that he received his mission as a prophet at the beginning of the 40th year after the attack with elephants."

57. The term was applied to the three days following the Day of Immolation during the Ḥajj festival.

Al-Bayhaqī related this as well from a tradition of Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr from Ibn Abbās who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the year of the elephant attack."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "Al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays b. Makhrama related, from his father, from his grandfather Qays b. Makhrama, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and I were born in the year of the elephant attack; our births were contemporaneous.'"

ʿUthmān, may God be pleased with him, asked Qubāth b. Ashyam, brother of Banū Yaʿmur b. Layth, "Were you the greater⁵⁸ (in age) or was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 'greater' than me, but I was earlier in birth. I saw the elephants' droppings when still green and changing (in colour)." Al-Tirmidhī related this, as did al-Ḥākim from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq stated: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 20 in the year of *ʿukāz*."

He also said, "*Al-fijār*⁵⁹ took place 20 years after the elephant attack. The building of the *kaʿba* was done 15 years after *al-fijār*, and the divine mission came about 5 years after its building."

Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim stated, "Ukāz occurred 15 years after the 'elephant' battle, the building of the *kaʿba* 10 years thereafter, and the mission 15 years after that."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related from a tradition of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Thābit al-Madīnī as follows: "Al-Zubayr b. Mūsā related to us on the authority of Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, saying, 'I heard ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Marwān say to Qubāth b. Ashyam al-Kinānī al-Laythī, 'O Qubāth, which of you, you or the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *akbar*?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *akbar* (i.e. greater) than me, but I was *asann*, older. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born during the year of the elephant attack, but I was aware enough to recall my mother standing with me upon the elephant's dung while it was still changing (in colour). And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a Prophet at the beginning of 40 years thereafter.'"

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān said, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bukayr related to us, Nuʿaym, meaning Ibn Maysara, related to us, from certain others, from Suwayd b. Ghafḷa, that the last-mentioned stated, 'I am contemporary in birth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); I was born in the year of the elephant attack.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is related from Suwayd b. Ghafḷa that he said, 'I am younger than the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by two years.'"

58. The word *akbar* is used which may mean "older" or "greater"; hence the exchanges in the accounts that follow.

59. Battles at Ukāz between Arab tribes during months when warfare was proscribed.

Ya'qūb said: "And Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to us, as did 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Thābit, (and) 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Sulaymān al-Nawfalī related to me, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm, saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the year of the elephant attack, and the Ukāẓ incident occurred 15 years later. The *ka'ba* was built early in the 25th year after the elephant attack, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a Prophet at the beginning of the 40th year after that attack.'"

The outcome is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, according to majority opinion, born in the year of the elephant attack. Some say the birth occurred one month after that event, others say 40 days, yet others 50 days, which is the most favoured date.

And according to Abū Ja'far al-Baqīr, the arrival of the elephants was half-way through the month of al-Muḥarram, while the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred 55 days thereafter.

But others say that, on the contrary, the elephant attack occurred ten years before the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ibn Abzā stated this.

The attack is also said to have occurred 23 years before his birth; this is what Shu'ayb b. Shu'ayb related from his father from his grandfather, as stated above. Alternatively, the birth is said to have come 30 years after the attack; Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated this, from al-Zuhri, God be pleased with him. And Mūsā b. 'Uqba himself, God be pleased with him also, chose this date.

Abū Zakariyyā' al-'Ijlānī stated that the birth came 40 years after the attack; Ibn 'Asākir recounted this, something very strange.

Even stranger is the statement of Khalifa b. Khayyāt who said, "Shu'ayb b. Ḥibbān related to me, from 'Abd al-Wāḥid son of Abū 'Amr, from al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās as follows: 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born 15 years before the elephant attack.'" This statement is unique, objectionable, and considered weak as well.

Khalifa b. Khayyāt stated, "The consensus is that he was born, peace be upon him, in the year of the elephants' attack."

A DESCRIPTION OF HIS NOBLE BIRTH (ṢAAS).

It has been told above how 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib sacrificed the 100 camels, God having saved him from fulfilment of his vow to sacrifice his son 'Abd Allāh. This was in accord with what He had decreed of old, that the *nabī al-ummi*, the unlettered Prophet (ṢAAS) the "seal of the prophets", and the lord of all the progeny of Adam would appear. Thereafter, as explained, He arranged the marriage of 'Abd Allāh to the most noble of the women of Quraysh, Āmina, daughter of Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra al-Zuhriyya. And when the groom took her as his

wife and consummated the marriage, she became pregnant with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Umm Qattāl, Raqīqa, daughter of Nawfal, sister of Waraqa b. Nawfal, saw the sign of light appear between ʿAbd Allāh's eyes before he united with ʿĀmina. She wished for it to be transmitted to herself, because of all the tidings she had heard from her brother foretelling the coming of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and that his time was near; she therefore offered herself to ʿAbd Allāh. Some authorities add "To have him marry her". That does seem most likely. But God knows best. But ʿAbd Allāh resisted her and when that dazzling light had gone to ʿĀmina after he consummated marriage with her, it seems that he regretted not having accepted what Umm Qattāl had offered. And so he approached her to have her repeat her offer. But she now said she had no need of him and was sad at what she had missed. She therefore recited on that subject the fine and eloquent poetry we quoted above. The chaste abstinence of ʿAbd Allāh was not to his own credit but to that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); it reflected the words of God Almighty, "God knows best wherein to place His mission" (*sūrat al-Anʿam*, VI, v.124).

The tradition, from a good transmission line, has already been given that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stated, "I was born of marriage, not fornication."

What is intended here is (to say) that after his mother had conceived him his father died and he remained a foetus in his mother's womb, as it is generally understood.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, he being al-Wāqidi, related to him, as did Mūsā b. ʿUbayda al-Yazīdī, as did Saʿid b. Abū Zayd, from Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Ṣaṣaʿa, as follows: "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went off to Ghazza in a Quraysh trading caravan. When they finished their business they left there and passed through Medina. By then ʿAbd Allāh was sick and he asked that he be left there in the company of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār to whom he was related.

"He stayed there with them sick for one month while his friends continued back to Mecca. There ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib asked them about his son ʿAbd Allāh and they told him of how he was sick and they had left him with his relatives of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib sent to him his oldest son al-Ḥārith, but the latter found that ʿAbd Allāh had died and been buried in the house of al-Nābigha. And so al-Ḥārith returned to his father and told him this.

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his brothers and sisters all grieved terribly at his loss.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at that time still a foetus; ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was 25 when he died."

Al-Wāqidi asserted, "This is the most firmly based of the accounts of the death of ʿAbd Allāh and of his age that we have."

Al-Wāqidi also said, "Maʿmar related to me from al-Zuhri that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib sent ʿAbd Allāh to Medina to purchase dates for them but he died."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd said, "Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī told us from his father as well as from 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam that they had both said that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached 28 months; and it is also said he was 7 months old."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, "The first account is better established, namely that when he died the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still a foetus."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said, "Muḥammad b. Ḥasan related to me, from 'Abd al-Salām, from Ibn Kharbudh, as follows, 'Abd Allāh died in Medina when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 2 months old. His mother died when he was 4 years of age, and his grandfather when he was 8. And so he was entrusted to his uncle, Abū Ṭalib."

What al-Wāqidi considered more probable and the *ḥāfiẓ* Muḥammad b. Sa'd wrote, was that when his father died the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still a foetus in his mother's womb.

And this is the epitome and highest rank of being an orphan.

In the *ḥadīth* literature occur the words, "and the visions of my mother who saw, as she bore me, a light came forth from her that lit up the castles of Syria."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Āmina, daughter of Wahb and mother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), used to say that when she became pregnant with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a voice told her: "You are pregnant with the lord of this nation; when he drops to the ground (in birth) say the words, 'I invoke for him the protection of the One God, from the evil of all who envy, from everyone committed to his oath and every prowling slave; may a champion protect me, for he is with the All-praised and All-glorious One, until I see him come into view."

"And the proof of that is a light accompanying him that will fill the castles of Buṣrā in Syria. And at his birth, then call him Muḥammad, for in the Torah his name is "Aḥmad" and the hosts of earth and heaven give him *ḥamd*, praise. In the Gospels his name is "Aḥmad", the hosts of heaven and earth giving him *ḥamd*, praise. And his name in the Qur'ān is "Muḥammad", "the praised one.""

But these traditions require that she had a vision when she became pregnant with him, that a light was emanating from her by which the castles of Syria were illuminated. And then, when she gave birth to him, she actually saw by her eyes a realization of that, just as she had seen beforehand, as told here. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated that Muḥammad b. 'Umar, he being al-Wāqidi, informed him that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim related to him, from al-Zuhri, what follows. Al-Wāqidi also stated that Mūsā b. 'Abda related to him the following, from his brother and Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī; as did 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Zuhri, from his aunt Umm Bakr, daughter of al-Miswar, from

her father; as did ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Mazani and Ziyād b. Ḥashraj, from Abū Wajza; as did Ma‘mar from Abū Nujayḥ, from Mujāhid; as did Ṭalha b. ‘Amr from ‘Aṭā’ from Ibn ‘Abbās. The accounts of some of these correlate with those of others. These accounts state that Āmina daughter of Wahb said, “I became pregnant with him (meaning the Messenger of God (SAAS)) and he caused me no difficulties up to when I gave birth to him. When he was separated from me a light emerged along with him that lit all between east and west. Then he dropped to the ground, resting upon his hands, and took up a handful of earth which he gripped tight, raising his head towards heaven.”

Some sources word this tradition, “he dropped down resting upon his knees and there emerged with him a light by which were illuminated the castles and market-places of Syria, even so that the necks of the camels at Buṣrā could be seen, while he raised his head towards heaven.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī said that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, and Yūnus b. Mubashshir b. al-Ḥasan, quoting Ya‘qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Imrān, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān b. Abū Sulaymān b. Jubayr b. Muṭ‘īm, from his father, from Ibn Abū Suwayd al-Thaqafī, from ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ as follows: “My mother told me that she witnessed the giving of the birth by Āmina daughter of Wahb to the Messenger of God (SAAS) the night the birth occurred.” She said, “All I could see in the house was light. As I looked I saw the stars coming so close that I said that they were going to fall on me!”

The *qāḍī* (judge) ‘Iyād recounted, from al-Shaffā’, mother of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, that she was his midwife and that she said that when he dropped into her hands and first made a sound, she heard a voice say, “May God have mercy on you!” And (she said) that a light shone from him by which the castles of Byzantium could be seen.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said that when she gave birth to him she sent her slave girl to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his father having died while she was pregnant (it is also said that ‘Abd Allāh died when the Prophet (SAAS) was 28 months old, and God knows best which account is true) to say to him, “A boy has been born to you, so look to him.”

When ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib came to her she related to him what she had seen when she bore him, what she had been told about him, and what she had been ordered to name him.

So ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib took him in to Hubal; inside the *ka‘ba*, and stood and prayed, thanking God the Almighty and Glorious, and speaking the verses,

“Praise be to God who gave me this fine, wonderful boy,
Who already in the cradle leads all boys; I entrust his safety to the pillared House
(*ka‘ba*),

Until he becomes the epitome of young men, until I see him fully grown.
 I seek his protection from all who hate, and from the envious and the unstable,
 From those with ambition but eyeless, until I see him highly eloquent;
 You are he who was named in the Qur'ān, in books whose meanings are well
 established,
 (Your name being) 'Aḥmad, written upon the tongue."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* informed us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Darābardī, of Merv, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Būshanjī related to us, quoting Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Salama al-Khabā'irī, quoting Yūnus b. 'Aṭā' b. 'Uthmān b. Rabī'a b. Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṣaddā'ī, of Egypt, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Abān, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, from his father al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, God bless him, as follows. "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord severed. His grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was amazed at this and found favour in him, saying, 'This son of mine is sure to be important.' And so he was."

There is dispute over the veracity of this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir told it, from an account of Sufyān b. Muḥammad al-Maṣṣīṣī, from Hushaym, from Yūnus b. 'Ubayd, from al-Ḥasan, from Anas, as follows: The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "One way God honoured me was in my being born already circumcised, so that no one saw my private parts."

He (Ibn 'Asākir) then related it on a line of transmission from al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa, on the authority of Hushaym.

He thereafter related it from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, he being al-Bāghandī, who said that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ayyūb al-Ḥimṣī related to him, quoting Mūsā b. Abū Mūsā al-Maqdisī, that Khālīd b. Salama related to him, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that the latter said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord detached."

Abū Nu'aym stated that Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghitrifi related to him, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mālikī, quoting Sulaymān b. Salama al-Khabā'irī, quoting Yūnus b. 'Aṭā', quoting al-Ḥakam b. Abān, quoting 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, from his father al-'Abbās, as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord detached. This amazed his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and he found favour in him, saying, 'This son of mine is sure to be important.' And so he was."

Some authorities claim authenticity for this tradition for the lines of transmission it has; some even claim for it the status of *mutawātir*.⁶⁰ However, this is debatable.

60. The term connotes a tradition related by consecutive testimonies and therefore one of evident authenticity.

The word *makhtūn* given in these traditions means "having the foreskin cut off"; the word *masrūr* means "having had the umbilical cord from his mother severed".

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir related from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uyayna al-Baṣrī as follows, "'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī al-Salmī related to us, quoting Salama b. Muḥarib b. Muslim b. Ziyād, from his father, from Abū Bakra, that Gabriel circumcised the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he cleansed his heart."

This is extremely strange.

It is also said that it was his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who circumcised him and held a celebration for him to which he gathered all Quraysh. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī said that Abū 'Abd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. Kāmil al-Qāḍī – verbally – that Muḥammad b. Ismā'il – meaning al-Salmī – related to him that Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ related to him that Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ told him, from Abū al-Ḥakam al-Tanūkhī as follows: "When a child was born to Quraysh they would entrust it to some Quraysh women till next morning. They would place an upside-down pottery vessel over it. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib entrusted him to the women and they did put over him an upside-down pottery vessel. When they came to him next morning they discovered that the vessel had split into two pieces and fallen away from him. They found him there with his eyes wide open gazing up to heaven! When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib arrived they told him, 'We never saw a newborn child like him! We discovered that the vessel had split in two away from him and found him open-eyed and gazing up to heaven!' He commented, 'Take care of him; I hope he will be of importance, or that he will achieve good.'"

On the seventh day he made sacrifice for him and invited Quraysh to see him. When they had feasted, they asked, "O 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, what have you thought of naming this son of yours you have honoured?" "I have named him Muḥammad," he replied. "Why", they asked, "have you preferred him not to have one of the names of his kinsfolk?" "Because I wanted God to praise him in heaven and His creatures to praise him on earth," he replied.

Language scholars say, "All that invites the qualities of good is named 'Muḥammad'." As the poet said,

To you, blameless as you are, I have urged on my mount, to him who is the glorious and noble master, the one 'Muḥammad'" (i.e. "the laudable one").

Some scholars say that God, the Almighty and Glorious, encouraged them to name him Muḥammad for the praiseworthy qualities he possessed; so that word and deed be joined and that the name and the one named be appropriately

congruent in form and concept. As his uncle Abū Ṭālib composed – and the verse is also attributed to Ḥassān –

“God took a part of His own name for him, to honour him; for He of the throne is named ‘Maḥmūd’ (i.e. he to whom praise is due) while he is ‘Muḥammad’.”

We will report the various names and qualities by which he (ṢAAS) is known, these being his evident qualities and pure virtues, the evidences of his prophethood, and the attributes of his status. All these we will give at the end of the biography, if God wills it so.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī said that Abū ‘Abd Allāh the ḥāfiẓ informed him that Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. Shaybān al-Ramālī, quoting Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥubālī, quoting al-Haytham b. Jamīl, quoting Zuhayr, from Muḥārīb b. Dithār, from ‘Amr b. Yathribī, from al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, as follows: “I said: ‘O Messenger of God, it was a sign of your prophethood that encouraged me to join your religion. I saw you in the cradle whispering to the moon and gesturing to it with your finger. And it would move in the direction you indicated.’ He replied, ‘I would talk to it and it to me and it would distract me from crying. And I would hear its palpitations when it would prostrate beneath God’s throne.’”

He (Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī) then said, “He (Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Ḥubālī) transmitted only this one tradition, and he is not known.”

Section: On the signs that occurred on the night of the birth of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

In the section on *Hawāṭif al-Jān* (*The Cries of the Spirits*), we told of the down-cast faces of many of the idols and how they fell from their places on that night, and of what the Negus, the king of Abyssinia, saw. Similarly we have reported the appearance of the light that came with him that even lit up the castles of Syria when he was born, and how he dropped into a kneeling position and raised his head to heaven. We told also how the vessel split asunder from above his honoured face, what was seen by the light in the house where he was born and how the stars came down close to them, and other such events.

Al-Suhaylī related from the Qur’ān commentary of Baqī b. Makhliḍ, the ḥāfiẓ, that Satan let out four cries. One came when he was cursed (by God); another when he was sent down from heaven; a third when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born; and the fourth when *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*, the opening verse of the Qur’ān, came down.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said that Hishām b. ‘Urwa would tell traditions on the authority of his father, that came from ‘Ā’isha, who once said, “There was a Jew who resided in Mecca and did business there. On the night when the Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) was born, the man addressed a gathering of Quraysh with the words, 'O Quraysh, did a birth occur among you this night?' They replied that they did not know. He then exclaimed, 'Well, God is very great; if that should have missed you, then no matter. Do look, and remember what I am telling you. This night a prophet has been born to this last nation; between his shoulders there is a mark consisting of successive lines of hair looking like a horse's mane. He will not suckle for two nights and this is because a spirit will have put his finger into his mouth and prevented him from suckling.'

"The gathering broke up at this with all amazed at what he had told them. When they returned to their homes each one told his family. And they responded, 'By God, a child was born to 'Abd Allāh, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, a boy they named "Muḥammad".' The people then gathered and asked one another, 'Did you hear what the Jew said, and have you heard of the birth of the boy?' They then hurried off to the Jew and told him the news. He asked them to go with him, so that he could see the boy. They left together and took him in to Amīna, saying, 'Bring out your son for us.' She did so and they uncovered his back. There they saw the mark and the Jew fell down in a faint. When he came to, they asked him what was the matter with him. He replied, 'By God, prophecy has left Israel's tribe; are you glad with it, O Quraysh? He will so empower you that news of it will spread from east and west!'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said that Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf related to him, from Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Zurāra, as follows, "Certain trustworthy men of my tribe told me that Ḥassān b. Thābit once said, 'I was a mature lad of seven or eight, capable of understanding all I saw and heard, when one morning a Jew in Yathrib began shouting for the attention of his people. When they gathered about him – I heard all that myself – they asked him what the matter was. He replied, "The star has risen beneath which 'Aḥmad' will be born this night."'"

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aym related in the book, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), from a tradition of Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Āmirī, from Sulaymān b. Suḥaym and Dhurayḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, both of their accounts coming from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Sa'īd, from his father, who said that he heard Abū Mālik b. Sinān say: "I came one day to talk with Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, with whom we then had a truce, and heard the Jew Yūshu' say, 'The time approaches for the coming of a prophet named Aḥmad who will arise from the sanctuary.' Khalīfa b. Tha'laba al-Ashhālī asked him, sarcastically, 'How might you describe him?' He responded, 'A man neither short nor tall, with fine, light eyes; he wears a full cloak and rides a donkey, carries his sword over his shoulder and to this land will he migrate.'"

Abū Mālik went on, "When I returned to my own people and expressed at that time my surprise at what Yūshu' had been saying, I heard one of our own

men comment, 'So is it Yūshu' who alone says that? All the Jews of Yathrib are saying the same!'"

Abū Mālik continued, "I thereafter left and visited the Banū Qurayza whom I found in assembly discussing the Prophet (ṢAAS). Al-Zubayr b. Baṭā said, 'The red star has risen and it only ever rises on the departure or emergence of a prophet. And the only one left is Aḥmad; this will be the place to which he will migrate.' And Abū Sa'īd said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) eventually arrived my father told him this story, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "If al-Zubayr had adopted Islam, then his fellow Jewish leaders would also have done so; but they all followed him."'"

Abū Nu'aym said that 'Umar b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Ismā'īl b. Qays b. Sulaymān b. Zayd b. Thābit, from Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Thābit, who said that he heard Zayd b. Thābit say, "The Jewish rabbis of the Banū Qurayza and al-Naḍir would discuss the description of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and when the red star arose, they said that it was for a prophet after whom there would be no other, that his name was Aḥmad and that he would migrate to Yathrib. But when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ultimately arrived in the town they denied him, expressing their envy and disbelief."

This story is also given by the ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aym in his book from other lines of transmission, and may God be praised.

Abū Nu'aym and Muḥammad b. Hibān said that Abū Bakr b. Abū 'Āṣim related to them, quoting Wahb b. Baqiyya, quoting Khālid, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama and Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥaṭīb, from Usāma b. Zayd who said that Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl stated, "A priest of Syria once told me, 'A prophet has come in your land. While he was arriving, his star arose. So go home, believe in him and follow him!'"

An Account of the shaking of the palace, and of the falling of the balconies, the extinguishing of the fires, the visions of the Magian supreme priest, and other such signs.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Sahl al-Kharā'itī stated in the book, *Hawāṭif al-Jān (The Cries of the Spirits)*, that 'Alī b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Abū Ayyūb Ya'qūb b. 'Imrān, from the family of Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajālī quoting Makhzūm b. Hānī' al-Makhzūmī, from his father who reached the age of 150 years, as follows, "When it was the night in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born Chosroe's domed palace shook and 14 balconies upon it fell down. Also the 'fire of Persia' went out, having not done so for a thousand years before, and Lake Sāwa emptied. A Magian priest saw (in a dream) wild camels

leading pure-bred horses that had crossed the Tigris river and spread into their land. This greatly alarmed Chosroe when he told him of it next morning; he put on a brave front and pretended lack of concern but then decided not to conceal it from his governors. He therefore summoned them, put on his crown, and sat upon his throne. Then he had them brought in and when they gathered around him he said, 'Do you know why I have summoned you?' They replied that all they knew was that their king wanted to tell them something. At that point a message came telling of the extinguishing of the fire, news that further upset the king. He then told them what he (the priest) had seen and what had alarmed him.

"The supreme priest explained, 'Last night I saw, may God save the realm, a vision.' He then recounted his vision of the camels and the king asked him how he interpreted it. He replied that it concerned some event occurring over in the territory of the Arabs who would understand it better than they themselves.

"Thereupon the king wrote a message, saying, 'From Chosroe, king of kings, to al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir: Greetings. Send me some man learned in what I wish to question him about.' Al-Nu'mān then dispatched to him 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. 'Amr b. Ḥayyān b. Buqayla al-Ghassānī. When he arrived Chosroe asked him, 'Do you have knowledge of what I wish to question you about?' 'Abd al-Masīḥ replied, 'Let the king inform or question me as however he wishes; if I have knowledge of it (then good), otherwise I will inform him of someone who does know.'

"So Chosroe told him what he had been informed and 'Abd al-Masīḥ replied, 'An uncle of mine named Saṭīḥ who lives in the uplands of Syria will have knowledge of that.' Chosroe then told him to go to this man to ask him what he wanted to know and then to return with the explanation.

"'Abd al-Masīḥ left but Saṭīḥ, by the time he reached him, was on his death-bed. 'Abd al-Masīḥ greeted him and talked to him, but Saṭīḥ made no reply. So 'Abd al-Masīḥ then spoke the following verses:

'Has the noble lord of Yemen gone deaf or does he hear; or has he died, the ultimate reins (death) having him in tow.

O he who determines the course, one that would exhaust anyone, your visitor is the local sheikh of the Sunan family.

His mother is of the family of Dhīḥb ('wolf') b. Ḥajan (crooked of staff, evil-eyed) vicious of fang, raucous to the ear.

White, full of cloak and body, a messenger from the king of the Persians, travelling by night till deep slumber.

Carried over the earth by a strong, large she-camel, tireless, unawed by thunder or vicissitudes of time.

Lifting me with a bump and dropping me with a crash, bare of breast and lower back,

Enveloped by a gale of manure dust, as though blasting from the two sides of a mountain.'

"When Saṭīḥ heard those verses he raised his head and said, 'Why, it's 'Abd al-Masīḥ, ridden here on a tireless mount, who's come to Saṭīḥ, looking down at my death-bed; you've been sent by the king of the Sassanians, because of the shaking of his palace, the extinguishing of the fires, and the visions of the priest who saw wild camels leading pure-bred horses that had crossed the Tigris and spread into their lands.

"O 'Abd al-Masīḥ, when many recitations have been made and the sceptre-bearer has appeared, the Samāwa valley flooded, Lake Sāwa dried up, and the fires of Persia gone out, then Syria is Syria no more for Saṭīḥ. Of them there shall reign kings and queens to the number of their balconies; all that will be, will be.'

"At that Saṭīḥ died, right then and there. So 'Abd al-Masīḥ mounted his camel, saying the following verses:

'Get going, for you are decisive and expeditious; separation and change do not alarm you.

If the rule of the Sassanians is ending (so be it), for man is all stages and periods of time,

They may have achieved a status whose power mighty lions dread,

Of whom was Bahrām of the Tower and his brothers, the al-Hurmuzān, and Sābūr and Sābūr.⁶¹

People are indeed changeable; knowing that one of them has become destitute he is then despised and abandoned,

And many are the people who are (erroneously) influenced by what they hear, as if distracted by playing flutes.

However, should they see someone with riches and prosperity, then they are to him closely associated. This has been the secret of life, well preserved and repeatedly validated (they say), that's the province and concern of the unknown,

And good and evil stick always as a pair; for good is pursued relentlessly, evil avoided.'

"When 'Abd al-Masīḥ came in to Chosroe and told him what Saṭīḥ had said, Chosroe replied, 'So, until 14 of us have ruled, many things can happen!'

"Ten of their kings did rule in a period of four years and the remainder ruled on until the caliphate of 'Uthmān, God be pleased with him."

Al-Bayhaqī related this from an account of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs, from 'Alī b. Ḥarb al-Mūṣili in similar form.

The last of their kings, the one from whom rule was wrested, was Yazdajard b. Shahriyār b. Abrawīz b. Hurmuz b. Anūshirwān; it was the last mentioned in whose era the domed palace shook. His forebears had ruled for 3,164 years. The first of their kings was Juyūmart b. Umaym b. Lāwadh b. Sām b. Noah. Mention of the lives of Shiqq and Saṭīḥ have been given above.

61. Bahrām, Sābūr, and Sābūr were Sassanian kings. Al-Hurmuzān was a famous Persian military leader.

Regarding this man Saṭīḥ, the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir stated in his history: "His name was al-Rabī' b. Rabī'a b. Mas'ūd b. Māzin b. Dhī'b b. 'Adī b. Māzin b. al-Azd. He was known as al-Rabī' b. Mas'ūd; his mother was Rad'a daughter of Sa'd b. al-Hārith al-Hajūrī."

Other accounts of his ancestry also exist. He lived at al-Jābiyya.⁶²

Moreover, he (Ibn 'Asākir) related from Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī that the latter heard some sheikhs, among whom were Abu 'Ubayda and others say, "He (Saṭīḥ) came after Luqmān b. 'Ād. He was born at the time of the torrent of al-'Arim and he lived on to the era of King Dhū Nuwās, a period of some 30 generations. He dwelt in al-Baḥrain. The tribe of 'Abd Qays claimed him as theirs, as also did Azd. Most authorities claim him to have been of Azd; we do not know from whom he was descended. His descendants, however, say he was from Azd."

It is related of Ibn 'Abbās that he said, "No one in all mankind was like Saṭīḥ; he was like flesh on a butcher's block, devoid of bones or sinew except for his head, his eyes, and his hands. He folded up from feet to neck like a garment. And the only part of him that moved was his tongue."

Others say that when he became angry he would puff up and sit.

Ibn 'Abbās recounted that when Saṭīḥ went to Mecca he was met by a group of their leaders among whom were 'Abd Shams and 'Abd Manāf, sons of Quṣayy. They questioned him on a variety of matters and he responded to them frankly. They asked him how it would be at the end of time and he replied, "Take this from me and as God's inspiration to me, you are now, Arabs, in an age of decrepitude in terms of both your vision and that of foreigners. You have neither knowledge nor understanding. After you there will arise those with understanding. They will seek after all ranges of knowledge and they will destroy the idols, pursue the worthless, fight the non-Arabs, and go in search of the spoils of war. What will happen ultimately and for ever, will be that a right-guided prophet will surely draw you forth from this land and lead you to the truth. He will refute Yagūth and the lies, be innocent of worship of the devil, and pray to one Lord alone. Then God will take him unto Himself, giving him praise and the best abode, one lost to the world but seen there in heaven. Then *al-Ṣiddiq* ('the trusting', i.e. the first Caliph Abū Bakr) will follow him; when he gives judgement he will speak aright, and there will be no rush nor rupture in restoring rights. He will be followed by *al-Hanīf* ('The Sincere', i.e. the second Caliph, 'Umar), the noble and demanding lord. He will be the 'host supreme' and best arbiter of the faith." He then made mention of (the third Caliph) 'Uthmān and his murder, and of the rule thereafter of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids and all the disturbances and wars that followed. Ibn 'Asākir traces his line of transmission back to Ibn 'Abbās, in all its length.

62. Said to have been a man-made ditch filled with drinking-water for the camels.

We stated previously his comment to Rabī'a b. Naṣr, king of Yemen, and how Saṭīḥ described the vision he had had before he was himself told of it. And then we related how he predicted the disturbances and the changes of government that would occur in Yemen before reaching Sayf b. Dhū Yazan. Rabī'a b. Naṣr then asked whether that rule would hold or be broken and Saṭīḥ replied it would end. The king asked who would end it, and Saṭīḥ responded, "A pure prophet to whom inspiration comes from the Almighty." When asked from which tribe the prophet would come, he replied, "From the progeny of Ghālib b. Fīhr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr; and the rule shall be in his people till the end of time." "And shall there be an end to time?" the king asked. "Yes, indeed," was the reply, "on that day the first and the last shall be gathered and the good rejoice while the evil suffer." "Is what you are telling me really true?" the king asked. "Yes", Saṭīḥ replied, "by the dawn and the dusk and by the moon when it becomes full, what I have told you is indeed true." And Shiqq was in complete agreement with all this, using different phraseology, as we have shown above.

Among the verses of Saṭīḥ are the lines,

"Act in God's piety in secret and in public, and never deceitfully pretend good faith.

And always be a protector and shield for those neighbouring you when fate's misfortunes befall them."

That poetry was transmitted by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Asākir. Al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā' al-Jarirī, moreover, cited that and stated, "Stories relating to Saṭīḥ are many, and several scholars have collected them. What is well known is that he was a soothsayer and gave information about the Prophet (ṢAAS) and described both his qualities and his mission. And it is related to us through a chain of authorities God alone can judge, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was asked about Saṭīḥ and responded, "He was a prophet, squandered by his own people."

Regarding this tradition, my own comment is that it is without foundation in any of the established works of Islam. I do not consider its authority chain to be well founded; one similar to it is given relative to Khālīd b. Sinān al-'Absī and it too lacks veracity.

What is evident in these expressions points to Saṭīḥ having had excellent knowledge, and they do evince believability. But he did not survive on after the coming of Islam, as al-Jarirī maintained. In this regard, he tells us that Saṭīḥ told his nephew, "O 'Abd al-Masīḥ (if) when many recitations have been made, and the sceptre-bearer has appeared, the Samāwa valley has flooded, Lake Sāwa dried up, and the fires of Persia gone out, then Syria is Syria no more for Saṭīḥ; then kings and queens will reign to the number of their balconies; and all that will be, will be." At that Saṭīḥ died then and there. This was after the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by a month or, a *shay'a*, a portion thereof, that is, less than that.

His death occurred in a part of Syria contiguous to the land of Iraq; and God alone knows the truth about Saṭīḥ and what became of him.

Ibn Ṭarār al-Jarīrī relates that he lived 700 years. Others say he lived 500; yet others 300. But God knows best.

Ibn 'Asākir related that a king once asked Saṭīḥ about the family origin of a young man about whom there was some disagreement. He therefore informed him of the facts at length and with wit and eloquence. The king then asked Saṭīḥ to tell him about how he knew all that. Saṭīḥ replied, "This knowledge of mine does not come from me, not by guesswork or by thought; I took it from a brother of mine who heard inspiration on Mt. Sinai." The king then asked, "Have you seen your brother, this genie; is he with you and won't he depart from you?" Saṭīḥ replied, "He will cease to exist when I do. I only ever pronounce what he says."

As stated previously, he and Shiqq b. Muṣ'ab b. Yashkur b. Rahm b. Basr b. 'Uqba, the other diviner, were both born on the same day. They were carried to the fortune-teller, Ṭarīfa, daughter of al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamīdiyya, and she spat into their mouths. And so they inherited divination from her. She died that very same day. Saṭīḥ was half-human. It is said that Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qusri was of his progeny. Shiqq died a very long time before Saṭīḥ.

Regarding 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. 'Amr b. Qays b. Ḥayyān b. Buqayla al-Ghassānī, the Christian, he was very long-lived.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir gave his life story in his history, saying therein that it was he who made the peace treaty for al-Ḥīra with Khālid b. al-Walid; he gave at length the story of their contact. Also he reported that 'Abd al-Masīḥ once ate by his own hand some rapid-acting poison, but that no harm came to him. This was because as he took it he spoke the words, "In the name of God; and by God, Lord of the earth and the heaven, who (ensures that) no harm will come when His name is invoked." He then ate it, swooned, and beat his hands on his chest. He poured with sweat and then, God bless him, recovered. Verses other than those previously quoted are also attributed to 'Abd al-Masīḥ.

Abū Nu'aym said that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, quoting 'Uqba b. Makram, quoting al-Musayyab b. Sharik, quoting Muḥammad b. Sharik, all on the authority of Shu'ayb b. Shu'ayb, from his father and from his grandfather, as follows, "At Marr al-Dhahrān there was a certain monk from Syria named 'Aysā. He was under the protection of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il. God had given him great knowledge and placed in him many qualities for the people of Mecca, qualities of goodness, kindness, and learning.

"He kept to a cell he had and came down to Mecca every year to meet the people and to say to them, 'O people of Mecca, soon there will be born among

you a child to whom the Arabs will look for guidance and who will hold sway over the foreigners. This is his time. Whoever has contact with him and follows him will achieve success, while those in contact with him who oppose him will experience failure. By God, I did not leave the land of fine wine, leavened bread, and security and come to live in the land of hunger, poverty, and fear for any reason other than to seek him.'

"No birth in Mecca ever occurred without his asking about it, but he would always say, 'He's not come yet.' When people would ask for a description of him, he would decline. He would hide that information because of what he knew the future leader would experience from his tribe, fearing for himself that it might some day result in harm, however slight, to him.

"When the morning arrived of the day when the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred, 'Abd Allāh son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went out to see 'Aysā. He stood at the foot of the monk's cell and called out, 'Hallo there, 'Aysā.' The response came, 'Who is there?' 'I am 'Abd Allāh,' he replied. Then 'Aysā looked down at him and said, 'Be his father! The child I used to tell you of has been born, and on a Monday. He shall also receive God's mission on a Monday, and he will die on a Monday.'

"Abd Allāh replied, 'Well, this morning a boy was born to me.' 'And what have you named him?' the monk asked. 'Muḥammad.' 'By God,' exclaimed 'Aysā, 'I wanted the child to be born among you, the people of the House (the *ka'ba*), because of three factors of which we know. Those were that his star arose yesterday, that he was born today, and that his name is Muḥammad. Go to him, for he whom I used to foretell is your son.' 'Abd Allāh asked, 'How do you know he is my son? Perhaps some other child will be born today.' 'Your son,' the monk replied, 'has got the right name. And God has never been one to confuse scholars; it is a proof. And a (further) sign of that is the fact that he is currently in pain. He will suffer for three days. Then for three days he will show hunger and after that be cured. So you hold your tongue; for no one ever before has been the object of the envy (there will be) for him, no one has been the object of such hatred as he will have. If you live until his mission appears and he announces himself, then you will experience from your people what you will only endure by patience and in humility. So hold your tongue and protect him.' 'Abd Allāh then asked, 'What will his life-span be?' 'Whether his life be long or short, he will not attain seventy. He will die a short span before that, in his sixties, at age 61 or 63, at an age average for his people.'"

The account goes on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was conceived on the 10th of *muḥarram* and born on Monday, the 12th of Ramaḍān, 23 years after the attack of those with elephants."

Thus did Abū Nu'aym relate it; and there is some strangeness in the account.

An Account of the rearing and suckling of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Umm Ayman, whose given name was Baraka, reared him. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had inherited her from his father. When he grew up he emancipated her and married her to his *mawlā*, his freed-slave, Zayd b. Ḥāritha. She gave birth to Usāma b. Zayd, God be pleased with them all.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was suckled, as well as by his mother, by the freed-slave of his uncle Abū Lahab who was named Thuwayba, and later by Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim extracted in their two *ṣaḥīḥ* tradition collections from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from Zaynab daughter of Umm Salama, from Umm Ḥabība daughter of Abū Sufyān, as follows. She said, "O Messenger of God, marry my sister, Abu Sufyān's daughter." According to Muslim's account the words used were, "my sister ʿAzza, Abū Sufyān's daughter."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Would you like that then?" She replied, "Yes; I'm not unmarried (and available) for you. And the person who shares best with me in goodness is my sister."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, "But that would not be permissible for me."

She commented, "We are discussing your marrying Abū Salama's daughter." Also in an account the words, "Durra, Abū Salama's daughter," are given.

"You mean Umm Salama's daughter?"

"Yes," I replied.

"But", he explained, "even if she were not under my care in my household, she would not be permitted for me. She is my niece by suckling. Her father Abū Salama and I were both suckled by Thuwayba. So don't propose your daughters or your sisters for me."

Al-Bukhārī's account adds, "ʿUrwa said, 'And Thuwayba was a *mawlat*, a freed-slave woman of Abū Lahab whom he had emancipated. So she suckled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

And when Abū Lahab was dead, one of his family, greatly disappointed, was shown him. The man asked him, "What happened to you?" Abū Lahab replied, "I experienced nothing good after (leaving) you, except for being given to drink from this for my having emancipated Thuwayba." And he pointed to the hollow between his thumb and adjoining fingers.

Al-Suhaylī and others report that the one who saw him was his brother al-ʿAbbās. And this occurred a year after the death of Abū Lahab, after the battle of Badr. Their account relates that Abū Lahab said to al-ʿAbbās, "It (i.e. the punishment of hell) is alleviated for me on Mondays."

This is explained as being because when Thuwayba told him the news of the birth of his nephew Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, he emancipated her at once. And he was rewarded thus for that.

An Account of the suckling of the Prophet (ṢAAS) by Ḥalīma, daughter of Abū Dhū'ayb of the Sa'd tribe, and of the signs of the prophethood and of blessedness apparent on him.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said, "Ḥalīma daughter of Abū Dhū'ayb was asked to suckle him. Abū Dhū'ayb's given name was 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Shijna b. Jābir b. Rizām b. Nāṣira b. Fuṣayya b. Naṣr, b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Maṣūr b. 'Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays 'Aylān b. Muḍar.

"And the name of the foster father of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that is Ḥalīma's husband, was al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Rifā'a b. Mallān b. Nāṣira b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.

"His foster-brother was 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith; and Unaysa and Khidāma daughters of al-Ḥārith were his foster-sisters. The last named was known as 'al-Shaymā'; and it is said that she would cradle the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along with her mother while he was with them."

Ibn Ishāq went on to report that Jahm b. Abū Jahm (the *mawlā*, the freed-slave, of a woman of the Banū Tamīm who lived with al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib, who was known as "the *mawlā* of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib"), told him that someone related to him from someone who heard 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib say that it was related to him that Ḥalīma, daughter of al-Ḥārith, had said, "I arrived at Mecca along with other women (al-Wāqidī told, with a chain of authorities, that they were ten in number from Banū Sa'd b. Bakr who acted as foster-mothers along with her) from Banū Sa'd looking for babies to suckle; it was a year of famine. I arrived on a dark grey she-ass worn out from riding. With us I had a boy of our own, and an old milch camel which, I swear, wasn't giving a drop of milk. That whole night, along with that boy of ours, we did not sleep at all. There was nothing in my breast of use to him and nothing in our milch camel to feed him. We did, however, have hopes of rain and relief. So on I went on that old ass of mine, which lagged behind the other riders because of its weakness and its thirst, much to their annoyance.

"So we arrived in Mecca and, I swear, I don't know of one woman of ours who was not offered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); but all refused him when it was said that he was an orphan. We refused him saying, 'What good could his mother do for us? What we want is some help from the boy's father; what could his mother do for us?' I swear, every single one of my women companions, all except me, did take a baby to suckle.

"Having found no one except him and being assembled to leave, I said to my husband, al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, 'By God, I hate to go back amongst my companions without having a baby to suckle. I'll go off to that orphan and take him.' He replied, 'It's not your duty to do so; and so perhaps God will bring us

some blessings through him.' And so I went off and got him; and the fact is, by God, I only took him because I couldn't find anyone else.

"No sooner had I taken him and brought him back to my baggage than my breasts welcomed him, giving him all the milk he wanted. He drank till he was satisfied and his foster-brother drank his fill too. My husband then went over to that old milch camel of ours and, to his surprise, she was full. He milked her and we both drank till we were satisfied. We then spent a fine night together.

"Next morning my husband said, 'Ḥalima, by God I really think you've taken a person who is blessed! You see what a fine, happy night we passed when we took him? May God Almighty go on bringing us more benefit yet!'

"We then left to return to our own land. And, I swear, my she-ass went off ahead of all the other riders, with not a single donkey able to catch up with her. Eventually my women companions said, 'Hey there, O daughter of Abū Dhuʿayb! Is that the she ass you were riding when you left with us?' I replied, 'Yes indeed, it's her.' They commented, 'Well, by God, something's really happened to her!'

"Eventually we were back in Banū Saʿd territory, and I knew no other part of God's earth more barren than it is. But my goats would graze free, then leave the grazing, satisfied and full of milk and we would milk them as ever we wished. And this while no one around us, near or far, had their ewes give so much as a drop of milk, their ewes always going hungry. Finally the others said to their shepherds: 'Woe on you! Just watch where the flock of Abū Dhuʿayb's daughter grazes. You graze along with them.' And this they would do, theirs grazing where mine went, but their flocks remained hungry, not giving a drop of milk, while mine were satisfied and full so we could milk them as much as we wanted.

"And God went on blessing us this way, and we recognized it. Then he reached two years of age. He was already growing up a very fine boy, not like the other children. I swear that by age two he was a sturdy boy, so we took him to his mother; we were very covetous of him because of having seen the blessings he had brought. When his mother saw him I told her, 'Let us bring back this son of ours some other year. We are concerned he might catch a disease from Mecca.' We kept on at her until she agreed and sent him off with us and we stayed with him for two or three months more.

"Then one time he was out behind our dwellings with one of his foster-brothers with our animals. Suddenly that foster-brother came in greatly agitated and said, 'That Quraysh brother of mine! Two men dressed in white came to him, laid him down, and split open his abdomen!'

"At this his father and I rushed outside towards him. We found him standing there, his colour pale. His foster-father hugged him and asked, 'What's wrong, son?' He replied, 'Two men dressed in white came to me. They laid me down and opened my abdomen. Then they drew something from inside it and threw it

away . After that they put my abdomen back as before.' So we took the boy back with us and his foster father said, 'Ḥalima, I'm afraid my foster son has become afflicted; let's hurry and give him back to his family before what we fear does develop.' So we did take him back. His mother was very surprised to see him and when we gave him over to her she said, 'So why did you bring him back, nurse? You both wanted to have him so much.' 'No, it's nothing,' we replied, 'it's just that God has relieved us of our task. We did our duty. We're afraid some harm or accident may befall him, so we are returning him to his own people.' His mother insisted, 'What's going on with you both! Tell me truthfully what's worrying you!' She would not leave us alone till we told her what had happened. She asked, 'Are you afraid for him from Satan? Absolutely not; Satan won't get to him. By God, this son of mine has a great future before him. Should I tell you what happened with him?' 'Please do,' we asked. 'Well,' she explained, 'when I was pregnant with him, he was the lightest child I ever bore. And when carrying him I saw in my sleep a light emanating so bright it lit up the castles of Syria! And then, when he was born, he came out in a manner that babies never do, drew himself up on his arms and lifted his head up to heaven. So leave him, and don't worry.'"

This account has been related through various other lines as well, and it is one of the best known, and most frequently told by the biographers and early historians.

Al-Wāqidī said that Ma'adh b. Muḥammad related to him, from 'Aṭā' b. Abū Rabbāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, as follows, "Ḥalima once went out to seek the Prophet (ṢAAS) and she found their animals to be sleeping in the sun. Him she found with his sister. She asked, 'Why outside in this heat?' His sister replied, 'My brother doesn't get hot; I saw a cloud shading him that stopped when he did and moved when he did, till he came to this spot.'"

Ibn Ishāq said that Thawr b. Yazīd related to him, from Khālīd b. Ma'dān, from the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that the Companions once asked him to tell them about himself. He responded, "I am the one called for by my father Abraham, the glad tidings foreseen by Jesus, peace be upon them both. When she bore me my mother saw that a light came from inside her that illuminated the castles of Syria. I was suckled by the tribe of Sa'd b. Bakr and while I was among some of our animals two men dressed in white came, carrying a golden basin filled with ice. They laid me down, cut open my abdomen and took out my heart. This they split and extracted from it a black clot that they threw away. They then washed my heart and insides with that ice until clean. Having put it back as before, one of them said to his companion, 'Weigh him against ten of his nation.' He did so, but I outweighed them. He then said, 'Weigh him against a hundred of his nation.' This he did but I outweighed them. He said, 'Weigh him against a thousand.' The other man did, but

I outweighed them too. The first man then said, 'Leave him now, for even if you weighed him against his entire nation, he would outweigh them!'"

This has a fine, strong chain of authorities.

Ibn Ishāq also narrated that Abū Nuʿaym, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related this story in his work *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) by way of ʿUmar b. al-Ṣubḥ, known as Abū Nuʿaym, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Makhūl, from Shaddād b. Aws, in a much lengthened version. But this ʿUmar b. Ṣubḥ should be ignored, for he was a liar who was accused of invention. For this reason we will not mention the text of the tradition, for it gives no pleasure.

Ibn Ishāq then said that Abū ʿAmr b. Ḥamdān related to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Nafir, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, quoting Baqiyya b. al-Walīd, from Buḥayr b. Saʿīd, from Khālīd b. Maʿdān, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr al-Salamī, from ʿUtba b. ʿAbd Allāh, as follows. A man asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), "What was it happened to you first, O Messenger of God?" He replied, "My wet-nurse was from the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr. One time a son of hers and I went off with our flock without taking any food with us. So I said, 'Hey brother, go back and get us some food from our mother's home.' So my brother hurried away while I stayed with the animals. Then two white birds like eagles came along and one said to the other, 'Is that he?' 'Yes,' the other replied. Then they both swooped down, took hold of me and laid me out on my back. They then split my abdomen, extracted my heart, cut it open, and took out from it two black clots. One bird said to his companion, 'Bring me some ice water.' And with it they cleaned my insides. The first bird then said, 'Now get some cold water.' With that they washed my heart. Then the bird said, 'Bring me *al-sakina* (quietude).' This they sprinkled into my heart. The one said to the other, 'Sew it up.' So he did that and then placed on my heart the seal of prophethood. After that one bird said to the other, 'Place him in one balance scale and a thousand of his people in the other.' And when I looked up, there were the thousand above me, and I was concerned that some of them might tumble down on to me. Then the bird said, 'If his whole nation were balanced against him, he would still outweigh them.' Then both birds went away, leaving me there. I was tremendously afraid and raced off to my foster-mother and told her what had happened. She was afraid I'd lost my mind and exclaimed, 'God protect you!' Then she got an ass of hers ready for travel and put me on it. She rode behind me and we travelled till we reached my mother. She then said, 'Well, I've fulfilled my pact and agreement.' She then told my mother what had happened, but it didn't shock her. She said, 'What I saw was that a light came from inside me that lit up the castles of Syria.'"

Aḥmad related it from a tradition told by Baqiyya b. al-Walīd. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak and others similarly told this from Baqiyya b. al-Walīd.

Ibn ʿAsākir related it through Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān al-Qurashī related to him that ʿUmayr b. ʿUmar b. ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr

informed him as follows, "I heard 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr relate from Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī who said that he asked, 'O Messenger of God, how were you informed that you were a prophet and when did you become convinced that you were one?' He replied, 'O Abū Dharr, two angels came to me when I was in one of the valleys of Mecca. One of them dropped down to the ground, while the other remained suspended between heaven and earth. One said to the other, "Is that he?" "Yes, it's he." The one said, "Weigh him against another man." He did so, and I outweighed him.'"

He then told it till the end, recounting how his chest was opened and sewn up and the seal was placed between his shoulders. He then said, "Then finally they turned away from me, as if their work was fully done."

Moreover Ibn 'Asākir gave it from Ubayy b. Ka'b in similar words, and from Shaddād b. Aws in a more simple form than that.

And it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was visited by Gabriel, on whom be peace, while he was playing with the other boys. Gabriel took him, laid him down, split his heart open, took it out and withdrew a black clot from inside it, saying, "That's the devil's lot!" Then he washed it in a golden basin with water from (the well called) *zamzam*. He then mended it and put it back in its place. The other boys raced off to his mother – meaning his nurse – and told her, "Muḥammad has been killed!" When they met him he was very pale. Anas stated, "And I used to see the mark of the sewing on his chest."

Ibn 'Asākir related this through Ibn Wahb, from 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, from 'Abd Rabbiḥ Ibn Sa'īd, from Thābit al-Banānī, from Anas, to the effect that prayer was prescribed in Medina and that two angels came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took him to *zamzam*, split open his abdomen, took out his insides and put them in a basin of gold, washed them in *zamzam* water then filled his insides with wisdom and knowledge.

And the tradition also comes through Ibn Wahb, from Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zuhri, from his father, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Āmir b. 'Uṭba b. Abū Waqqās, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was visited three nights. (A voice) said: 'Take him who is the best of them and their leader.' So they took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), conducted him to *zamzam*, opened his abdomen, brought a gold bowl, washed out his insides then filled them with wisdom and faith."

This is substantiated by the account of Sulaymān b. al-Muqḥira, from Thābit, from Anas.

In the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is given through Sharik b. Abū Nimr, from Anas, and also from al-Zuhri from Anas, from Abū Dharr and Qatāda from Anas, and from Mālik b. Ṣaṣ'a from the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the recounting of *al-Isrā'* (the ascension to heaven), as the story of the laying open of his chest (as

occurring) on that night, and its being washed with *zamzam* water.

There is no denying the probability of that occurring twice, once when he was young and once on the night of the ascension in preparation for his going to join the heavenly assemblage of angels, and of conferring with and appearing before the Lord, the Almighty, Glorious, Blessed, and Exalted one.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to tell his Companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all; I am of Quraysh and was suckled by Banū Sa'īd b. Bakr.'"

Ibn Ishāq reported, "When Ḥalima was returning him to his mother after he had been weaned, she passed with him by a caravan of Christians. They came up to him, turned him around in their hands and said, 'We must take this boy to our king; he is a person of great importance.' And Ḥalima managed to evade them only after great effort."

He reported also that when Ḥalima was returning him fearing some harm had come to him, as she approached Mecca she lost him and could not find him. So she went to his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and he and a group of men went off to search for him. It was Waraqa b. Nawfal and another man of Quraysh who found him and brought him to his grandfather. He put him on his shoulders and circumambulated (the *ka'ba*), praying to God for the boy's protection, and then returned him to his mother Amīna.

Al-Umawī related through 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Waqqāsi, a weak authority, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, the story of the birth of the Prophet (SAAS), and of his being suckled by Ḥalima with a course different from that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq. He stated that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ordered his son 'Abd Allāh to take the baby and go around the quarters of the bedouin to find a foster-mother for him. He did so and eventually hired Ḥalima to suckle him. He recounted that the boy stayed with her for six years, being brought each year to visit his grandfather. When the opening of his chest occurred while he was with them, she took him back and he lived with his mother until he was eight, when she died. Thereupon his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib took charge of him, but he too died when the Prophet (SAAS) was ten. Then his two uncles, his father's two brothers al-Zubayr and Abū Ṭālib, took responsibility for him. In his early teens his uncle al-Zubayr took him to Yemen. His account states that on that journey they saw signs (of his prophethood). One of these was that a stallion camel had made its way some distance along a valley through which the party was passing. When the stallion saw the Messenger of God (SAAS), it knelt down and rubbed its chest on the ground and so he mounted it. Another sign was that they came to a stream in violent flood but God Almighty dried it up so that they could cross it. Thereafter his uncle al-Zubayr died; at that time he was fourteen and Abū Ṭālib alone took charge of him.

What is implied here is that the blessedness of the Prophet (SAAS) came

down upon Ḥalima al-Sa'diyya and her family, when he was young and then his virtues reverted to the people of Hawāzin when he took them prisoners after their battle; that occurred a month following the capture of Mecca. They were related to him because of his being suckled among them. He therefore released them, taking pity on them, and treating them with kindness, as will be related in full in its proper place, if God wills it.

Concerning the battle with Hawāzin, Muḥammad b. Ishāq related from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Hunayn and when he seized their properties and took them prisoners, a delegation from Hawāzin who had accepted Islam came to him at al-Ji'rāna⁶³. They said, 'O Messenger of God, we are one family and tribe. You know well what misfortune has befallen us. Have mercy on us, and may God have mercy on you.' Their spokesman Zuhayr b. Ṣurad then arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, those prisoners you have in the stockades are your aunts and your nurses who looked after you. If we had suckled Ibn Abū Shamar or al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir and then we were to suffer from them what we have from you, we would have hoped for their help and kindness. And yet you are the most honourable of men.' He then recited the verses:

'Have pity on us, O Messenger of God, in kindness; for you are the man we plead with and implore.

Have pity on a tribe ruined by fate, their whole divided, their fortune adversely changed,

Which has left us to cry out in sorrow; a people in whose hearts there is gloom and tragedy,

Unless you ward it off with kindnesses you spread forth, O most superior of men in wisdom when it is tested.

Have pity on women you once sucked, your mouth filled with their pure milk,

Have pity on women you once sucked, for then whatever happens will sustain your reputation.

Do not make us as those who scattered and died; spare us, for we are a tribe of fame.

We give thanks for kindnesses even if not redeemed, and after this day we will have a store (of good will).'"

This story is also related through 'Ubayd Allāh b. Rumāḥis al-Kalbī al-Ramlī from Ziyād b. Ṭāriq al-Jashamī, from Abū Ṣarad Zuhayr b. Jarwal, who was the leader of his people. The last-mentioned stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took us prisoners at the battle of Ḥunayn he was separating the men from the women. So I jumped up, stood before him and spoke some verses to him, reminding him of the time when he was a boy and grew up among Hawāzin who suckled him:

63. A place between Mecca and al-Ṭā'if.

'Have mercy on us, Messenger of God, in gentleness, for you are the man we hope for and await.

Have mercy on a people ruined by fate, their whole divided, their fortune adversely changed,

The fighting left us a war-cry only of sadness; a people in whose hearts there is gloom and tragedy.

Unless you ward it off with kindness you spread forth, O most superior of men in wisdom when he is tested

Have pity on women you used to suck, your mouth filled with their pure milk;

When you were a small child you used to suck them and then whatever happens will sustain your reputation.

Do not make us as those who scattered and died; spare us for we are a tribe of fame.

We give thanks for kindness, even if disavowed, for after this day we will have store (of goodwill);

Dress in forgiveness those you used to suck, your mothers; for acts of forgiveness become widely known.

We hope for forgiveness from you; dress these people in it, if forgive you will, and then be triumphant.

So forgive and may God forgive you from whatever you fear on Judgement Day when victory shall be given you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Whatever prizes were due myself or the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that goes to God and to you all.' *Al-anṣār*⁶⁴ then said, 'And what was to be for us we give to God and to his Messenger (ṢAAS).'"

It will be later told how he set them free; they were 6,000, men and women combined. He gave them many camels and people. So that Abū al-Husayn b. Fāris said, "The value of what he gave them that day totalled 500,000 dirhams."

All this then came from his early blessings on earth: what blessings, then, will he bestow on those who follow him in the next world!

DIVISION

After recounting the return of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to his mother Amina following his suckling by Ḥalima, Ibn Ishāq told how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed with his mother Āmina, daughter of Wahb, and his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the care and trust of God. And God nurtured him like a fine plant for the honour He intended for him. When he reached the age of six his mother Āmina daughter of Wahb died.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazam related to me that Amīna, the mother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died

64. *Al-anṣār* is a term denoting the Muslims of Medina who granted the Prophet refuge following his migration from Mecca.

when he was six at al-Abwā', a place between Mecca and Medina. She had taken him to visit his uncles of the tribe of 'Adī b. al-Najjār and died when she was returning with him to Mecca."

Al-Wāqidi related, with chains of authorities, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was taken by his mother to Medina, in the company of Umm Ayman, when he was six years old and that she visited his uncles.

Umm Ayman said, "One day two Jews of Medina came to me and said, 'Bring out Aḥmad for us to see.' They then looked at him and turned him around in their hands. Then one of them said to the other, 'This is the Prophet of this nation. And this shall be the abode of his refuge, where very many will be taken prisoner and many will be killed.'

"When his mother heard this she was afraid and left. And it was at al-Abwā' that she died, on her way home."

The Imām Aḥmad said that Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Ayyūb b. Jābir, from Simāk, from al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Burayda, from his father (Burayda) who said, "We left along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and travelled until we reached Waddān. Then he told us to wait there until he returned. He went off and later returned looking grave. Then he said, 'I went to the grave of Muḥammad's mother and asked my Lord for intercession for her. But He would not allow me that. I had forbidden you from visiting graves; do visit them. Similarly I had forbidden you from eating the flesh of sacrificed animals after three days had passed; do eat and take what you want. I had forbidden you from drinking from these vessels; do drink as you will.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this tradition through Sufyān al-Thawrī, from 'Alqama b. Yazīd, from Sulaymān b. Burayda from his father as follows: "The Prophet (ṢAAS) went over to the site of a grave and the other men sat down around him. He began to move his head as though addressing someone, and then he wept. 'Umar went over to him and asked, 'What is making you weep, O Messenger of God?' He replied, 'This is the grave of Āmina daughter of Wahb. I asked my Lord for permission to visit her grave and he gave permission. I also asked for forgiveness for her, but this He refused me. Sympathy for her overwhelmed me and so I wept.' And I never saw an occasion of greater weeping than that."

He was corroborated by Muḥārīb b. Dithār, from (Ibn) Burayda, from his father.

Moreover al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Baḥr b. Naṣr, from 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb that Ibn Jurayj related to us, from Ayyūb b. Hānī, from Masrūq b. al-Ajda', from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off to look at graves and we went with him. He told us to sit down and we did. Then he walked on till he stopped at one grave. He spoke to it at length and then there arose a lamentation and weeping from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And we all wept at his crying so.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came over to us and was met by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who said, 'O Messenger of God, what made you weep? It made us weep and scared us.'

"Then he came and sat down with us and asked, 'My weeping scared you, did it?' 'Indeed yes,' we replied. He explained, 'The grave you saw me addressing was that of Āmina, daughter of Wahb. I asked my Lord's permission to visit it and he allowed me. Then I asked His permission to seek forgiveness for her, but this He did not permit me. Then there were revealed to me the verses:

"It is not for the Prophet and for those who believe to ask forgiveness for idolaters, even if related to them, once it has become clear to them that those are going to hell. Abraham's seeking pardon for his father resulted only from a promise he had made him; and when it became clear to Abraham that he (his father) was an enemy of God, he (Abraham) disowned him. Abraham was certainly soft of heart, long-suffering" (*sūrat al-Tawba*, IX, v.113, 114). And I was affected by the emotion a son feels for his mother; that it was made me weep."

A unique tradition, one they (the major scholars of the traditions) did not propagate.

Muslim related from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd, from Yazīd b. Kaysān, from Abū Hāzim, from Abū Hurayra as follows: "The Prophet (ṢAAS) visited his mother's grave; he wept and this made those with him weep too. Then he said, 'I asked my Lord's permission to visit my mother's grave and He allowed me. I also asked his permission to seek forgiveness for her, but he did not permit me. So do visit graves; they will remind you of death.'"

Muslim related, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from 'Affān, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas, that a man asked, "O Messenger of God, where is my father?" He replied, "In hell-fire." Then when the man turned away, he called out to him: "My father and yours are both in hell."

Al-Bayhaqī related from a tradition of Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, from Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, from al-Zuhri, from 'Amir b. Sa'd, from his father as follows, "A bedouin came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'My father used to give to charity, and so on and so forth. So where is he now?' He replied, 'In hell-fire.'

"The bedouin appeared angered at that and asked, 'Well, Messenger of God, and where's your father?' He replied, 'Whenever you pass by the grave of an unbeliever, warn him of hell-fire.'

"Thereafter the bedouin accepted Islam and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put a heavy burden on me; when I pass the grave of an unbeliever, I never fail to warn him of hell-fire!'"

A unique tradition, and one they (the major scholars of the traditions) did not propagate.

The Imām Aḥmad said, "Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, as did Sa'id – he being Ibn Abū Ayyūb – as did Rabī'a b. Sayf al-Ma'afiri, from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubli, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr as follows, "While we were walk-

ing with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he noticed a woman he did not think he recognized. When half-way across the street he stopped until she reached him. Surprisingly, it was Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said, 'Fāṭima what brings you out of your house?' She replied, 'I came to visit the family in this house, expressing my condolences to them for their dead.' He commented, 'Perhaps you went as far as *al-kudā* (the grave) with them.' She replied, 'God forbid that I would have gone to that with them, having heard what you have said about that.' He went on, 'Well, if you had gone that far with them you would not see paradise until your father's grandfather sees paradise!'"

Aḥmad also related this, as did Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī, and al-Bayhaqī from a *ḥadīth* of Rabī'a b. Sayf b. Mānī' al-Ma'āfirī al-Ṣanāmī al-Iskandari. Al-Bukhārī said the tradition has faults. Al-Nasā'ī said there was nothing wrong with it. Once he said "It is trustworthy." But in another account that it was "weak". Ibn Ḥabbān made mention of it in *al-Thiqāt* and said, "He made a lot of errors." Al-Dārquṭnī stated that it was "sound". Ibn Yūnus stated in the *Tārīkh Miṣr* (*History of Egypt*) that "there are faults in his narration." He died in approximately 120 AH.

And what is meant by *al-kudā* is the "grave". And it is also said to mean "lamentation".

What the tradition means is that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died while still being a member of pre-Islamic society; this contrasts with the views of some of the Shī'a about him and Abū Ṭalib. This will be dealt with in the material on the death of Abū Ṭalib.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, after relating these traditions in his work *Dalā'il al-Nubūwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), "And how would the father and grandfather of the Prophet (ṢAAS) not be in such circumstances regarding the hereafter when they used to worship idols until they died, and they did not follow the religion of Jesus son of Mary upon whom be peace? Yet their having been unbelievers did not impair the lineage of the Prophet (ṢAAS), because marriages between unbelievers were valid. Did not many men adopt Islam, along with their wives, but not have either to renew their marriage contracts or to separate from their wives, since these would similarly be allowed under Islam? And to God goes all success." Thus ended his comments.

My own comment is, that the relating by the Prophet (ṢAAS) that his own parents and his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib were in hell does not contradict the tradition related from him via various authorities that those who lived during the interregnum between the emergence of two prophets, children, the insane, and the deaf would all be put to the test in the assemblies on Judgement Day. This we laid out with chapter and verse in our Qur'ān exegesis dealing with the Almighty's words: "and We have never punished before sending a prophet" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.15). There will be some among these groups who will

respond and others who will not. Those people, then, will be among those who will not respond; there is no inconsistency here, grace and praise be to God.

As for the tradition related by al-Suhaylī about which it was mentioned that there are persons in its lineage who are unknown, traced back to the son of Abū al-Zinād, from ‘Urwa from ‘Ā’isha, God bless her, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked his Lord to bring his parents back to life and that God did so and that they expressed faith in him; this is a highly unreliable tradition. Even though all this would be possible in terms of the power of God Almighty. However, what is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections does contradict this tradition. And God knows best.

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lived with his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim – that is, after the death of his mother Āmina daughter of Wahb – a spread would be set out for ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the shade of the *ka’ba*. His sons would seat themselves around his spread until he would come to it. But none of his sons would actually sit upon it, out of respect for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a young boy, would come along and sit down on it. Then his uncles would take him to remove him from it, but ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib would say, if he saw them doing that, ‘Leave my son (*sic*) alone; he has great things ahead of him.’ Then he would sit down with him on his spread, rub his back, and it would please him to watch what he would do.”

Al-Wāqidī said that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, from al-Zuhri, as did ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja’far from ‘Abd al-Wahid b. Ḥamza b. ‘Abd Allāh, and Hāshim b. ‘Āsim al-Aslamī from al-Mundhir b. Jahm, and Ma’mar from Ibn Abū Najih from Mujāhid and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, and Ibn Abū Sabra from Sulaymān b. Saḥīm, from Nāfi’, from Ibn Jubayr, the narration of some interfering with that of others, as follows: “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to live with his mother Amīna daughter of Wahb and when she died his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib took him to himself, treating him with a closeness and kindness he had not shown to his own son. He would allow and encourage him to come close to him, and the boy would go in to him when he was alone or asleep. He would sit down on his spread, and ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib would say when he saw him do this, “Leave my son alone; he will establish a kingdom.”

A group of men from Banū Mudlij said to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, “Take good care of him; for we have never seen anyone with so noble a lineage as his.” So ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to Abū Ṭālib: “Listen to what these men are saying.” And Abū Ṭālib did take care of him.

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to Umm Ayman – who had suckled him – “O Baraka, do not neglect my son. I found him with some boys close to the lote-tree; and the People of the Book (i.e. Christians and Jews) claim that my boy will be the Prophet of this nation.”

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib used never to eat without saying, “Bring my son.” And he would be brought to him.

And when death approached ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib he charged Abū Ṭālib with the care and safe-keeping of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Then ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib died and was buried at al-Ḥajūn.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was eight, his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib died.” He also stated that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had summoned his daughters and told them that they should compose elegies for him; these daughters were called Arwā, Umayma, Barra, Ṣafiyya, ‘Ātika, and Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā’.

Ibn Ishāq mentioned their poems and what they said in mourning their father, all while he listened, before he in fact died. Their words of mourning were extremely eloquent. He described that in great detail.

Ibn Hishām said, “I never met any scholar of poetry who knew these verses.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “And when ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim died, control over providing water for the pilgrims and over *zamzam* went after him to al-‘Abbās who was the youngest of his brothers.

This control remained his until the coming of Islam, after which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) confirmed it for al-‘Abbās.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with his uncle Abū Ṭālib after having been with his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This was because the latter had placed him in trust of his uncle and because Abū Ṭālib was the full brother of his father ‘Abd Allāh, the mother of both having been Fāṭima daughter of ‘Amr b. ‘Ā’idh b. ‘Imrān b. Makhzūm.”

Ibn Ishāq went on: “Abū Ṭālib was the one who took charge of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he cared for him completely.”

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ma‘mar told him, from Ibn Najih, from Mujāhid; and that Ma‘adh b. Muḥammad al-Ansārī related to him from ‘Aṭā’, from Ibn ‘Abbās, as did Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far, as did Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘il b. Abū Ḥabība, the account of each of these corresponding with one another, as follows: “When ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib died Abū Ṭālib took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to live with him.

“Abū Ṭālib was not wealthy; he loved the boy very much, more so than his children. The boy slept always by his side and went wherever he did.

“Abū Ṭālib had very great and unusual depth of affection for him. He would give the boy’s food special attention. And if his own children ever ate, alone or as

a group, without the boy's presence, they would remain unsatisfied, whereas when the Prophet would eat with them they would be well satisfied. When serving his family a daytime meal he would tell them to wait till the boy's arrival. When the Messenger of God would arrive and eat with them, they would get satisfied, and part of the food would remain uneaten. But if he did not eat with them they would remain unsatisfied. Abū Ṭālib would say, 'You are clearly blessed.'

"In the morning the other boys would arise bleary-eyed and dishevelled while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would get up bright-eyed and with his hair in place."

Al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa stated that 'Alī b. Thābit related to him from Ṭalḥa b. 'Amr that the latter heard 'Aṭṭā' b. Abū Rabbāḥ report having heard Ibn 'Abbās say, "Abū Ṭālib's family would get up in the morning with bleary, dirty eyes, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would get up bright-eyed and with his hair neatly groomed."

Early each morning Abū Ṭālib would bring to the boys their food platter and they would all sit down and snatch at it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), however, would keep his hand away and not grab at the food along with them. When his uncle saw this he set food aside for him alone.

Ibn Ishāq said, "Yaḥ'yā b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me that his father told him that there was a certain man of Lihb who could predict the future. Whenever he came to Mecca the men of Quraysh would take their boys to him to see and predict their futures."

He went on, "So Abū Ṭālib brought the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to him when he was still a boy, along with some others. The fortune-teller looked at the Messenger of God, but then something engaged his attention. When finished with that, he said, 'Bring that boy over to me!' When Abū Ṭālib saw how interested the man was in him, he took him away. Then the man exclaimed, 'Woe on you! Bring back to me that boy I saw earlier; by God, he has a big future ahead of him!'

"But Abū Ṭālib hurried away with him."

Section: The journey of the Prophet (ṢAAS) with his uncle Abū Ṭālib away to Syria and on what transpired with the monk Bahīrā.

Ibn Ishāq stated that thereafter Abū Ṭālib left with a trading caravan for Syria. As he was preparing to depart and assembling the goods, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began to miss him badly, or so they claim.

So Abū Ṭālib took pity on him and said words to the effect that, "By God, I'll take him away with me and never be parted from him, just as he will not be parted from me!"

He did leave with him. Eventually the caravan made a halt at Buṣrā in Syria, where there was a monk named Baḥīrā living in a cell. He was very learned in Christianity; the cell he lived in had always been occupied by some monk who would acquire their Christian learning from a book, as they claim, which they had passed down in inheritance from one elder to the next.

They stopped that year near Baḥīrā, as they had often done previously without his paying them attention. When they halted, then, near his cell, this time he made a lot of food for them. This, they claim, was because of a vision he had seen while he was in his cell; he had seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approaching in the caravan, with a cloud casting its shade only on him. When they had arrived they had dismounted in the shade of a tree near the monk. When he looked up at the cloud he saw it was shading the tree, the branches of which were extending out over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) so that he was shaded beneath them.

When Baḥīrā saw this he came down from his cell and, having ordered food which was then prepared, he sent word over to the travellers saying, "O Quraysh, I have prepared food for you and would like you all to come over, great and small, and freemen or slaves."

One Quraysh man commented to him, "By God, Baḥīrā, you've put yourself to much trouble today! You've never done this for us, even though we've passed by you here often before. Why today?"

Baḥīrā replied, "You are right; before it was as you say. But you are my guests, and I wanted to honour you and so have prepared you some food. I want all of you to eat of it."

So they gathered around him. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because of his youth, was left behind with the baggage, beneath the tree.

When Baḥīrā saw them he did not see the quality he had seen and known to be the boy's. So he said, "O Quraysh let not any one of you be left out of my feast."

They replied, "O Baḥīrā, the only one left out who ought to have come to you is a boy; he is the youngest of our party and he remained behind with the baggage." Baḥīrā insisted. "Do not do this; call him over and let him attend this feast along with you."

One of the Quraysh party exclaimed, "By al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā it really is a shame on us that Muḥammad son of ʿAbd Allāh son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib be kept back from eating the food among us."

Then he went over to the boy, brought him back, and sat him down among the rest.

When Baḥīrā saw him he began to scrutinize him very intently, looking at various parts of his body and finding certain qualities in him. Finally, when all had finished dining and had dispersed, Baḥīrā went up to the boy and said,

"Boy, by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā I charge you to answer what I will ask you." Baḥīrā only used these words because he had heard the boy's people swearing by these two gods.

They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him: "Don't ask me anything by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā; for, by God, I hate nothing more than them." So Baḥīrā said, "By God, would you tell me about what I ask you?" So the boy told him to ask whatever he liked.

The monk then asked him various questions about his sleep, habits, circumstances, and so on; and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded. And what Baḥīrā heard matched the description he expected.

Then he looked at the boy's back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders, in the very place according to the description he had.

Having concluded this, he went over to the boy's uncle Abū Ṭālib and asked, "What relation is he to you?" "He is my son," he replied.

Baḥīrā objected, "He's not your son. This boy can't have a living father."

"Well," Abū Ṭālib replied, "he's actually my nephew."

"And what happened to his father?" the monk asked.

"He died while the boy's mother was still pregnant with him."

"Now you're telling the truth," the monk went on. "Take your brother's son back to his own country and guard him from the Jews. For, by God, if they see him and know what I know, they will do him evil. This nephew of yours has a great future before him; take him back soon to his own country."

So his uncle Abū Ṭālib left with him for Mecca quickly, as soon as he had finished his business in Syria.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "They claim, according to what people said, that Zurayr, Tammām, and Darīs – all believers in the Scriptures – had also seen what Baḥīrā noticed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on that trip with his uncle Abū Ṭālib. They tried to get him, but Baḥīrā kept them away from him, making reference to God and to the description of him and mention of him they would find in the Holy Scripture, as well as the statement that they would not succeed in getting him. They recognized the reference he was making to them, and since they believed what he said they let the boy alone and went away."

Yūnus b. Bukayr recalled, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, that Abū Ṭālib spoke three odes on this subject.

This is how Ibn Ishāq related this sequence of events, but he gave no chain of authorities for it. A similar account also came down by way of a *musnad marfūʿ*.⁶⁵

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī related to him, as did Qarād Abū Nūḥ, as did Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq, from Abū

65. The term denotes a tradition attributed to the Prophet that has a complete line of transmission.

Bakr b. Abū Mūsā, from his father, as follows: "Abū Ṭālib went off to Syria along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and a number of Quraysh elders. When they reached a point overlooking the monk – meaning Baḥīrā – they went down and untied their baggage. The monk then came out to them, whereas previously when they had passed by he had not come out or even turned towards them."

He went on, "He came down, then, as they were untying their baggage, and walked among them until he came and took the Prophet (ṢAAS) by the hand and said, 'This is the Lord of all mankind!'"

In the account of al-Bayhaqī the phrase he used was longer, saying also, "This is the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds; God sent him as a mercy to all mankind."

Some of the Quraysh elders then asked him, "What is it you know?" He replied, "When you looked down from the mountain road every single tree and every rock bent down in worship. And they would only prostrate themselves before a prophet. And I know him by the mark of prophethood below the cartilage of his shoulder blades."

He then went back and prepared food for them. When he brought it, the boy was tending to the camels. The monk told them to send for him. As he approached a cloud was shading him, and as the boy came near the others the monk exclaimed, "See; there is a cloud above him!" When the boy arrived he found that the others had preceded him to the shade of the tree, but when he sat down the shade moved out over him. The monk commented, "Just look how the tree's shade moved over him!"

While Baḥīrā was standing there urging them not to take him into Byzantine territory, saying that when they saw him the Romans would recognize him by his description and would kill him, he turned around and, to his surprise, saw seven Romans who had arrived. He greeted them and asked why they had come. They replied, "We have information that there's this prophet who will come forth this month and so we have been sending men along each route; news we had of him brought us along this route of yours." "Do you", Baḥīrā asked, "have anyone superior to you coming along behind you?" They replied, "No; it's just the information we had about him brought us along this road of yours." Baḥīrā then asked them, "Have you ever known any matter God wished to bring about that anyone was able to reverse?" They said they had not, and then they pledged him allegiance and stayed with him there at Baḥīrā's place.

The account goes on, reporting that the monk then asked, "I abjure you by God to tell me, which of you is his guardian?" "Abū Ṭālib," they replied.

Baḥīrā kept on admonishing him (Abū Ṭālib) until he took the boy back (to Mecca); Abū Bakr sent Bilāl along with him and the monk provisioned him with cake and oil.

Thus al-Tirmidhī told it, from Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sahl al-Aʿraj, from Qarād Abū Nūḥ. Al-Ḥākim, al-Bayhaqī, and Ibn ʿAsākir derive it through Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Aṣamm from ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī.

And thus too did more than one *ḥāfiẓ* relate it from an account of Abū Nūḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghazwān al-Khuzāʿī, their *mawlā*, their freed slave. He was known as al-Ḍabbi, and also as Qarād; he lived in Baghdad and was one of those “trustworthy sources” vouched for by al-Bukhārī. A number of legal scholars and *ḥufāẓ* declare him trustworthy, and I never knew anyone who impugned him. Nevertheless, there are unique aspects to this account of his.

Al-Tirmidhī stated: “The tradition is good, though unusual. We know of it only from this account.”

ʿAbbās al-Dūrī said, “There is no one in the world who relates it apart from Qarād Abū Nūḥ; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, God have mercy on him, heard this from him, and Yaḥyā b. Muʿīn similarly for its unique and unusual quality.” Al-Bayhaqī and Ibn ʿAsākir related it.

My comment is that one strange aspect to the tradition is its being attributed back to the Companions, whereas Abū Mūsā al-ʿAshʿarī only came forward (into Islam) in the year of the battle of Khaybar, in the seventh year of the *hijra*. This view does not reflect Ibn Ishāq’s statement that includes him amongst those who emigrated to Abyssinia from Mecca.

By all estimations the story was attributed (back to the Prophet); the incident occurred, as some sources maintain, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 12 years old. Perhaps Abū Mūsā received it from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in which case it would be very accurate. Or he could have received it from some of the major Companions, God be pleased with them. Alternatively the incident might have been well known and often mentioned and the narrator took it from knowledge widely current.

The second strange aspect is that the cloud was not referred to in any account more reliable than this one. The third problem relates to the words: “Abū Bakr sent Bilāl along with him.” If the age of the Prophet (ṢAAS) at that time was twelve, then Abū Bakr would have been nine or ten. Bilāl’s age would have been less than that. And where was Abū Bakr at that time? And where was Bilāl? Both (being there) would be strange, certainly, unless it be said that this occurred when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was full grown. This would mean that the trip took place later than it is supposed, or that the statement that he was twelve at the time is inaccurate; al-Wāqidi related the incident contingent upon that. Yet al-Suhaylī stated on the authority of certain sources, that the age of the prophet (ṢAAS) at the time was nine. So God knows best.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar and Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Abū Ḥabība, from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥusayn, as

follows: "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached the age of twelve, his uncle Abū Ṭālib took him along to Syria in the caravan he was accompanying to engage in business there. They made a halt with the monk Baḥīrā, who made some statements in confidence to Abū Ṭālib. Baḥīrā told him to look after the boy and Abū Ṭālib sent him back to Mecca. The Messenger of God lived as a youth with Abū Ṭālib, while God protected him and preserved him from the evils of the *jāhiliyya* period for the honour He wished for him."

When he grew up he was consequently the most honourable man of his people, the best in character, the most noble in his relationships, the best neighbour, the most prudent, trustworthy and truthful, and the man most removed from immorality or harmfulness. He was never seen to do anyone harm or to quarrel with anyone, so that his people named him *al-Amin*, "the trustworthy one" because of all the fine qualities God had joined together in him.

Abū Ṭālib protected and cared for him, aided and assisted him until his death.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, "Khālīd b. Ma'dān told us, Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān related to us, that he heard his father relate from Abū Mijlīz that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib or Abū Ṭālib – Khālīd was unsure which one – said, that when 'Abd Allāh died he was sorry for Muḥammad and never went away on any trip without taking him with him. And when he was on the way to Syria and stopped to set up camp, a monk came to him there and said, 'You have a man of goodness among you.' Then he said, 'Where is the father of this boy?' The reply was given, 'I am his guardian' (or it was said, 'he is his guardian'). The monk commented: 'Take care of this boy; do not take him to Syria. The Jews are jealous, and I fear for him from them.' He was told, 'It is not you who are saying that but God himself.' So he did take him back, and said, 'O God, I place Muḥammad in your care!' Then he died."

The Story of Baḥīrā.

Al-Suhaylī related, quoting the biographical writings of al-Zuhri, that Baḥīrā was a Jewish high priest.

My comment is, that it appears from the course of the story that he was a Christian monk. But God knows best.

From al-Mas'ūdī comes the information that he was a man of the 'Abd al-Qays tribe, and that his name was Jirjis.

In the work *al-Ma'ārif (Knowledge)* of Ibn Qutayba it states, "A voice was heard in the *jāhiliyya* period, shortly before Islam, calling out the words, 'O yea, the finest of men on earth are three: Baḥīrā, Rī'āb b. al-Barrā' al-Shannī, and the third is still awaited." The third and one awaited was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Qutayba stated, "*Al-ṭish* is always seen at the graves of Riʿāb al-Shannī and of his son who came after him." This word, *al-ṭish*, means light rain.

Section: On the early upbringing and raising of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and how God cared for him and protected him; how he had been an orphan and God gave him a home and destitute and God enriched him.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a youth under the care and protection of God who saved him from the evils of the *jāhiliyya* because of the honour and mission He wished for him. When he grew up he was the finest man among his people, the best of them in character and repute, the best of neighbours, the most prudent, the most honest in speech and most trustworthy, and the one most removed from immorality and those characteristics that corrupt men, which he avoided because of his nobility."

Consequently the name by which he was known among Quraysh was none other than *al-Amin*, "the trustworthy", because of the fine qualities God had joined in him.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as I was told, used to relate about those (pre-Islamic) practices, matters from which God had protected him in his youth and time of ignorance. He said, "Once I happened to be amongst some Quraysh boys carrying some stones for those games boys play. Each of us was exposed, having taken up his shirt and fastened it around his neck to carry stones in. I was running along with them in this way and having fallen behind I suddenly received a very painful slap from someone who spoke the words, 'Put your shirt on properly!' So I took it and put it back on properly and began carrying the stones around my neck with my shirt on, alone among my friends."

This anecdote is similar to the one in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection relating to the building of the *kaʿba*, when he and his uncle al-ʿAbbās were hauling (stones). If not the same, it certainly precedes that and is seemingly preparing for it. But God knows best.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq said that Ibn Jurayj informed him, quoting ʿAmr b. Dīnār, that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, "When the *kaʿba* was being built, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off to transport stones. Al-ʿAbbās said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Put your shirt over your shoulder for the stones.' He did so, but fell to the ground and his eyes were drawn up to heaven. Then he got up and said, 'It was my shirt.' So it was put back on him properly."

The two traditionalists brought this *ḥadīth* out in the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from an account of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. They also extrapolated it from an account of Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda from Zakariyyā b. Abū Ishāq, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār from Jābir to the same effect.

Al-Bayhaqī said that the *hāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū Sa'īd b. Abū 'Amr informed him that Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb told them that Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṣaghānī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Bukayr al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Dashtakī, quoting 'Amr b. Abū Qays, from Simāk, from 'Ikrima, who said that Ibn 'Abbās related to him from his father that he would carry stones to the *ka'ba* when Quraysh was building it. Quraysh divided up into two groups, with the men transporting the stones and the women the mortar mix.

He went on: "I was with my nephew, carrying the rocks, wearing our shirts around our necks; when we came up to other people we covered up. While I was walking along with Muḥammad in front of me, he fell down and stretched out flat on his face. I hurried along, threw down my rocks; meanwhile he was looking up to heaven. 'What's wrong?' I asked. He got up and took his shirt, saying, 'I was forbidden from walking uncovered.'" Ibn 'Abbās went on, "I hid this from the others for fear they would say (he) was mad."

Al-Bayhaqī related from a tradition of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Qays b. Makhrama related to him, from al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, from his father and from his grandfather, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "I wasn't interested in performing those things with women that people during the *jāhiliyya* used to do; except, that is, on two nights on which God, Almighty and Glorious is He, restrained me.

"One evening I and a young man of Mecca were watching some sheep belonging to some people there. I said to him, 'Would you keep an eye on my sheep so I can go into Mecca and spend an evening there like other lads?' 'Sure,' he replied. So I went into town and stopped at the first house where I heard the music of tambourines and flutes. I asked what was going on and was told that a man and woman had married. So I sat down to watch. But God struck my ears and, I swear, next thing I knew I was being awakened by the sun's touch. I went back to my friend, who asked what I had done. I replied, 'I didn't do a thing.' Then I told him what I had seen.

"Then one other night I asked him to watch my sheep so I could go to a party. He agreed, so I went off to Mecca and heard the same as I had the previous occasion. Again I was told that there was a marriage and so sat down to watch. But God again struck my ears and, I swear, I was later awakened by the sun's touch.

"When I returned to my friend he asked what I had done. 'Not a thing,' I replied, and then I told him what had happened. And, by God, I never tried or returned to anything like that thereafter right up to when Almighty and Glorious God honoured me with His prophethood."

This is a very strange tradition. It could be about 'Alī himself, with the final words "up to when Almighty and Glorious God honoured me with his prophethood" having been added. But God knows best.

This scholar Ibn Ishāq is mentioned by Ibn Ḥibbān as being a very reliable source. Some authorities claim him to be an author of a *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of traditions. In his supplementary notes, this sheikh of ours commented on this, "I don't fully stand behind this." But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī said that the *ḥāfiẓ* 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Affān al-'Āmirī, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama and Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib, from Usāma b. Zayd, from Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who said, "There was a brass idol called 'Isāf and Nā'ila which the polytheists would touch as they performed their circumambulation. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said 'Don't touch it.'"

Zayd continued, "Well, as we went round (again) I told myself I would touch it to see what would happen. When I did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, 'Were you not forbidden to do that?'"

Al-Bayhaqī said that others added, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, giving a chain of authorities, that Zayd said, "By Him who honoured him and revealed to him the Holy Book, he (the Prophet) never saluted an idol right up to when God Almighty honoured him as He did and gave revelation to him."

We earlier made reference to the comment of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Baḥīrā put a question to him invoking al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā: "By God, do not question me by invoking them! I hate nothing so much as them!"

As for the tradition given by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, Abū Sa'd al-Mālīnī informed us, Abū Aḥmad b. 'Adī, the *ḥāfiẓ* told us, Ibrāhīm b. Asbāṭ related to us, as did 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, as did Jarīr, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqayl, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, God bless him, as follows: "The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to attend the ceremonies of the polytheists along with them. But once he heard two angels behind him, one saying to the other, 'Let's move up and stand right behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' But the other objected, 'How can we stand right behind him when he is in the habit of saluting idols?'"

He went on, "And thereafter he never again attended such ceremonies with the polytheists."

This is a tradition several authorities deny being attributed to 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba. Regarding it Imām Aḥmad commented: "His brother would never speak any such words."

Al-Bayhaqī related from various sources that his meaning was that he witnessed those who saluted idols, and that that was before God made revelation to him. But God knows best.

We previously reported a tradition from Zayd b. Ḥāritha to the effect that he abstained from witnessing the ceremonies of the polytheists until God honoured him with His mission.

It is established in the tradition that he did not participate in the assembly at al-Muzdalifa during the night on Mt. 'Arafāt. Indeed he did not assemble with the people at 'Arafāt.

Similarly Yūnus b. Bukayr said, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to him, from 'Uthmān b. Abū Sulaymān, from Nāfi' b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm, from his father Jubayr who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was a member of his people's religion. He would station himself there on a camel of his at 'Arafāt, among his people until he raced away with them, God the Almighty and Glorious giving him blessing thereby."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The meaning of the words 'a member of his people's religion' refers to the remnants of the heritage of Abraham and Ishmael, on both of whom be peace. The Prophet (ṢAAS) never at any time associated with Allāh any other god."

I also comment, that from these words of (al-Bayhaqī) it is to be understood that he did attend the assembly at 'Arafāt before he received revelation. And it was this that was a "blessing" to him from God the Almighty and Glorious.

The Imām Aḥmad related this tradition from Ya'qūb, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq. The words he used were: "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before he received revelation while he was positioned on a camel of his with his people on 'Arafāt so that he would move forward with them, this being a blessing from God."

The Imām Aḥmad said that Sufyān related to him, from 'Amr, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm, from his father, saying, "I lost track of a camel of mine in the 'Urana valley (close to 'Arafāt) and went off to look for it. I found the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the assembly there. I said, 'He's one of the *ḥums* (a word used for Quraysh). What's he doing here?'"

They both derived this from a tradition of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna to that effect.

An Account of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) witnessed the war known as al-fijār, the sacrilegious war.

Ibn Ishāq said, "The 'sacrilegious' war raged at a time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 20. It was named the *fijār* (sacrilegious) war because the two tribes Kināna and Qays 'Aylān acted as though the sacred month (when warfare was disallowed) was open for them to fighting. The leader of Quraysh and of Kināna was Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams. Early in the day of the battle, Qays were defeating Kināna, but by midday the victory had gone to Kināna over Qays."

Ibn Hishām stated, "When the Messenger of God reached 14 – or 15 – as Abū 'Ubayda the grammarian related to me, from Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', the

'sacrilegious' war broke out between Quraysh and its Kināna supporters and Qays 'Aylān.

"What started it was that 'Urwa al-Raḥḥāl b. 'Utba b. Ja'far b. Kilāb b. Rabī'a b. 'Amr b. Ṣaṣa'a b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin had given a passing permission to a trading caravan of musk which belonged to al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir. And so al-Barrād b. Qays, one of the tribe of ʿDumra b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna asked, 'Are you going to apply the same against Kināna's will?' 'Yes,' was the reply, 'and against everyone.'

"So 'Urwa al-Raḥḥāl set out with the trading party and al-Barrād left too, seeking to catch him unawares. When the party reached the high ground of Tayman Dhū Ṭilāl, 'Urwa became careless and al-Barrād fell upon him and killed him; this was during the sacred month. Consequently the warfare became known as 'sacrilegious'." Al-Barrād spoke the following verses about all this:

"There's many a tragedy that distressed people before me that I, O Banū Bakr, stood firm against.

Thereby I destroyed the houses of Banū Kilāb and humbled the freed slaves to submission.

I raised my fist against him at Dhū Ṭilāl and he dropped like a felled tree."

Labīd b. Rabī'a b. Mālīk b. Ja'far b. Kilāb also composed the lines:

"Tell Banū Kilāb, if you chance on them, and 'Āmir, that there are some who can master disasters,

Tell Banū Numayr, if you chance on them, and the dead man's uncles of Banū Hilāl,

That the expected al-Raḥḥāl now rests at Tayman Dhū Ṭilāl."

Ibn Hishām continued, "A man arrived and told Quraysh of it, saying, 'Al-Barrād has killed 'Urwa, and during the sacred month, at 'Ukāz.' They then rode off, unbeknown to Hawāzin. When Hawāzin learned of this they pursued them and caught up with them before they reached the sacred territory. They engaged in battle till nightfall but then they went inside the sacred territory and Hawāzin gave up on them.

"They met for several days after that battle, with the people going forth under various banners with a leader from each of the tribes of Quraysh and Kināna, and a leader from each of the tribes of Qays.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was present at some of these battles, his uncles having taken him with themselves. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I was giving arrows to my uncles.' That is, he would gather for them the arrows their enemy had shot at them."

Ibn Hishām said, "The account of the 'sacrilegious' war is very long, longer than I have recounted. But I have been deterred from recounting it because it would have interrupted the telling of the biography of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Suhayli said that *al-fijār* is spelt with an "i" after the "f", in the like form to *qitāl*, fighting. The *fijār* wars among the Arabs totalled four, and al-Mas'ūdi gave reference to all of them.

He went on, "The last of them was this one involving al-Barrād. The fighting in it consisted of four battles: the battle of Shamṭa, and the battle of al-ʿAblā', both near ʿUkāz, and the battle of al-Sharb, which was the major battle. It was this one that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attended. For this battle the chieftains of Quraysh and Banū Kināna, respectively Ḥarb b. Umayya and his brother Sufyān, made a pact not to take to flight. On that occasion Qays were defeated, except for Banū Naḍr who held out. The fourth battle was at al-Ḥarīra, near Nakhla. Then they made an agreement to meet the following year at ʿUkāz. When they assembled to fulfil this appointment ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa rode out on his camel and called out: 'O tribe of Muḍar, what is it you are fighting for?' Hawāzin replied, 'What are you suggesting?' 'Peace,' he replied. 'How,' they asked. He said, 'We pay you blood-money for your dead, and will leave people hostage with you to guarantee payment; and we will forgo our blood-money you owe.' 'Who will guarantee us that?' 'I will,' he replied. 'And who are you?' they demanded. 'I am ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa,' he told them.

"On that basis peace was made, and they sent out to them 40 men, including Ḥakīm b. Ḥizān. And when Banū ʿAmr b. Ṣaṣa'a saw the guarantee hostages in their hands they gave up their claims and the 'sacrilegious' war was at an end."

Al-Umawī gave an account of the "sacrilegious" wars and the battles that occurred, detailing them at length, his information deriving from al-Athram, who was al-Mughīra b. ʿAlī, from Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā.

CHAPTER: HOW THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) WITNESSED THE PACT OF *AL-FUḌŪL*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī said that Abū Saʿd al-Mālīnī told him, Abū Aḥmad b. ʿAdī, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to him, quoting Yahyā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥāshim al-Khaffāf, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAliyya, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was a witness, with my uncles, to the pact of *al-muṭayyabīn* and I would not have wanted to renege – or some such word – for the very choicest herd."

He (al-Bayhaqī) said that this tradition was related in these words also by Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

He also said that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda related to him, quoting Abū ʿAmr b. Matar, quoting Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Samnānī, quoting Muʿallā b. Mahdī, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, all from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said. "The only pact I

witnessed Quraysh make was that of *al-muṭayyabin*. And I'd not have abrogated it in return for the choicest herd."

He said that *al-muṭayyabin* referred to Hāshim, Umayya, Zahra, and Makhzūm.

Al-Bayhaqī said, "This explanation is also interpolated within the tradition, but I do not know who it was who said it."

Some biographers maintain that he was referring to the *fuḍūl* pact; for the Prophet (ṢAAS) was not yet born at the time of the *muṭayyabin* pact.

In my view, there is no disputing that. The fact is that Quraysh did conclude a treaty following the death of Quṣayy. They disputed the fact of Quṣayy having left to his son 'Abd al-Dār the right to control provision of food and drink to the pilgrims, raising the banner at the *ka'ba*, its guardianship, and the convening of the assembly. The tribe of 'Abd Manāf disputed them these prerogatives and various of the Quraysh tribes gave alliance and help for victory to one or other side.

So the partisans of Abd Manāf brought a bowl filled with *al-tīb*, nutmeg powder, into which they placed their hands and swore allegiance to one another. When they had done so, they wiped their hands over the corners of the house (the *ka'ba*). They were therefore named the *muṭayyabīna*, as mentioned above; this took place long ago.

But what is meant by this alliance, is the treaty of *al-fuḍūl*, a word meaning "the excess" or "remnants". This was sworn in the home of 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān, as al-Ḥumaydī related it, from Sufyān son of 'Uyayna, from 'Abd Allāh, from Muḥammad and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, two sons of Abū Bakr. They stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I witnessed in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān a treaty to which I would have responded positively if, during Islam, I had been invited to participate in it. They made an agreement to return any excess to those who had owned it, and that no one should take unfair advantage over anyone."

The authorities stated that the *fuḍūl* pact was concluded 20 years before the prophethood, in the eleventh month, Dhū al-Qa'da, that date being some four months after the *al-fijār* war. That was because the *al-fijār* occurred in Sha'bān, the eighth month of the same year.

The *al-fuḍūl* treaty was reputed the most fair and honourable pact reached among the Arabs. The first man who suggested and advocated it was al-Zubayr, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The cause for it was that a man from Zabīd brought some goods to Mecca and these were brought from him by al-ʿĀṣ son of Wā'il who held back some of what was due to him. So the man from Zabīd complained about him to his allies who were the tribes of 'Abd al-Dār, Makhzūm, Jumah, Sahm, and 'Adī b. Ka'b, but they declined to help him against al-ʿĀṣ son of Wā'il and instead they roughed him up and drove him away. Having experienced

such ill-treatment, the man from Zabīd approached Abū Qubays at daybreak, while Quraysh were in their assemblies around the *ka'ba*, and called out at the top of his voice:

"O heirs of Fīhr, there's a man being wronged of his goods, right here in the middle of Mecca, far from his own home and people.

"A man dishevelled and deprived, who has not completed his pilgrimage; fellow men, I'm right here at the very heart of the *hijr*.⁶⁶

"The sacrosanct is for those whose nobility is complete; there is nothing sacrosanct for the robe of the immoral and treacherous."

At this arose al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and said, "This matter can't be ignored."

So the men of Hāshim, Zuhra, and Taym b. Murra assembled in the home of 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān who prepared food for them. They established their pact in Dhū al-Qa'da, a sacrosanct month, agreeing and swearing by God that they would act in unison with any wronged person against the wrongdoer until his rights were fulfilled, for so long as the sea makes wool wet and the mountains Thabīr and Hīrā' remain firmly set in their place and that they would comfort (people) as long as they are alive.

Quraysh named that pact *al-fuḍūl*, saying, "Those men went into that matter *fi faḍl*, i.e. 'to excess'. Afterwards they walked over to al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il and took away from him the goods of the man from Zabīd and returned them to him."

Al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about this pact:

"I swore, Let's make a pact against them, though we're all members of one tribe.

We'll call it *al-fuḍūl*; if we make a pact by it the stranger could overcome those under local protection,

And those who go around the *ka'ba* will know that we reject injustice and will prevent all things shameful."

Al-Zubayr also spoke the following:

"*Al-fuḍūl* made a pact and alliance that no evildoer shall dwell in Mecca's heart.

This was a matter they firmly agreed and so the protected neighbour and the unprotected stranger are safe among them."

Qāsim b. Thābit related, in a curious *ḥadīth* that, "A man of Khath'am came to Mecca either as a pilgrim or to perform the *'umra* (the 'minor pilgrimage'), and brought with him a daughter of his named al-Qatūl, an exceedingly modest girl. But Nabīh b. al-Ḥajjāj seized her and took her away from him. So the man of Khath'am said, 'Who will help me against this man?' He was advised to invoke the pact of *al-fuḍūl*.

66. The space on the north-west side of the *ka'ba* enclosed by the curved wall, the *ḥātim*.

"So he stood at the *ka'ba* and called out, 'O you who made the pact of *al-fuḍūl*!' Men flocked to him from all sides, their swords unsheathed and shouting, 'Help is here; what's the matter?' He told them how Nabih had wronged him by taking his daughter from him by force.

"The men went with him to Nabih's house and he came out to them. They told him, 'Bring the girl out! You know who we are and the pact on which we've agreed!' 'I'll do it,' he replied, 'But let me enjoy her tonight!' 'Certainly not, by God,' they insisted, 'and there will be no intercourse!' So he brought her out to them speaking the verses:

"My friends are gone, and I have not greeted al-Qatīl; I did not say to them a pleasant farewell,

For the *al-fuḍūl* reiterated that they protect her; yet I still see myself not fearing the *al-fuḍūl*.

Don't think, girl, that I, that evening the riders left, did not feel disregarded by their going."

And lines other than these were also given.

It has been said that this was known as the "pact of *al-fuḍūl*" merely because it was like an agreement reached by the Jurhum tribe that similarly favoured victims over oppressors. There were those of their leaders who advocated this, each one of whom bore the name "Faḍl". They were al-Faḍl b. Faḍala, al-Faḍl b. Wadā'a, and al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥārith. This is what Ibn Qutayba stated. Others give the names as al-Faḍl b. Sharā'a, al-Faḍl b. Bidā'a and al-Faḍl b. Qudā'a. It was al-Suhayli, God be pleased with him, who reported this.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār said, "Tribes of Quraysh suggested making a pact and assembled for that purpose in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'an because of his high reputation and age.

"The pact made there at his house was between Banū Hāshim, Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-ʿUzzā, Zuhra b. Kilāb, and Taym b. Murra. They made a pact and agreement that they would support any man in Mecca who was wronged, whether from their own people or someone who had merely come there, against whoever had wronged him, and that they would ensure that his rights be upheld.

"Quraysh named that agreement the 'pact of *al-fuḍūl*'."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said that Muḥammad b. Zayd b. al-Muḥājir b. Qunfudh of Taym related to him that he heard Ṭalḥa b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Awf al-Zuhri say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "I witnessed in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'an a pact made that I wouldn't have exchanged for the choicest herd; and if it had been suggested after Islam, I would have responded positively to it."

Ibn Ishāq said that Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Hādī al-Laythī related to him that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith of Taym told him that there was between al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and al-Walid b. 'Utba b. Abū Sufyān – al-Walid being at that time governor of al-Medina, having been appointed over it by his uncle Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān – a dispute over some property they owned at (the village of) Dhū al-Marwa. It seems that al-Walid was using his power to take advantage of al-Ḥusayn. So al-Ḥusayn told him, "I swear by God that you will either justly recognize my rights or I will draw my sword and stand up in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and invoke the pact of *al-fudūl*."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "So 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who was with al-Walid when al-Ḥusayn made this statement, said, 'And I too swear by God that if he does invoke it, I'll draw my sword and stand there with him until he gets his justice or we'll all die together.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated that when al-Miswar b. Makhrama b. Nawfal al-Zuhri and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Ubayd Allāh of Taym heard of the incident, they gave similar responses.

And when al-Walid b. 'Utba heard what had been said, he treated al-Ḥusayn justly and made him content.

SECTION: ON THE MARRIAGE OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) TO KHADIJA, DAUGHTER OF KHUWAYLID B. ASAD B. 'ABD AL-'UZZĀ B. QUṢAYY.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Khadija daughter of Khuwaylid was a merchant woman of stature and wealth. She would employ men to trade her goods on a profit-sharing basis.

"When she heard of the truthfulness, trustworthy nature and fine character of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she sent for him and proposed that he should take some of her goods on a trading venture to Syria; she offered him better terms than she did other merchants and suggested he be accompanied by a youth in her employment whose name was Maysara.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted this offer and set off with her goods, in the company of Maysara. When they reached Syria, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt beneath the shade of a tree near the cell of a certain monk. This monk looked out at Maysara and said, 'Who is that man resting beneath the tree?' Maysara responded, 'He is of Quraysh, those who guard the sanctuary.' The monk responded, 'No one but a prophet has ever stopped beneath that tree.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sold his wares, the goods that he had brought, and bought those things he wanted. Thereafter he set off in a caravan for Mecca, Maysara accompanying him.

"At midday when it was fiercely hot, Maysara would see, so they say, two angels shading him from the sun as he travelled forward on his camel.

"When he reached Mecca and brought the goods back to Khadija, she sold them for twice their cost or thereabouts. Maysara related to her what the monk had said, and how he had seen the angels giving him shade.

"Now Khadija was a decisive, noble, and intelligent lady, as well as possessed of all the other fine qualities God had endowed her with. When Maysara told her all this she sent for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said to him, so they say, 'Cousin, I am interested in you because of your being related to me, because of your high reputation among your people, and because of your trustworthiness, fine character and truthfulness.' She then offered herself to him in marriage.

"Khadija was the highest-born, most respected and wealthiest woman in Quraysh. All her people were covetous of all that and would have attained it if they could.

"When she said this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he reported it to his uncles. One of these, Ḥamza, went off with him to visit Khuwaylid b. Asad and made an engagement between them. Thereafter the Prophet (ṢAAS) did marry her."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He gave her 20 young female camels as a dowry. She was the first woman he married. And he married no other woman until she died."

Ibn Ishāq said, "It was she who bore all the children of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) except for Ibrāhīm. His sons from her were al-Qāsim, by whose name he was known, as 'Abū al-Qāsim', 'father of Qāsim' that is. Al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir were his other sons. His daughters were named Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭima."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The first-born of the boys was al-Qāsim, then came al-Ṭayyib, followed by al-Ṭāhir. The first-born girl was Ruqayya, followed by Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭima, in that order."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, from al-Ḥākim that he read, by the hand of Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama, that Mus'ab b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, saying, "The eldest of his sons was al-Qāsim. Then came Zaynab, followed by 'Abd Allāh, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima, and Ruqayya. The first of his children to die was al-Qāsim, followed by 'Abd Allāh. Khadija is said to have died at age 65 or at age 50, the latter being more likely."

Others say that al-Qāsim attained an age when he could ride, even on light, swift camels but then he died, after the call to prophethood.

Others say he died while still unweaned. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "In heaven there is a place for him where he can complete his suckling."

However, it is well known that this statement applied to (his son) Ibrāhīm.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Ibrāhīm b. 'Uthmān related to him from al-Qāsim from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Khadija gave birth from the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) to two boys and four girls. These were al-Qāsim, 'Abd Allāh, Faṭīma, Umm Kulthūm, Zaynab, and Ruqayya."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said, "It was 'Abd Allāh who was known as 'al-Ṭayyib' (the good) and 'al-Ṭahir' (the pure). He was given these appellations because he was born after the call to prophethood. His other sons died before his mission. All his daughters were born prior to the call to the prophethood, and emigrated with him (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Ibrāhīm was born to Maria the Copt who was presented to the Prophet (ṢAAS) by al-Muqawqis, governor of Alexandria; she was from (the Upper Egypt town of) Kūrat Andā'."

We will discuss the wives and children of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in a separate section at the end of this biography, if God Almighty wills it; and in Him we trust.

Ibn Hishām said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 25 years of age when he married Khadija, according to the account of several scholars, including Abū 'Amr al-Madani."

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated, "I wrote down, from Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, the following: 'Umar b. Abū Bakr al-Mu'ammili related to me that more than one authority related to him that 'Amr b. Asad married Khadija to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was 25 years of age and Quraysh were building the *ka'ba*.'"

Similarly, al-Bayhaqī transmitted from al-Ḥākim that the age of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he married Khadija was 25 and that she was then 35. It is also said that she was 25.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, in a chapter entitled: "The employment the Messenger of God had before he married Khadija" as follows:

"Abū 'Abd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* narrated to us, quoting Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān; and Suwayd b. Sa'īd related to us, quoting 'Amr b. Abū Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qurashī, from his grandfather Sa'īd, from Abū Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'God never sent anyone to be a prophet without his having been a shepherd for sheep.' His Companions asked him, 'And you too, O Messenger of God?' He replied, 'I shepherded them for Meccans at al-Qarārīf.'"

Al-Bukhārī related it from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad the Meccan, from 'Amr b. Yaḥyā.

Thereafter al-Bayhaqī related the same tradition by way of al-Rabī' b. Badr, a weak link, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "My wage from Khadija for two expeditions was a young she-camel."

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Alī b. Zayd, from 'Ammār b. Abū 'Ammār, from Ibn 'Abbās who said, "Khadija's father married

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to her at a time when he (her father) was – and I think this is what he said – drunk!”

Then al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl al-Qaṭṭān related to him, as did ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far, as did Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān, who said that he was told by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, and by ‘Umar b. Abū Bakr al-Mu‘ammilī and by ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū ‘Ubayd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, from his father from Muqsim b. Abū al-Qāsim, the *mawla* of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, that ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith related to him that ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, whenever he heard people discussing the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khadija and embellishing it as they did, would tell them, “I know better than anyone else about his marriage to her. I was his companion and his close friend. One day I was out with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when we came to al-Ḥazura we passed by Khadija’s sister who was seated on a fine-coloured camel she had for sale. She called to me and I went over to her, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood there waiting for me. She said, ‘Would that friend of yours like to marry Khadija?’

“So I went back to him and told him and he responded, ‘Indeed I certainly would!’

“I then reported to her what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said and she suggested, ‘Come and visit us tomorrow.’ When we did so next day we found that they had slaughtered a cow and dressed Khadija’s father in ceremonial clothes; and his beard had been dyed yellow. I spoke with her brother and he with his father, who had been drinking wine. The brother told him of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of his reputation and asked him if he would conduct his marriage. And so he did marry him to Khadija. They cooked the cow and we ate from it, after which her father went to sleep. When he woke up he was sober and he said, ‘What’s this I’m wearing, what’s this yellow and why this food?’ His daughter who had spoken to ‘Ammār replied, ‘It was your son-in-law Muḥammad son of ‘Abd Allāh who gave you the ceremonial outfit and he who presented the cow to you, and we slaughtered it when you married him to Khadija.’

“He denied having concluded this marriage with him and stormed off, shouting, to al-Ḥijr. Banū Hāshim brought out the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and they all went off to talk to him. Khadija’s father demanded, ‘Where’s this man of yours you claim I married to Khadija?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his presence known to him. Having looked at him, her father then said, ‘If I already performed his marriage, then so be it. If I didn’t before, I do so now!’”

Al-Zuhri stated in his works of biography that her father married her to him when he was drunk. His account is similar to the foregoing. Al-Suhaylī (similarly) related it.

Al-Mu'ammili stated, "What is generally agreed upon is that it was her uncle, 'Amr b. Asad, who married her to him."

This is what al-Suhayli preferred. He related so on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and 'Ā'isha. The latter said, "Khuwaylid had died before *al-fijār*, the 'sacrilegious' war. It was he who had fought against Tubba' when he wanted to remove the 'black stone' to Yemen. Khuwaylid and a group from Quraysh had prevented him from doing so. Then Tubba' had a nightmare about it, changed his mind, and left the 'black stone' where it was."

Ibn Ishāq related at the end of his biography that Khadija's brother, 'Amr b. Khuwaylid, was the one who married her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but God knows best.

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated that Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, had informed Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy, who was her cousin and a Christian who had studied the Scriptures and human knowledge, of what her young employee (Maysara) had told her of what the monk had said, and how he had seen the two angels shading him. Waraqa had then told her, "If this is true, Khadija, then Muḥammad is the Prophet of this nation. I learned that a prophet was expected for this nation, and this is his time." These were approximately the words he used.

Thereafter Waraqa had impatiently awaited his coming, asking how long it would be. He spoke the following verses on the subject:

"I persisted, being persistent in recalling both a worry that often inspired my tears,
And a description from Khadija, following (another) description; my waiting has
been long, O Khadija,

In the heart of Mecca, with my hoping because of your words that I would see some
solution.

From what you related as the words of a priest who was a monk whom I would hate
to be wrong,

That Muḥammad will one day prevail and defeat whomever opposes him,
Making a light appear in the land by which he will bring change to all creation.

Those who oppose him will meet defeat, while those who aid him will achieve success.
Would that I be there to witness, for I'll be the first of them in participating.

Participating in that which Quraysh will hate, however much they bluster in their
Mecca.

I aspire, through him whom they all hate, to reach the Enthroned One, even if they
descend, aside.

Is it not folly to disbelieve in Him who chooses, He who raised the stars?

If they and I survive, things will happen at which the disbelievers will be sorely
discomfited.

Even if I perish, so does every man meet from the fates with destruction and death."

Waraqa also spoke the following lines, according to the account given of him by Yūnus b. Bukayr from Ibn Ishāq:

"Will you leave early in the morning, or late tonight, or in the evening, there being a fire alight in your heart from your concealing your sadness?

At parting from a people whom I do not like to leave, as if after two days' journey away they seem very far removed.

And at true information related about Muḥammad, told about him when he was elsewhere by an honest man.

The man came back to you, O best of free women, whom you had sent to the Ghawr lowland and to the plateaux of the Najd ranges.

To the markets of Buṣrā with the mounts that left early, bent over with their loads, slow-moving.

He tells us of things good, through his knowledge; and truth has doors for which keys exist.

That 'Abd Allāh's son, Aḥmad, is being sent to all people everywhere.

My belief is that he will be sent to tell the truth, just as God's two servants Hūd and Sāliḥ were sent

And Moses, and Abraham, until his glory shall be witnessed and widely spread abroad by report, very clear;

And there shall follow him the tribes of Lu'ayy and Ghālib, their young and their grey leaders alike.

If I survive till his era reaches the people, then I will give glad tidings of love.

If not, O Khadija, then you should know that I shall be travelling the wide earth, far from your land."

Al-Umawī added the lines:

"Following the religion of Him who established all things, He who had virtue far greater than all men.

And erected a secure building in Mecca, whose lamplight glitters in the dark,

A meeting place for all the various tribes, a place to which the tired, fine mounts hurry,

Standing tall like arrows of fine wood, the sinews winding around them suspended above their pastern-joints."

Other verses of this, as given by Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī in his work *al-Rawḍ* (*The Gardens*) are the following:

"I gave advice to the tribes, telling them 'I came to warn, so let no one deceive you.'

Do not worship any God other than your creator, and if others call you, then say, 'We are in conflict with you.'

Glory everlasting be to Him of the throne; both the waters and the dry land glorified Him before us.

All things beneath the sky are subjugated before Him; no one should oppose His dominion.

Nothing that you see has its splendour last, but God remains, though wealth and progeny perish.

With his treasures, one day Hurmuz did not prevail, and the tribe of 'Ād sought eternity, but they did not last.

Nor Solomon either, for the winds blew him away, and all spirits and men too, a waste land between them.

Where are those kings whose glory was such that delegations would come to them from all parts?

A great basin is up there where, without falsehood, all must gather one day, just as they did."

He then said, "Abū al-Faraj similarly attributed these to Waraqa." He also commented that some of these verses are also considered to have been by Umayya b. Abū al-Salt.

I would also add that we have been told that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God bless him, used sometimes to quote some of these verses. But God knows best.

Section: On Quraysh having rebuilt the ka'ba five years before the coming of the prophethood.

Al-Bayhaqī recounts the building of the *ka'ba* to have been before the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to Khadija.

However, it is widely known that the building by Quraysh of the *ka'ba* took place some ten years following their marriage, as we have stated.

Al-Bayhaqī begins by relating the *ka'ba*'s construction as having occurred in the time of Abraham, as we have stated in our earlier account of him. He gives the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās recorded in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and also makes reference to some of the accounts attributed to Israeli legends regarding the construction of the *ka'ba* in Adam's lifetime.

But that is not correct, for the plain statement in the Qur'ān establishes that Abraham was the first person to begin building it, the first to establish it. Moreover its site was revered before that, honoured, and cared for throughout time. God Almighty stated,

"The first 'house' established for mankind was the one in Bekka (Mecca), blessed and a guidance for the worlds. In it there are clear signs. (There is) the stone on which Abraham stood. Whoever enters it shall be safe. Men owe it to God to make pilgrimage to the House, (all) those who can afford to do so" (*sūrat Āl-'Imrān*, III, v.96, 97).

In the two *ṣaḥīḥs* it is said of Abū Dharr that he stated, "I asked, 'O Messenger of God, which mosque was established first?' He replied, 'The

al-Ḥaram mosque (the 'Holy Mosque' in Mecca) 'Which one next?' I enquired. 'The *al-Aqṣā* mosque' (the 'further mosque', in Jerusalem). 'How many years intervened?', I asked. 'Forty years', he replied."

We have earlier addressed this issue and the fact that the *al-Aqṣā* mosque was established by (the tribe of) Israel, by Jacob, peace be upon him.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated: "This land was made sacred by God when he created the heavens and the earth. It is made sacred by the sanctity of God until Judgement Day."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, informed him, as did Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār, Aḥmad b. Mahrān, 'Ubayd Allāh, and Isrā'īl, from Abū Yaḥyā, from Mujāhid, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr as follows, "The house (of worship) existed 2,000 years before the earth: 'And lo! the earth was laid out' (*sūrat al-Inshiqāq*, LXXXIV, v.3). "It was," he said, "laid out beneath it."

He said, "And Maṣṣūr traced this account back to Mujāhid."

I consider this very strange. It is as though it comes from the two baggage camels seized by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr at the battle of Yarmuk which were transporting Israeli legends, from which he used to relate; they told of strange and objectionable things.

Then al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, informed him, quoting Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī, quoting Yaḥyā b. 'Uthmān b. Ṣāliḥ, as did Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Juhānī, quoting Ibn Lahī'a, from Yazid b. Abū al-Khayr, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God sent down Gabriel to Adam and Eve, and told them: 'Build a house of worship for me.' Gabriel drew it out for them and Adam began digging while Eve transported until the water spoke to him, calling out from beneath him, 'That's enough, Adam!' When they had finished building, God revealed to him that he should circumambulate it. He was told, 'You are the first man, and this is the first house.' Thereafter the centuries succeeded one another until Noah made pilgrimage there. Further centuries went by until Abraham constructed its foundations."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ibn Lahī'a is the only one transmitting this tradition in this way."

I consider him to be a weak source. If its transmission had stopped directly with 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr it would have been a stronger and more authentic tradition. But God knows best.

Al-Rabī' stated that al-Shāfi'ī informed him, as did Sufyān, from Ibn Abū Labīd, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī – or someone else – that he (the Prophet, ṢAAS) said, "Adam performed the pilgrimage and the angels met him and told him, 'Your sacrifice made has been successful. We made pilgrimage 2,000 years before you!'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Ibn Ishāq said, "Buqayya – or, he said, someone trustworthy of Medina – related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that he (the Prophet) said, 'There has never been a prophet who has not made pilgrimage to the *ka'ba* – except, that is, for Hūd and Ṣāliḥ.'"

But I have elsewhere reported their pilgrimage to it; by which I meant their having made pilgrimage to its site, even though it was not yet built. But God knows best.

After this al-Bayhaqī reported the *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās giving in full the story of Abraham, upon whom be peace; it is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bayhaqī then related from the *ḥadīth* of Simāk b. Ḥarb, on the authority of Khālīd b. 'Ar'ara, as follows: "A man asked 'Alī about God's statement (in the Qur'ān): 'The first house (of worship) established for mankind was the one in Bekka (Mecca), blessed and a guidance for the world' and asked whether it really was the first house built on earth.

"He replied, 'No, but it was the first one in which blessings and guidance for all mankind were in place, along with the stone on which Abraham stood; and whoever enters it is safe. And if you like, we can tell you how it was constructed.

"Almighty God sent a revelation to Abraham, saying, 'Build for me a house on earth!' This command disturbed him greatly. So God sent down *al-sakīna*, which is a strong wind with a head to it. Head and wind pursued one another until finally stopping. Thereupon the gale whirled around itself at a certain spot, like the coils of a snake. So Abraham built (there) until he reached the position for the stone. He then said to his son: 'Help me by finding a stone.' He searched for one and brought it, but found that the 'black stone' had already been set in place. He asked his father, 'Where did you get that?' 'Someone came who wouldn't rely on your building. Gabriel brought it from heaven.' So he finished it.

"Time passed and it fell down. So the *'amāliqa* (the giants) rebuilt it and when it next collapsed it was Jurhum who reconstructed it.

"Again it collapsed and Quraysh rebuilt it, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) being a young man at that time. When they wanted to lift into place the 'black stone' they fell into a dispute who should do so. They agreed they would let the first person to come along that street decide. It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who came by first, so he decided for them to place it in a piece of cloth, so that all the tribes would lift it to its place."

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī said that Ḥammād b. Salama and Qays and Sallām related to him, all on the authority of Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Khālīd b. 'Ar'ara, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib who said, "When the *ka'ba* fell down after Jurhum, Quraysh rebuilt it. And when they wanted to position the stone they fell into a dispute with one another. So they agreed that the first person to come in the door should do it.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in through the Banū Shayba door. He told them to bring a robe in the centre of which he placed the stone. Then he ordered each subtribe to take hold of an edge of the cloth. They then lifted it up and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the stone and positioned it."

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān said that Aṣbugh b. Faraj related to him, as did Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus from Ibn Shihāb as follows: "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached puberty a woman set alight to the *kaʿba*. A spark from her fire lit some of the cloth covering of the *kaʿba* and it burned. So they tore it down and rebuilt it up to that point in the corner where a dispute arose among Quraysh as to which of the tribes should be entrusted with raising it.

"They agreed to appoint as arbitrator the first person who came up to them. It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who did so, he being a youth, and he was wearing a leopardskin sash. They asked him to decide the issue and he told them to get the corner piece, which was placed in a cloth. Then he asked the leader of each tribe to come forward and gave each one a side of the cloth while he climbed up. They lifted it up and he put the corner piece in position.

"As he increased in age he became only more pleasing, and so they gave him the sobriquet *al-Amin*, 'the trustworthy', even before revelation came down to him. They adopted the practice of never slaughtering a camel for sacrifice without seeking him, and he would say a prayer over it for them."

The context of this tradition is good, it being from the biographies written by al-Zuhri.

One strange element in it is the wording "when he reached puberty". For it is well known that this occurred when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 35. This is established by Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq b. Yasār, God bless him.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated that the building of the *kaʿba* occurred 15 years prior to the prophethood. Similarly, Mujāhid agreed, as did ʿUrwa, Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim and others. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba said, "There was a period of 15 years between the 'sacrilegious' war *al-fijār* and the building of the *kaʿba*."

I observe that *al-fijār* and the pact of *al-fuḍūl* came in one year, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 20. This fact substantiates what Muḥammad b. Ishāq said. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba said: "Quraysh were motivated towards rebuilding the *kaʿba* because water would flood in from its top, from above the earth roof with which it was covered and which was in disrepair. Consequently they were concerned that water might leak inside.

"Also, a man named Mulayḥ had stolen the *kaʿba*'s incense and they wanted to rebuild it taller and raise its door so that only those they wished could enter it.

"They therefore established a fund for the costs and hired workers and then went there one morning to tear it down, despite their concern and apprehension that God might prevent them from doing what they wanted.

"The first man to start and to take down a piece of it was al-Walid b. al-Mughīra. When they saw what al-Walid had done the others followed by doing the same; they levelled it and were pleased to have done so.

"When they wanted to begin rebuilding it, they brought the workmen, but not one of them would set foot anywhere before it.

"They claimed that they saw a snake encircling the building completely, its head reaching back to its tail. They were terrified of it and afraid that what they were doing would destroy them.

The *ka'ba* had been their haven and safe refuge from others as well as a source of their pride. Because of their confusion and worry at what had happened to them, al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm stood up and reminded them of the advice and orders he had given them, namely that they should not dispute or envy one another in rebuilding it, but should divide it into quarters and use no ill-gotten money in its construction.

"When they had decided to proceed, the snake disappeared up into the sky, and they could see that this was the work of God, Almighty and All-powerful is He."

His account also states that some people maintain that a bird picked it up and tossed it away towards Ajyad.⁶⁷

Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached 35 Quraysh reached an agreement to rebuild the *ka'ba*. They did so because they were concerned about reroofing it, being afraid its roof would collapse since it was made only of stones set above its frame. They also wanted to make it taller as well as reroof it.

"That was because some men had stolen the *ka'ba*'s treasure which had been kept in a well in its middle. The man who was found in possession of the treasure was Duwayk, a freed-man of Banū Mulayḥ b. 'Amr b. Khuzā'a. Consequently Quraysh cut off his hand.

"Quraysh claims that those who stole it planted it with Duwayk.

"The sea had cast ashore at Jidda a ship belonging to a Byzantine trader. The ship had broken up, so they took its wood to use for the *ka'ba*'s roof."

Al-Umawī said, "This ship belonged to the emperor of Byzantium and was carrying building materials, marble, wood, and metal. The emperor had sent this off with Baqum the Byzantine for the church the Persians had burned belonging to the Abyssinians. When it had reached its anchorage at Jidda God had sent a gale which destroyed it."

67. Ajyad is a mountain at Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq said, "In Mecca there was a Copt who was a carpenter and so they had available to them some of what was needed to repair it.

"There was a serpent that would emerge from the *ka'ba*'s well into which they would drop every day the sacrificial offerings. It would emerge and sun itself on the *ka'ba*'s wall. They were all afraid of it, because whenever anyone approached it, it would raise its head, move its coils audibly and open its mouth. One day as it lay on the *ka'ba*'s wall as was its habit, God sent down a bird which snatched it up and flew away with it.

"At this Quraysh said, 'Now we can hope that God is pleased at our plan. We have a local carpenter, and wood, and God has taken care of the serpent.'"

Al-Suhaylī recounted, on the authority of Razīn, that a thief had entered the *ka'ba* during the Jurhum era to steal its treasure but that the well had caved in on him. Some men had come and lifted him out and retrieved what he had taken. After that, a serpent resided in the well, its head as big as that of a young goat, its belly white and its back black. It had lived there for 500 years. This was the serpent mentioned by Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "When they had agreed on demolishing and rebuilding it, Abū Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Abd b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm (whose name according to Ibn Hishām was 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm) went and removed a stone from the *ka'ba* but it flew straight out of his hand back to its position. So he said, 'O Quraysh, in rebuilding it, use only money that you have fairly earned. Nothing gained from prostitution, usury, or injustice against any person must enter it.'"

(Some) people attribute this statement to al-Walid b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. Ibn Ishāq, moreover, was inclined to believe that the man who said this was Abū Wahb b. 'Amr. He said that he was the maternal uncle of the father of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and a very highly regarded and honourable man.

Ibn Ishāq said, "Then Quraysh divided up the *ka'ba*. The side with the door was entrusted to the tribes of 'Abd Manāf and Zuhra, that between the 'black stone' corner and the Yemeni corner went to the Banū Makhzūm, along with various other Quraysh tribes. The back of the *ka'ba* went to the tribes of Jumah and Sahm; the *hijr* (shrine) side was entrusted to the tribes of 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy and Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, while the 'Adī b. Ka'b were assigned the *rahw al-ḥaṭīm*, the enclosed slope around the walls.

"But the people were apprehensive about demolishing it and were very scared of it. So al-Walid b. al-Mughīra said, 'I shall begin demolishing it.' And he took up a pick-axe and set about it, saying, 'O God, it is not to be feared. O God, good is all we want.'

"He then demolished some of the side where two *rukn*, the sacred corners, are. That night everyone expected something bad would happen and said, 'Let's keep watch on him and if he comes to harm we'll not demolish any more of it and we'll repair it just as it was. But if nothing happens to him, then God will have been pleased by our action in destroying it.'

"Early next morning al-Walid recommenced his work of demolition, and the others joined in with him. Eventually they had demolished it down to the foundations established by Abraham, peace be upon him. They uncovered some green rocks interlocking together like teeth."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī an account from Yazīd b. Rūmān gives the phrase "interlocking together like camels' humps". And al-Suhaylī said, "I consider the wording in the biography 'like teeth' to be imaginary." But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A certain reciter of traditions related to me as follows, 'A man of Quraysh, who were demolishing the *ka'ba*, put his crowbar between two stones to remove one of them and when the stone moved all Mecca shook, so they stopped working on that foundation.'"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās claimed that leaders of Quraysh related that when they had assembled to extract stones to set up the (stations of) Abraham and Ishmael, upon both of whom be peace, one of their tribesmen began removing one of the stones from the original foundation. When he lifted it up, not knowing that it was from the original foundation, the onlookers saw a light emitting from beneath it that almost dazzled the man's sight. Then the stone jumped out of his hand and dropped back into its place. The man and the other builders were terrified. But when the stone again hid from them what was beneath it they went back to their building, saying, 'Don't move that stone, or any of those next to it.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was related to me that Quraysh found in the corner a document with Syriac writing on it and they did not know what it was until a Jew read it to them. It said, 'I am God, Lord of Bakka (Mecca). I created it the day I created the heavens and the earth and formed the sun and the moon. I have set seven trusty angels around it. It will not cease to exist until its *akshabāhā* (a word Ibn Hishām interpreted to mean "its two mountains") disappear, a blessing to its people in their water and their milk.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was related to me that they found in the shrine a document stating, 'Mecca is God's holy House. Its sustenance shall come from three paths; let it not be first desecrated by its own people.'"

He also stated that Layth b. Abū Sulaym claimed that they had found a stone in the *ka'ba* 40 years before the coming of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS) – if what they said is true – on which was written, "He who plants good shall harvest joy; he who plants evil shall harvest regret. If you do evil things, shall

you be rewarded with good things? Indeed so, just as grapes are harvested from thorns!”

Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī stated that al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān al-Raqqī related to him, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Bishr al-Zuhri, with a chain of authorities back to the prophet (ṢAAS), who said, “In the shrine three slates were found. On the first was written, ‘It is I, God, Lord of Bakka; I made it when I made the sun and the moon and I have set seven trusty angels around it. And I have blessed its people in the meat and in the milk.’

“On the second it said, ‘I am God, Lord of Bakka. I created *al-rahim*, kinship, which I derived from my name, (*Rahim*, (meaning) merciful and compassionate). He who acts kindly to his kin, so will I treat; he who severs his ties of kinship, so will I treat.’

“On the third was written: ‘I am God, Lord of Bakka. I created goodness and evil and I predetermine. Joy shall be for those who bring good, and woe upon those who bring evil!’”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Then the tribes of Quraysh gathered stones to rebuild it, each one collecting them separately.

“They built it up until it reached the place for the (black) stone but then fell into dispute about it. Each tribe wanted to raise it into its position, regardless of the rest. Eventually they broke up, established alliances, and readied to do battle. Banū ʿAbd al-Dār brought a bowl full of blood and they and Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy made a pact to fight to the death, placing their hands into that bowl of blood. And so they were known as the ‘blood-lickers’.

“Quraysh remained in this confrontation for four or five nights, then they met together in the mosque, debated one another but divided into equal sides.

“Some scholars of the traditions claim that Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, who was at that time the oldest man in all Quraysh, said, ‘O Tribe of Quraysh, resolve your dispute by agreeing that the first man who enters by the door of this mosque will decide the issue.’ They agreed.

“The first man to enter was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when they saw him they said, ‘This is *al-Amin*, “the trustworthy”; we are satisfied. This is Muḥammad.’ When he reached them and they told him of the problem, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: ‘Bring me a robe.’ One was brought to him and he took the cornerpiece (the ‘black stone’) and placed it on the robe. Then he said, ‘Let each tribe grasp one side of the cloth. Then all raise it up.’ This they did until it was at the right spot, whereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself positioned it. Then they built above it.”

Quraysh used to refer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as “the trustworthy”.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Thābit – meaning Abū Yazid – quoting Hilāl – meaning Ibn Ḥabbān – from Mujāhid

from his *mawla*, whose name was al-Sā'ib b. 'Abd Allāh, that the last-mentioned related to him that he was one of those who built the *ka'ba* before the coming of Islam. He stated, "I had a stone I had sculpted that I worshipped besides God. I used to bring clotted milk unfit for myself and pour it over it. Then a dog would lick it off, raise its hind leg and urinate on it. We continued building until we reached the position for the (black) stone, but no one knew where it was. But then it was seen among our rocks looking like a man's head with a face almost distinguishable. A leader of Quraysh said, 'We'll position it.' But others said they too would do it. People suggested an arbitrator be appointed and they agreed that he should be the first man to appear from the mountain road. And it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who arrived, and those there commented, 'Well, it's the "trustworthy" who's come.' They talked to him and he placed it on a cloak. He then summoned their head men and they lifted it up while he, (ṢAAS) placed it in its position."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "At the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), the *ka'ba* measured 18 cubits and was covered by Egyptian-woven Qabāṭi cloth. Later it was covered by *al-burūd*⁶⁸ cloths. The first to clothe it with the *dibāj* silk brocade was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf."

My comment is that they left out of it the *hijr* area that was six or seven cubits long in the direction of Syria. They had insufficient funds for that; that is, they were not able to rebuild it on Abraham's foundations. They constructed one door for the *ka'ba* on the east side, placing it high up so that not everyone could get inside. This allowed them to permit inside only those they wished.

It has been established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, on the authority of 'Ā'isha, God be pleased with her, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her: "Don't you know that your people had insufficient funds for the expenses? If it were not for the fact that your people were only recently unbelievers, I would have torn down the *ka'ba* and made for it one door on the east and another on the west. And I would have included the *hijr* area within it."

This was how Ibn Zubayr rebuilt it, just as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had indicated. It was done in the utmost splendour and beauty, one complete whole on the foundations of al-Khalil (Abraham). It had two doors at ground level, on the east and west sides, and people would enter through one and exit through the other.

When he had executed Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to the Caliph of the time, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, concerning what Ibn Zubayr had done; and they believed that he had made the changes on his own authority.

And so it was ordered that it be restored to its original state. They set to work on the "Syrian" wall, tearing it down and removing the (black) stone, laying out

68. *Al-burūd* is the name given to striped-cloth sheets.

its stones on the *kaʿba* floor. Then its door was raised and the western door was blocked off; the eastern one was left as it was. When it was the time of al-Mahdi – or his son al-Mansūr – he (the ruler) sought advice from Mālik on rebuilding it as it had been remodelled by Ibn al-Zubayr. But Mālik, God be pleased with him, said, “I hate for the rulers to treat it like a plaything.”

And so he left it as it was; it remains the same to this day.

As for the *masjid al-ḥarām*, the sacred mosque at Mecca, the first man to remove the buildings around the *kaʿba* was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him. He purchased them from their owners and demolished them. When ʿUthmān ruled he bought other houses which he added to it. When Ibn al-Zubayr succeeded, he reinforced it, improved its walls, and increased the number of its doors. But he was not able to make any additions to increase its size.

When ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Marwān seized power he made the walls of the sacred mosque taller and ordered that the *kaʿba* be covered by the *dibāj*. The one who carried out this order was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

We have elsewhere related the history of the building of the House and the traditions that came down about that in our exegesis of the *sūrat al-Baqara* (Qurʾān, II) in reference to the verse: “When we ordered Abraham to raise the foundations of the house along with Ishmael” (verse 127). Our explanation of this is lengthy and exhaustive and whoever wishes could write it down here. And all praise and power be to God.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When they had finished the construction, having built it as they wished, al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about the serpent that caused Quraysh to be afraid of rebuilding the *kaʿba*:

“I was amazed at the eagle aiming straight for the serpent when it was in an excited state.

It used to make a rustling sound, and sometimes it would dash out;

When we began the building it increased our awe of the structure and we were scared.

When we were too afraid to drive it away an eagle came, swooping straight down at it.

It grasped it tight, then left the building to us; there being nothing else in its way.

Together we assembled to begin the building, for which we already had the foundations and the soil;

Next morning its foundations were raised, our men wearing no clothes.

The Lord ennobled Banū Luʾayy through it and there’s no denying their founding it.

Banū ʿAdi had also assembled there, and Murra who were preceded by Kilāb.

The Lord thereby established us in glory, and it is from God that reward is requested.”

We earlier treated in a separate passage how God protected the Messenger of God (SAAS) from the bad practices of the pre-Islamic era. He and his uncle al-‘Abbās used to transport stones and when he (SAAS) positioned his loincloth over his shoulder beneath the stones, he was forbidden from doing so and therefore reverted to his former practice.

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq related how Quraysh began the practice of calling themselves *al-Hums*, a word implying intensity in religion, and intolerance.

This is because they gave extreme veneration to the holy places, to the extent that they required people not to leave there on the night of the procession to ‘Arafāt. They would say, “We are men of the holy places, the *ḥaram*, and the *Qutṭān*, those who dwell at God’s house.”

They would not make the halt on Mt. ‘Arafāt, though they knew that was the wish of Abraham, peace be upon him, in order not to abandon the corrupt innovative practices they themselves established. They would not put away for storage sour cheese made from milk or butter, or clarify fat while they were in a state of ritual uncleanness. While in this state, they would not enter any tent made of hair, and would seek shelter from the sun only under tents made of leather. Similarly they prevented those making the greater or smaller pilgrimage from eating any but Quraysh food while in that state, and these people could only circumambulate wearing Quraysh clothes. If one of these pilgrims could not find a gown from one of the *Hums*, who were Quraysh either by birth or by having joined Quraysh from Kināna and Khuzā‘a, they would have to circumambulate naked, even if they were women. A woman who happened to go round in this manner would place her hand over her vagina and recite:

“Today all or part may appear, but visible though it may be, I do not make it available!”

If anyone who had access to the garment of a *Hums* person were too proud to use it, then he could go round in his own clothes, but when he had finished he had to throw them aside; thereafter, they could not be used again, either by them or by anyone else, nor ever touched. The Arabs used to call such clothes *al-luqā*, “cast-offs”. A certain poet spoke the lines:

“How sad it is, my returning to it, it being like a proscribed thing cast off before the pilgrims.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “They continued in these practices until God sent Muḥammad (SAAS) and revealed the Qur’ān to him, as a retort to them and their innovations. God said, ‘Hasten forth from the place where people hasten

from' (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.199). By this is meant the masses of the Arabs from 'Arafāt. And also that same verse reads, 'and ask the forgiveness of God; surely God is forgiving, merciful.'"

As we have previously shown, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would make the halt at 'Arafāt before he received his prophethood, this being an award granted by God to him.

God also revealed to him a response to their practice of forbidding people certain actions and foods in the words, "O mankind, attend to your dress at every prayer meeting and eat and drink, but do not be extreme. God does not love extremists. Say, 'Who made forbidden clothing (from) God that He brought forth for His worshippers, along with all good provisions?'" (*sūrat al-A'raf*, VII, v.31-2).

Ziyād al-Bakkā'i stated from Ibn Ishāq, "But I don't know whether their making these innovations preceded or followed the battle of the elephant."

THE BOOK OF THE APOSTLESHIP OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AND AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE PREDICTIVE SIGNS THEREOF.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God bless him, stated: "Jewish Rabbis, Christian priests and Arab soothsayers all spoke of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before his mission as the time for it approached.

"The rabbis and the priests found in their books descriptions of him and of his time along with inferences relating to him from their prophets."

God Almighty said, "Those who follow the Messenger, the prophet, the *ummi*, "the unlettered", to whom they will find written reference in the Torah and the Bible requiring them to do good and warning them of evil, allowing them the good things and forbidding them the bad, removing the burden and chains formerly upon them; so those who believe in him, honour him and aid him and follow the light that was sent down with him, those will be successful" (*sūrat al-A'raf*, VII, v.157).

God Almighty stated, "And when Jesus son of Mary said, 'O children of Israel, I am God's messenger to you, bringing affirmation of the Torah before me and giving tidings of a prophet who will come after me whose name will be Aḥmad'" (*sūrat al-Ṣaff*, LXI, v.6). And God Almighty said, "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. And those with him are those who are very severe against the unbelievers, compassionate with one another. You shall see them bowing down, prostrating themselves, seeking grace from God, and approval. They have marks on their faces from their prostrations. That is their likeness in the Torah and in the Bible. (They are) like plants. (God) brings forth their sprouts and then strengthens them and thickens them so they stand straight on their stalks. He pleases the planters to discomfort through them the unbelievers. God gave promise of forgiveness and great reward to those who believe in him and perform righteous deeds" (*sūrat al-Fath*, XLVIII, v.29).

And God Almighty said, "When God made the covenant with the Prophets, saying, 'I gave you the Scripture and wisdom, then there will come unto you a messenger confirming what you possess; you shall believe in him and render him help.' He said, 'Do you agree and accept my covenant as binding to you?' They replied, 'We affirm.' He said, 'So bear witness and I along with you am a witness'" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*, III, v.81).

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī there is a *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās that states, "God

never sent down a prophet without entering into a covenant upon him (to the effect that) if Muḥammad were sent down his mission when he was (already) living, then he (that prophet) would believe in him and aid him. God ordered him to take a covenant to his people that if Muḥammad were given his mission during their lifetime, then they should believe in him, aid him, and follow him."

This confirms that all prophets had talked about him and were commanded to follow him.

Abraham, upon whom be peace, stated in the prayer he made about the people of Mecca, "O our Lord! Send among them as a messenger one of their own people, who will recite to them Your signs and teach them the scriptures and wisdom and purify them. You are the mighty one, the wise" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.129).

Imām Aḥmad said that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting al-Faraj b. Faḍāla, quoting Luqmān b. ʿĀmir, who said that he heard Abū Umāma say, "I asked the Prophet, 'O Messenger of God, what was the beginning of your mission?'"

"He replied, 'The prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings from Jesus, and my mother's seeing a light emitting from her that illuminated the castles of Syria.'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said that just such a statement was related to him from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Khālid b. Maʿḍān, from the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

By this is meant his wanting to refer to the beginning of his mission among his people and the spreading and expanding of his fame. And so he made mention of the prayer of Abraham, to whom the Arabs trace their descent. Then the prediction of Jesus, the 'Seal' of the prophets of the tribe of Israel, as mentioned before. This shows that there were other prophets between these two who also gave tidings of his coming.

Regarding (the assembly of) the archangels, their cognizance of him was widespread and well known before the creation of Adam, upon whom be prayers and peace. Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī related to him, quoting Muʿāwiyya' b. Ṣāliḥ, from Saʿīd b. Suwayd al-Kalbī, from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Hilāl al-Salamī, from al-ʿIrbāḍ b. Sāriyya who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'For God I am the Seal of the prophets; Adam was well made in His likeness. And I shall tell you of the first of it: my father Abraham's prayer, the prediction of Jesus about my coming, and the visions seen by my mother, as well as by the mothers of the believers.'"

Al-Layth related this from Muʿāwiyya' b. Ṣāliḥ who said, "When she delivered him, his mother saw a light from him that illuminated the castles of Syria."

Imām Aḥmad also said, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, as did Maṣṣūr b. Sa‘īd, from Badīl b. Maysara, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq, from Maysara al-Fajr, who stated, ‘I asked, O Messenger of God, when did you become a prophet?’ He replied, ‘When Adam was between the spirit and the body.’”

Aḥmad is the sole source of these.

‘Umar b. Aḥmad b. Shāḥīn related this in the work entitled *Dalā’il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayra who stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz – meaning Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī – related to us, as did Abū Hammām al-Walīd b. Muslim, from al-Awzā‘ī, and I was told by Yaḥyā from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked, ‘When was it made your duty to become a prophet?’ He replied, ‘Between the making of Adam and the breathing of the spirit into him.’”

It was related on another line of authorities from al-Awzā‘ī who used the words “and Adam was formed in his likeness”.

It was also related from al-Baghawī, from Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām, from Baqiyya b. Sa‘īd b. Bashīr, from Qatāda, from Abū Hurayra, relating to the words of Almighty God, “And when we made a covenant with the prophets, and with you, and with Noah” (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, XXXIII, v.7) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “I was the first of the prophets to be created and the last of them to be sent.”

And from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muzāḥim, on the authority of Qays b. al-Rabī‘, from Jābir, from al-Sha‘bī, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that someone asked, “O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?” He replied, “While Adam was between spirit and body.”

The Arab soothsayers had been told by the devils from the *jinn* things overheard by them while they were still not prevented from so doing by having stars cast at them. Soothsayers, male and female, continued mentioning such matters, without the Arabs giving any credence to them, until God Almighty sent him, and there occurred those things they had talked of and so recognized.

When the time of the Messenger of God and his prophethood approached, the devils were screened from overhearing and they were prevented from occupying those seats from which they used to overhear. Stars were hurled at them, and the devils knew that that was because of an order coming from God, the Almighty and Glorious.

On this subject God sent down to his messenger (ṢAAS) the words, “Say: it has been revealed to me that a group of *jinn* listened and then said, ‘We heard a wonderful Qur’ān which guides towards the right, and we believed in it. And we will never associate any other god with our Lord’” (*sūrat al-Jinn*; LXXII, v.1–2).

We have given prior explanation to all that in our *Tafsīr*, exegesis of the

Qurʾān, as well as to God's words, "And when we directed (mention) towards you (of) a group of *jinn* who listened to the Qurʾān. And when they came to it, they said, 'Listen silently!' And when it was over they turned back to their people warning them, and saying: 'O people ours, we have heard a book sent down after Moses verifying what came before it, guiding towards the truth, and to the straight path'" (*sūrat al-Ahqāf*, XLVI, v.29, 30). All this too we elucidated there.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him that he was told that the first Arabs to be afraid at (seeing) the stars being thrown was the tribe of Thaqīf. They consulted one of their men on the subject, whose name was ʿAmr b. Umayya, one of Banū ʿIlāj, he being the most shrewd and astute of all Arabs. They asked him, "O ʿAmr, don't you see what's going on in the heavens, all those stars being thrown about?"

He replied, "I certainly do. Keep watch and if the ones being cast are most prominent stars, the ones by which men are guided on land and sea, and by the rising and setting of which the seasons of summer and winter are marked, for the good of men in their lives, then, by God, it means the end of the world, and the destruction of all creation. If it is other stars, while the prominent stars remain firm in their place, then it is occurring for some purpose God intends for mankind. So what could that be?"

Ibn Ishāq said, "A certain scholar related to me that a woman of Banū Sahn known as al-Ghayṭala who had been a soothsayer before the coming of Islam was visited one night by her other world contact who swooped down beneath her, then said, 'I know what I know; a day of slaying and slaughtering.' When she told Quraysh of this they asked, 'What does he mean?'

"When he came to her on another night, swooping down beneath her, he said, 'Ravines! What ravines? In them, down their sides, Kaʿb will fall.' When this reached Quraysh they said, 'What does this mean? This is something that will happen; look to see what it will be.'

"But they could not interpret it until the battles of Badr and Uḥud took place in 'ravines'; then they knew what it was the spirit had told her."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "ʿAlī b. Nāfiʿ al-Jurashī related to me that Janb, a tribe from Yemen, had a soothsayer before Islam came. And when news of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spread among the Arabs, Janb asked their soothsayer, 'Find out about this man for us' and they assembled (to hear him) at the foot of his mountain.

"When the sun rose he came down to them and stood leaning on a bow he had. Then, having gazed up for a long time into the sky, he began to leap about. Then he spoke: 'O people, God has honoured Muḥammad by choosing him. He has purified his heart and his insides. But, O people, his stay among you will be short.' He then hurried back up his mountain, returning whence he had come."

Thereafter Ibn Ishāq mentions the story of Siwād b. Qarib. We have postponed giving it until the section on The Cries of the Spirits.

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated that 'Āṣim b. 'Amr b. Qatāda related to him, from some of his tribe, as follows: "One of the things that brought us into Islam – along with the mercy of God Almighty and His guidance – was what we heard from a Jew. We were at that time polytheists and worshipped idols, while they, the Jews, were people with Scriptures who had knowledge we did not. There was always enmity between us and them and if ever we bested them in some way they disliked they would tell us, 'The time is near for a prophet; he will now be sent, and with him we will kill you just as Ād and Iram were killed.'

"We heard that from them often.

"So when God sent His messenger (SAAS) we responded positively when he invited us to God, and became aware of what their threats to us meant. We therefore hastened to him before them and believed in him, while they disbelieved in him.

"Concerning us and them this verse was sent down: 'And when there came to them a book from God verifying what they had, though they formerly prayed for victory against those who disbelieved; and when there came to them that which they knew, they disbelieved in it. And so may God's curse be upon the disbelievers'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.89).

Warqā' stated, from Ibn Abū Najih from 'Alī al-Azdī that the Jews used to say: "O God send us this prophet who will judge between us and the people who seek victory by him." It was al-Bayhaqī who related this.

Thereafter it was related through 'Abd al-Mālik b. Hārūn b. 'Anbara, from his father, from his grandfather, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Jews were at Khaybar battling Ghatafān, but whenever battle was joined the Jews of Khaybar were defeated. So the Jews resorted to this prayer, saying, 'O God, we will ask you by Muḥammad's rightness, the Prophet, the *ummi*, "the unlettered", whom you promised us you would send at the end of time, if you will give us victory over them.'"

The report went on to say that when they met in battle and they spoke this prayer they defeated Ghatafān.

Yet when the Prophet (SAAS) was sent, they disbelieved in him. And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the words, "they formerly prayed for victory against those who disbelieved."

'Atīyya related approximately the same from Ibn 'Abbās, and also said that 'Ikrima used similar words.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf related to him, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, from Salama b. Salām b. Waqsh, who was at the battle of Badr, who said, "We had a Jewish neighbour from Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and he came out of his house one day to us. At that time, I was the youngest of my household; I was wearing a fur gown I had and was lying in it in the courtyard of my family's house.

"The Jew talked of the resurrection, the Day of Judgement, the reckoning, the scales, paradise, and hell-fire.

"This he told to polytheists, idolaters who did not believe in any life after death.

"They replied, 'Come on, now! You really think people can be sent, after their death, to some place where there is a paradise, and a fire where they will be punished for their deeds?'

"Yes indeed,' he replied, 'and by Him by whom oaths are sworn, anyone going into that fire would prefer being placed in the hottest oven in the house, and having it covered over him, and he being let out of it only next day.'

"Good gracious! But what proof is there?' they asked.

"A prophet is being sent from hereabouts in these lands,' he replied, and gestured over towards Mecca and Yemen.

"When will we see him?' they enquired.

"He looked over at me, I being the youngest one there, and said, 'If this lad lives a normal lifespan, he'll live to his time.'"

Salama said, "And a day and a night had scarcely passed thereafter until God sent the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who lived among us. And so we believed in him. But he (the Jew) disbelieved in him out of evil and envy.

"So we asked him, 'What now then; aren't you the one who told us certain things about him?'

"Yes,' he replied, 'but he's not the one.'"

This anecdote was also related by Aḥmad, from Yaʿqūb from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās. And al-Bayhaqī told it from al-Ḥākim with a chain of authorities through Yūnus b. Bukayr.

Abū Nuʿaym related in *al-Dalāʾil (The Signs)*, from ʿĀsim b. Umar b. Qatāda, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, from Muḥammad b. Salama, saying, "In the tribe of ʿAbd al-Ashhal there was only one Jew, whose name was Yūshaʿ. When I was still a boy, wearing a waist-wrapper, I heard him say, 'The time is near for a prophet to be sent to you from somewhere over near this building.' And he pointed over at God's temple, saying, 'And whoever lives till then, let him believe in him.'

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sent and we accepted Islam, while he, living there among us, did not, out of envy and evil."

We have already given the account of Abū Saʿīd, from his father, about this Yūshaʿ's having told of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of

having given his description. Also we told of al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā's account of the appearance of a star at the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Ḥākim related this anecdote from al-Bayhaqī with a chain of authorities through Yūnus b. Bukayr.

Ibn Ishāq said that 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to him about a sheikh of Banū Qurayẓa who asked him, "Do you know how it came about that Islam was accepted by Tha'ālabā b. Sa'ya and Usayd b. Sa'ya along with Asad b. 'Ubayd, all of Banū Hudal, brothers of Banū Qurayẓa, with whom they had lived in the days before Islam but who then became their masters after Islam?"

'Āṣim said, "I do not." Whereupon the sheikh told him, "A Jew from Syria called Ibn al-Hayyibān came to us some years before the arrival of Islam and lived among us. And by God, I never knew a non-Muslim (one who does not perform the five daily prayers) better than him. Well, he was living there with us at a time of drought, so we asked him, 'Please, Ibn al-Hayyibān, pray for rain for us!' But he replied, 'No, by God, I'll not do that until you pay me.' 'How much?' we asked. 'A *ṣā'a* weight of dates or two *mudd* weights of barley.' 'We'll pay it,' we agreed.

"He then went out with us to the top of our parched land and prayed for rain for us. And by God, he no sooner got up but clouds came and it rained! Yet others had done that once, twice, and thrice!

"Later his death came while he lived with us. When he knew he was dying, he said, 'O Jews, what do you think it was that brought me from a land of wine and bread to one of poverty and hunger?' 'You know that best,' we replied. He then said, 'I only came to this country because I expected the arrival of a prophet whose time is near. This land is where he will take refuge. And I had hoped that he would be sent so that I could follow him. His time is near for you. But don't hasten to him, O Jews, for he is sent to shed the blood and capture the women and children of those who oppose him. And that (hurrying to him) will not prevent him treating you thus.'

"And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sent, he besieged Banū Qurayẓa. Those grown men who had been young boys at the earlier occasion addressed their people, saying, 'O Banū Qurayẓa, he is, by God, the prophet foretold to you by Ibn al-Hayyibān.' They replied, 'He is not.' The men insisted, saying, 'Yes he is. He has just his description.' So they went down and accepted Islam, and by doing so saved their blood, their property, and their people."

Ibn Ishāq commented, "This account reached us from Jewish rabbis."

Earlier we gave an account of the arrival at Medina of the Tubba' of Yemen, Abū Karib Tubbān As'ad, and of his siege of it; and how those two rabbis came

out to him and told him, "You shall have no path to it. It will be the place of refuge for a prophet at the end of time", and how that made him turn away from the town.

Abū Nuʿaym told in his work, *al-Dalāʾil (The Signs)*, on a line of authorities through al-Walīd b. Muslim, that Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām related to him, from his father and grandfather, the following, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām stated that God having wished good guidance for Zayd b. Saʿya, Zayd said, 'All marks of the prophethood were there as expected for me to recognize on the face of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) when I looked at him, except that there were two I had not explored in him: that his patient wisdom preceded his ignorance, and that the more ignorance was directed at him, the more his patient wisdom increased.'

"He stated further, 'I used to be nice to him so that I could mix with him and get to know his wisdom and his foolishness.'

"He then told a story of his having made an advance payment to the Prophet (ṢAAS) for profit. He went on, 'And when the time for the loan was due, I went to him and grabbed him by the closure of his cloak and gown, he being then at a funeral with some of his Companions. I also glared at him in an ugly fashion and said, "O Muḥammad, aren't you going to pay me my due? By God, I never knew you of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to be late payers!'"

"ʿUmar stared over at me, his eyes rolled like revolving celestial bodies. Then he said, "You enemy of God! Do you dare say to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what I am hearing and do what I am seeing? By Him who sent him with the truth, if I were not wary of his blaming me, I would cut off your head with my sword!"

"Meanwhile, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was looking at ʿUmar, smiling quietly with gentleness. Then he said, "ʿUmar, both he and I were in need of something other than that from you; you should have told me to pay up properly, and him to behave better. Take him away, ʿUmar, and pay him his due. And give him 20 ṣāʿ's weight of dates as a bonus!"

"And so Zayd b. Saʿya, may God be pleased with him, became a Muslim. He was present with the Messenger of God at all the battles, and he died in the year of Tabūk, God bless him."

Then Ibn Ishāq, God be pleased with him, recounted how Salmān al-Fārisī, "the Persian", God bless him, became a Muslim. He stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda the *anṣārī*, the "helper", related to him, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said that Salmān al-Fārisī told him as follows, "I was a Persian from Isfahan and dwelt in a village called Jayy. My father was the headman of the village and I was the one he most loved of all creatures; his affection for me was so strong that he kept me closeted in his house like a slave-girl.

"I took pains to be a good Magian, and became the keeper of the fire, the one who lights it and never for a moment lets it go out.

"My father owned a large farm and one day, when he was busy constructing a building, he said to me, 'Son, I'm too busy to leave here today for the farm, so you go and look to it.' And he told me certain things he wanted. Then he told me, 'Don't be away from me too long. If you are I'll be more concerned about you than about my farm or work, and you'll keep me from everything else.'

"So I left for the farm as he had told me and on my way I passed by a church for Christians and heard their voices as they prayed there. I didn't know anything about other people, because my father had kept me shut up at home. So when I heard their voices I went in to them to find out what they were doing. When I saw them I was much impressed with their prayers and wanted to join them. I said to myself, 'This, by God, is better than the religion we have.'

"So I didn't leave them until sunset and neglected to go to my father's farm.

"I asked them, 'Where is the origin of this religion?' 'In Syria,' they replied.

"I then went back to my father who had sent people to look for me and had been distracted from all his work. When I arrived he asked, 'Well, son, where were you? Didn't I ask you to do something?' 'O Father,' I replied, 'I went by some people praying in a church of theirs and I was much impressed by what I saw of their religion. So I stayed with them till sunset.'

"Son, there's no good in that religion. Your religion and that of your forefathers is better than it.'

"But no,' I replied, 'I swear by God theirs is better than ours.'

"My father was afraid for me and set chains on my legs and imprisoned me in his house. So I sent a message to the Christians saying, 'If a caravan comes to you from Syria send word to me about them.'

"A caravan did arrive from Syria and the Christians came and told me about them. I said to them, 'When they finish their business and are about to return home, then tell me.'

"When they were ready to go home they let me know and I threw the shackles off my legs and left with them. When we arrived in Syria, I asked, 'Who is the most learned man in this religion?' 'The bishop in the church,' they replied.

"So I went to him and said, 'I really like this religion, and I want to join you and to serve you in your church, to learn from you and to pray with you.'

"Come on in,' he invited me.

"So I joined him. But he was an evil man, demanding alms from his people and whatever they collected he would store away for himself and not give to the poor. Eventually he had gathered seven jars of gold and silver.

"I hated him mightily for what I saw him doing.

"Then he died, and the Christians assembled to bury him. I told them, 'This was an evil man. He demanded alms from you but when you brought it to him he stored it away for himself and gave none of it to the poor.'

"They asked me, 'How do you know that?' and I replied that I could take them to his treasure. 'Do so!' they told me, so I showed them where it was and they brought out seven jars filled with gold and silver. When they saw it they said, 'We'll never give him burial!' And so they crucified and stoned him.

"Then they brought another man to take his place. And," said Salmān, "I never saw a man who did not attend the five prayers who was better than he, nor more ascetic, nor more enthusiastic about the afterlife, nor more devoted both day and night. I loved him as I had never loved before.

"So I stayed with him for a time and then his death approached. I asked him, 'Since I've been with you I've loved you as never before. But now what you know to be God's decree is approaching, so to whom do you entrust me? And what are your orders to me?'

"My son,' he replied, 'I don't know anyone who has done as I have. People have either died or changed or abandoned most of their prior practices, except for one man in Mawṣil; he practises as I did. Join him.'

"So when he died and was buried, I joined the leader of al-Mawṣil. I told him, 'So-and-so enjoined me at his death to come to you; he told me you are as he was.' 'Stay with me,' I was invited.

"I did so and found him the best of men, like his friend. But soon he was to die. And when death was near for him, I told him, 'So-and-so entrusted me to you and told me to join you. Now God's decree, as you know, is near for you, so whom do you recommend to me, and what are your orders to me?' 'My son,' he replied, 'I don't know anyone else who is as we were, except one man at Naṣībīn, so join him.'

"When he did die and was buried, I joined the bishop at Naṣībīn and told him my story and what my two masters had ordered me. 'Stay with me,' he said. And so I did so, finding him extremely good, as his two colleagues had been. But, I swear by God, death soon approached him too, so I asked him, 'So-and-so recommended one man to me, who recommended me to another, who recommended me to you. Whom do you recommend for me, and what are your orders?'

"My son,' he said, 'I don't know anyone who is still as we were whom I can recommend, except for one man at 'Amūriyya in Byzantium. He is as we were. If you wish, go to him.'

"When he died and was buried, I joined the bishop of 'Amūriyya, and related to him my story. He said, 'Stay with me.' So I did stay there, and he was the best of men, as well-directed and fine in his behaviour as his predecessors had been.

"I worked hard and earned well and eventually I had some cows and a small goat. But then God's decree came for him too and I told him, 'So-and-so recommended someone to me, who recommended me to another, he to another, then he to another and so on until you were recommended me. To whom do you recommend me and what are your orders?'"

"My son,' he replied, 'I don't know anyone who is as we were to whom to send you. But the time is near for a prophet being sent with Abraham's religion who will come forth in the land of the Arabs. He will move to refuge to somewhere with date-palms growing between two scorched, rocky plains. He has signs that are unmistakable. He eats things given to him as gifts but not alms. And between his shoulders there is the seal of prophethood. If you can go there, do so.'

"Then he died and was buried, and I stayed in 'Amūriyya for the length of time God wished.

"Eventually a group of merchants of the Kalb tribe passed by and I asked them to take me to the land of the Arabs and offered them my cows and goat. They agreed, so I gave them to them and they took me with them as far as Wādī al-Qurā. There they did me evil by selling me as a slave to a Jew. There with him I saw palm trees and hoped that might be the land my master had described.

"While I was there with him he received a visit from a cousin of his of Banū Qurayza from Medina. He sold me to him, who bore me off to Medina. And I swear by God, as soon as I saw it I recognized it as my friend had described it to me. And there it was I stayed.

"Then the mission came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who remained in Mecca without me hearing any report of him, busy as I was in the toil of slavery. But then he took refuge in Medina.

"One day I was doing some work for my master at the top of a palm tree, with him sitting there underneath, when a cousin of his came and stopped there. 'Hey there, so-and-so,' the cousin said, 'God damn those *anṣār* of Banū Qayla! They are assembled at Qibā' in support of a man come from Mecca whom they claim to be a prophet.'"

Salmān continued, "When I heard this I began to tremble, so much I thought I would fall down on top of my master! So I climbed down the tree and began questioning his cousin.

"This angered my master and he slapped me hard. Then he asked, 'What's this to do with you? Get back to your work!'"

"It's nothing,' I replied, 'I just wanted to clarify what he said.'"

Salmān went on: "I had put aside some food, so that evening I took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he being at Qibā', and went in to see him, saying, 'I heard you were a good man and that you have with you some companions who are strangers and needy. This is some food I have to give as alms, and I consider you have more right to it than anyone else.'

"I then handed it to him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his companions, 'Eat it then.' He himself took none.

"This is one test passed," I told myself.

"Then I left him and saved up some more, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was moving on towards Medina. I then went to him again and said, 'I noticed you didn't eat from the food I gave as alms. This is a present I wish to honour you with.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did eat from this and told his companions to do the same, which they did.

"And again I said to myself: 'That makes it two!'

"I then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was at Baqī' al-Gharqad, the cemetery, where he had followed the funeral procession of one of his companions. He was wearing two cloaks, sitting there among his companions. I greeted him, then came round behind him to look at his back to find out if I could see the mark my former master had described to me. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me go behind him he knew I was trying to establish something of what had been described to me. So he threw off his cloak from his back and I looked at the sign and recognized it. I then prostrated myself before him, kissing him and weeping. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told me, 'Turn around!' So I stood up in front of him and told him my story as I have to you, O Ibn 'Abbās.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then wanted his companions to hear my story."

Thereafter Salmān was so engaged at his work as a slave that he missed participation with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battles of Badr and Uḥud.

Salmān continued, "Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me, 'Salmān, write!' So I wrote out for my master an agreement that I would plant 300 palm trees watered by a well and pay 40 ounces (of gold). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to his companions, 'Help your brother.' So they helped me, one man with 30 seedlings, another with 20, another with 15, and another with 10, each one participating as he could, until I had all the 300 together. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'Now Salmān, go and dig the holes for them. When you have finished come to me so that I can plant them with my own hands.'

"So I dug and my companions helped me and when we had finished I went and told him. He then went out with me to them and we began handing him the seedlings which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself planted. When we had finished, and this I swear by Him in whose hands Salmān is, not one of those plants died.

"I had now settled up for the palm trees but was still in debt for the money. Now the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was given a quantity of gold the size of a

chicken's egg from a mine. He said, 'Hasn't the Persian done accounts?' I then said a prayer for him. Next, he said, 'Take this and pay off what you owe, Salmān.'

"I asked him, 'Where will this stand relative to what I owe, O Messenger of God?' He said, 'Take it, for God will pay your debt with it.' So I took it and weighed it for them and, I swear by Him in whose hand Salmān is, it was 40 ounces! So I gave my debt in full.'

"And Salmān was set free."

"And", concluded Salmān, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of *al-khandaq* ('the trench') as a free man, and never missed another battle where he participated."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from a man from the 'Abd al-Qays tribe, from Salmān, who said, 'When I asked, "Where will this stand relative to what I owe, O Messenger of God?" he took it (the gold nugget), turned it over on his tongue and then said, "Take it; pay them in full with this." And so I did and with it paid off the 40 ounces.'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that a reliable authority told him from 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān who said that it was related to him about Salmān that when he, Salmān, was telling his story to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said that the bishop of 'Amūriyya told him, "Go this way and that in Syria, and there you will find a man who dwells between two thickets. Every year he emerges from one of these and then is accosted by people who are sick. Every one of these for whom he says a prayer is cured. So ask him about this religion you're seeking. And he will tell you about it."

Salmān said, "So I left and travelled to the place he had described and I found people gathered there with their sick waiting until the night the man would move out from one of the thickets towards the other. (When he came out) the people there overwhelmed him and every sick person for whom he prayed was cured. They beat me to him and I couldn't get near him till he entered the thicket he was heading for, when I touched his shoulder. 'Who is that?' he asked and turned towards me. I replied, 'God have mercy on you! Do tell me about the *ḥanifiyya*, Abraham's religion!'

"'You're asking me about something people don't enquire about nowadays. The time is near for the coming of a prophet who will be sent down with that religion; he will be one of the people of the sanctuary. Go to him and he will take you to it.' He then went into the thicket.

"At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented: 'If you have told me the truth, O Salmān, you have met Jesus son of Mary!'"

That, then, is how this anecdote is worded. There is (in its chain of authorities) one man of questionable reliability, he being Sheikh 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b.

Qatāda. That link is also said to have been al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmāra. The tradition is also missing a link, indeed untraceable, between ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Salmān, may God be pleased with him.

As for his words, "If you have told me the truth, O Salmān, you have met Jesus son of Mary," these are very strange, if not unacceptable. For the period involved must, by all accounts, be one of 400 years, perhaps even 600 years by the solar calendar. The longest anyone suggests that Salmān lived is some 350 years. Al-ʿAbbās b. Yazīd al-Baḥrānī related that the consensus of his elders was that he lived for 250 years; they differed as to whether it could have been as much as 350 years. But God knows best. And it seems that he was saying, "You met a (good) follower of Jesus, son of Mary." And that could well be true.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The man of questionable reliability (in the above chain of authorities) is al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmāra, a weak authority. But if he was correct, then there is nothing unacceptable about it. Because Ibn Jarīr related that Jesus came down again to earth after he had been resurrected and that he found his mother and another woman weeping at the cross of the crucified man. Jesus told them that he had not been killed, and after that he sent his disciples."

He went on: "And if it is possible that he came down once, then it is possible he did so many times. Moreover there is his evident return when he broke the cross and killed the pig and thereafter married a woman of Banū Jidhām and finally was buried in a chamber of the grave (usually referred to as the garden) of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related in his book *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood)* this story of Salmān by way of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq as previously given. And he also related it from al-Ḥakīm, from al-Aṣamm b. Yahyā b. Abū Ṭalīb.

ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim related to us, as did Ḥatīm b. Abū Ṣufra, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Yazīd b. Ṣūḥān, that he heard Salmān relating how his accepting Islam first occurred. Salmān made a lengthy account of how he had originated in Rāmḥurmuz and that he had a wealthy brother, who was older than himself. He himself was poor and under his brother's care, and the son of the headman of Rāmḥurmuz was his friend, with whom he would visit a teacher. And his friend also used to call upon some Christian worshippers who lived in a cave. Salmān asked his friend to take him to visit them, but the reply was, "You're just a young man, and I'm afraid that you will betray them and that my father will kill them." And so he made him promise that he would not do anything his friend would not like.

So he accompanied his friend and they (the Christians) were six or seven in number. And they looked as if, from all their praying, their souls had left them; they fasted by day and stayed up (praying) at night, and ate trees or whatever they found.

He related of them that they believed in all the previous messengers from God and that Jesus was a worshipper of God, His messenger, and the son of His slave-girl and that God aided him with miracles.

They told him, "Boy, you have a Lord; and will have an afterlife. Awaiting you there is to be a heaven and a hell. And those people who worship fires are unbelievers and in error. God is not pleased with what they do, and they are not in his religion."

Thereafter Salmān went to them often with his friend and eventually joined them totally. But then the ruler of that land expelled them, and he was the father of the young man who had visited them with Salmān. The ruler imprisoned his son at home. Salmān presented their religion to his older brother but the latter said, "I'm personally just busy with making my living."

So Salmān went away with them, and they entered the church at al-Mawṣil, whose people made them welcome. "Then", continued Salmān, "they wanted to leave me there with those people, but I refused to do anything but accompany them. So then they went further until they came to a mountain valley, and the monks of that region hurried down to greet them and to be with them. The monks asked them how it had been away, and also enquired about me, and they praised me highly."

Then there arrived a man much respected among them who addressed them and gave all due praise to God. He made mention of the messengers and what assistance they were given. He also talked of Jesus son of Mary and how he was the slave of God and His Messenger. He enjoined them to be good and forbade them evil. Then when his former companions wished to go further on, Salmān kept with this man and followed him. He would fast by day and stay up at night (praying) from one Sunday to the next. He would go out before them and give them sermons, enjoining good and forbidding evil. This went on for a long period and then he wished to visit Jerusalem, and Salmān accompanied him there.

Salmān went on, "As he walked he would turn towards me, draw near, preach to me, and tell me that I had a Lord, that there were heaven, hell, and an accounting before me, reminding me of approximately what he would preach to the congregation on Sundays. One time he told me, 'O Salmān, God will send a messenger whose name is Aḥmad. He will come up out of Tihāma; he will eat a gift, but not alms. And between his shoulders there will be a seal of prophethood. This is the time now approaching when he will appear. I am an old man, and I don't think I will live until his coming. But if you do, then believe in him and follow him.' 'But what', I asked, 'if he tells me to abandon your faith and practices?' He replied, 'No matter what he orders you, he brings the truth with him, and the wish of the Most Merciful One is in what he says.'"

Salmān then related their arrival in Jerusalem and that his companion worshipped at various places there. Before he went to sleep, the priest told him to wake him up when the shadow arrived at a certain place. But Salmān let him rest a little longer than he had requested and when he awoke he first praised God then reproached Salmān for not having done as he requested. They then left Jerusalem and (Salmān's account continues), "A cripple begged, 'O worshipper of God, I asked of you when you arrived, but you gave me nothing. I am now asking you again.' The priest looked but found no one else. So he took him by the hand and said, 'Stand up, in the name of God.' The man did so, and there was nothing wrong with him, no diseases at all; he was moving as if with the slightest limp. The priest then told me, 'O, worshipper of God, load up my baggage for me so I can go off to my own people and tell them the good tidings.' I got busy doing this, but when I wanted to go over to him, I could not find him. I did not know where he had gone. And whenever I asked anyone about him, they told me, 'He's out ahead of you.'"

"Eventually I was met by a caravan of Arabs of Banū Kalb and I made enquiry of them. When they heard my accent one man made his camel kneel and mounted me up behind him, and they brought me to their land.

"There they sold me, and a Christian woman bought me and put me to work in a garden she had.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived."

Salmān related after this how he went to see him (the Prophet) and gave him alms, then a gift to test what his companion had told him, and asked to see the seal. When he did see it he believed at once and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what he had been told.

The account then tells of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having summoned Abū Bakr, "the trusting", who bought Salmān from the woman and then set him free.

Salmān went on: "Later I asked the Messenger of God one day about the Christians' religion. He replied, 'There's no good in them.' I remembered all those I had accompanied and in particular that good man who had been in Jerusalem with me, and so his words had great impact on me. Then God sent down to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the statement: 'Certainly you will find that the people the most violent in their enmity to those who believe are the Jews along with polytheists. And you will find that the closest of people in friendship to those who believe are those who say, "We are Christians." That is because there are priests and monks among them and because they do not behave with conceit' (*sūrat al-Mā'ida*, V, v.82).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned me, and I was afraid when I came. When I sat before him he recited, 'In the name of God the most compassionate, the most merciful. "That is because there are priests and monks

among them, and because they do not behave with conceit." Then he said, 'O Salmān, those whom you accompanied, and your friend as well, were not Christians; they were Muslims.' I replied, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, he certainly did order me to follow you.' And when I said, 'But what if he tells me to leave your religion and your practices?' he did say, 'Yes; do leave that, for the truth, and what pleases God is whatever he orders you.'"

In this passage there are many strange elements and some differences with the text cited by Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Ishāq's is stronger in its chains of authorities, better in its narrative, and closer to that related by al-Bukhārī in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. The latter relies on the *ḥadīth* of Mu'tamar b. Sulaymān b. Tarkhān al-Taymī, from his father, from Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī, from Salmān al-Fārisī. That account relates dozens of interactions, from master to master, that is, from teacher to teacher, and from guide to guide. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī said, "There were 30 changes in all, from one master to the next." But God knows best.

Similarly the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym abbreviated the account of Salmān's conversion in his work *al-Dalā'il* (*The Signs*). In it he gave many different chains of authorities, and many different phrases. In some of these the name of the woman who made the contract about him was named Ḥalbasa. But God knows best.

An Account of certain strange events relating thereto.

Abū Nu'aym stated in *al-Dalā'il* that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Ghalābī, quoting al-'Alā' b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Abū al-Sawīyya al-Minqarī, as did 'Abbād b. Kassīb, from his father, from Abū 'Atwāra al-Khuzā'i, from Sa'ir b. Sawāda al-'Āmirī, who said, "I was in love with one of the finest ladies of the tribe. For her I rode every kind of mount, difficult and submissive alike, leaving no place untried in my hopes of business and profit. I left Syria with goods and produce I wanted to sell to the crowds of pilgrims and Arabs and so entered Mecca one very dark night. I stayed until night was over and when I lifted my head I could see a pavilion over against the top of the mountain quilted out of heavy cloth from al-Ṭā'if. Animals were being slaughtered and others brought. People were eating and others encouraging the cooks to hurry up. There, too, was a man calling loudly from a hilltop, saying, 'O pilgrims, come on over and eat lunch!' There was also a little man over on a path calling out, 'O pilgrims, if you have eaten, pass on till supper.' I was amazed by what I saw and went over there seeking the group's leader. One man saw what I wanted and told me, 'Straight ahead!'

"Then I saw an old man whose cheeks were very red and who seemed to have a star shining forth from his forehead. He had twisted around his head a black

turban from beneath the folds of which his head-parting appeared, sesame seed in colour.” (Some accounts give the wording as “sitting on a chair of black *samāsim* wood with a saddle cushion beneath it.”) “In his hand he lightly held a rod. All around him sheikhs were sitting, their heads held down, and not one of them was saying a word. Information had reached me in Syria that this was the time for the arrival of the *ummi* (unlettered) Prophet, so when I saw this man I thought it was he. So I said to him, ‘Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!’ He replied in anger, ‘Stop that! No! I wish I were he.’ I asked, ‘Who is that sheikh?’ ‘That’s Abū Naḍla, Ḥāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf.’ So I turned away, saying, ‘Now that is glory! Not like that of the house of Jafna!’”

By this he meant the Arab kings of Syria of the Ghassān tribe, who were known as the Āl (family of) Jafna. The office he was describing relative to Ḥāshim was that of the *rifāda*, namely the feeding of the pilgrims.

Abū Nu‘aym said that ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abū Yaḥyā, quoting Sa‘īd b. ‘Uthmān, quoting ‘Alī b. Qutayba al-Khurāsānī, quoting Khālīd b. Ilyās, from Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Jahm, from his father from his grandfather, who said that he heard Abū Ṭālib relate the following about ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He said, “While I was sleeping in the *ḥijr* enclosure, I had visions that scared me really badly. I went to a Quraysh soothsayer and I was wearing a silk shawl and my long hair was brushing my shoulders. When she looked at me, she knew from my face that something was changed; at that time I was the leader of my tribe. She said, ‘What is wrong with our master that he has come to us, his face so changed? Is he afraid of some fateful happening?’ ‘Indeed I am,’ I replied.

“Now she never first addressed anyone before they kissed her right hand. She would then place that hand on top of her head and the person would tell her what he wanted. I did not do that because I was the chief of my tribe.

“So I then sat down and said, ‘As I lay sleeping last night in the *ḥijr* I had a vision of a tree having grown up, its head touching the sky and its boughs touching both the east and the west. And I never saw any light shine more brightly, 70 times brighter than the sun’s light. I saw the Arabs and the non-Arabs alike prostrate before it, while it grew broader, taller, and more dazzling all the time, sometimes dimming but then gleaming again. I saw a group of men of Quraysh who had grasped its branches, while another group of them wanted to cut it down. When they came near it they were fended away by a young man more good and handsome than I had ever seen before. And he was breaking their backs and gouging their eyes. I raised my hand to have my share of the tree but the young man stopped me. ‘But who is to have it, then?’ I asked. He replied, ‘It is for those who climbed it, and they were there before you.’ At that I woke up in a fright.

"I saw that the expression on the face of the soothsayer had now altered. She said, 'If your vision was true, then a man will emerge from your offspring who will rule both east and west, a man whom all will follow.'"

After that he – 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is – said to Abū Ṭālib: "Maybe you are to be that person."

Abū Ṭālib used to tell this anecdote after the birth of the Messenger of God, following his receiving his mission. Then he said, "As God knows best, the tree was Abū al-Qāsim, the Trustworthy." Someone asked Abū Ṭālib, "So don't you believe?" He replied, "Shame and disgrace!"

Abū Nu'aym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Ghalābī, quoting al-'Abbās b. Bakkār al-Ḍabbī, quoting Abū Bakr al-Hudhālī, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās that al-'Abbās said, "I went off in a caravan to Yemen to trade. In that party was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. When we were in Yemen I used to prepare the food one day and then go off with Abū Sufyān and others. Then next day Abū Sufyān would prepare the food and do the same as I had. One day when I was to prepare it, he asked, 'Abū al-Faḍl, how would you like to go to my house and send your food to me?' I agreed.

"So I went with the group to his place and I sent off for the food. When everyone had finished eating, they left but he kept me there. He asked, 'Abū al-Faḍl, are you aware that your brother's son claims to be the Messenger of God?' I replied, 'Which one of my brother's sons?' Abū Sufyān said, 'Would you evade me? Which of your brother's sons would it have to be saying that except one?' 'Nevertheless, which one?' I asked. 'He is Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh,' he replied. 'He's done that,' I enquired. 'He certainly has,' he insisted.

"He then took out a letter to him from his son Ḥanzala b. Abū Sufyān which said, 'This is to tell you that Muḥammad stood up in the open space and said, 'I am the Messenger of God; I summon you to God, Almighty and Glorious is He!' Al-'Abbās replied, 'O Abū Ḥanzala, I think he's telling the truth!'

"Easy does it, O Abū al-Faḍl! By God, I don't like him saying that. (Yet) I don't fear any harm for us from his saying that, O son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. By God, Quraysh is always saying something or other is yours, and there's purpose behind each of them! Have you heard of that, Abū al-Faḍl?' 'Yes, I have,' I replied. So he said, 'You're cursed with this, by God!' 'Maybe we're blessed with it,' I responded."

Al-'Abbās went on: "It was only a few days thereafter that 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa brought that information, he being a believer. That news spread in all the assemblies of Yemen. Abū Sufyān used to attend one assembly in Yemen where a rabbi would talk. And the Jew said to him, 'What's this news? I've heard that you have among you the uncle of the man who has been saying these things.'

"Abū Sufyān replied, 'Yes, that's true. I am his uncle.' The Jew asked, 'His father's brother?' 'Yes,' Abū Sufyān told him. 'Well tell me about him,' he said.

"Don't ask me,' he responded. 'I am not at all pleased at him making that claim, and I don't want to find fault with him, though there are others better than him.'"

"The Jew noticed that Abū Sufyān did not want to diminish his support nor to criticize him.

"He has no ill will towards the Jews, or the Torah,' the Jew commented."

Al-Abbās stated: "Having been invited by the rabbi, I went and sat in at one of their meetings the next day. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was there along with the rabbi. I said to the rabbi, 'I've been told that you asked my cousin about one of our men who claims to be the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that he told you he was his uncle. But he is not his uncle but his cousin. I'm his uncle, his father's brother.'

"You're his father's brother?' he asked and I stated I was.

"He then approached Abū Sufyān and asked, 'Did he tell the truth?' 'Yes, he did,' he replied.

"Then I said, 'Ask me some questions, and if I lie, he can refute me.'

"He came over to me and said, 'I ask you now, has your brother's son sexual desires or immoral behaviour?'

"Certainly not, by the God of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,' I replied, 'and he has never lied or cheated. Among Quraysh he is known as "the Trustworthy".'

"Does he write by his own hand?' he asked."

Al-Abbās thought it would be better for him if he did write by his own hand, and he wanted to say he did. But then he remembered Abū Sufyān's being there and how he would call him a liar and refute him. So al-Abbās replied, "No, he doesn't write."

He continued, "The rabbi jumped up, and his loose robe fell down as he exclaimed, 'Jews will be slaughtered, Jews killed!'"

Al-Abbās went on, "And when we returned home, Abū Sufyān said, 'O Abū al-Faḍl, the Jews are terrified of your nephew.' I asked him, 'Well, having seen what you have, do you believe in him? If it's true, you could be there early; but if it's not, you'd only be among others like you.'

"He replied: 'I'll not believe in him till I see horses high up on Mt. Kadā'."

"What do you mean?' I asked. 'Just a phrase that came to mind,' he replied. 'Except that I know that God won't allow horsemen to climb up on Kadā'."

Al-Abbās said, "But when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Mecca and we looked up at the horsemen high on Kadā', I said, 'Well Abū Sufyān, remember what you said?'

"Yes,' he replied, 'I certainly do. And thanks be to God for guiding me to Islam.'"

This account is excellent, fully illuminated by the light of truth, even though some people cast doubts on some who reported it. But God knows best.

We have previously given the story of Abū Sufyān's contact with Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt and it is similar to that given here. It is one of the strangest and best authenticated of stories, and one that is clear.

Also there will come the story of Abū Sufyān with Heraclius, the King of Byzantium, when the former was asked to describe the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and how he then thus gave proof of his truthfulness, prophethood, and mission. The King replied, "I knew he was coming, but did not realize he was one of you. If I had known I would survive to his time, I would have striven to meet him. If I had been with him, I would have washed his feet. And if what you say is true, he will govern wherever these two feet of mine are placed." So did it happen, all power and praise be to God.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym gave more instances with lengthy and better reports relating to monks, rabbis, and Arabs; may God have mercy on him and bless him.

The Story of 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhani.

Al-Ṭabarānī stated that 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Khuzā'ī al-Ahwāzī related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Dāwūd b. Dalhāth b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sharīḥ b. Yāsir b. Suwayd, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), quoting his father, from his father Dalhāth, from his father Ismā'īl, that his father 'Abd Allāh related to him from his father, that his father Yāsir b. Suwayd related to him from 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhani, who said, "I went on a pilgrimage before the coming of Islam. In my dream, when I was in Mecca, I saw a shining light emerging from the *ka'ba*, and going as far as the mountains of Yathrib and the fertile slopes of Yanbu'. I heard a voice coming from amidst the light saying, 'The shadows are dispersed, the light shines bright, and the Seal of the Prophets has been sent.'

"Then another light shone, so that I could see to the castles of al-Hira and to *Abyaḍ al-Madā'in*, Chosroe's palace. I heard a voice from that light calling, 'Islam has appeared! The idols are destroyed! And all is made whole!'

"I awoke with a start and called out to my people, 'By God, something is certainly going to happen in this tribe of Quraysh!' And I told them what I had seen.

"When we reached home, the news came that a man called Aḥmad had received a mission. So I went to him and told him what I had seen. He then said to me, 'O 'Amr b. Murra, I am the Prophet sent to all mankind; I summon them to Islam, order them to shed blood and to bring reconciliation, to pray to God

and reject idols, to make the pilgrimage to the *ka'ba*, to fast the month of Ramaḍān, one month out of twelve. For those who respond, there is paradise; for those who rebel, the fire. So have faith, O 'Amr, and God will protect you from the terror of hell!'

"I said, 'I give testimony that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God. I have faith in your message as to what is permitted and prohibited, even though that offends many peoples.' I then recited to him verses that I had spoken when I heard of him. We had an idol whom my father worshipped, and I went and destroyed it. Then I joined the Prophet (ṢAAS), speaking the verses,

'I gave witness that God is truth, and that I am the first to abandon stone worship.

I busied myself taking flight to you, crossing wild deserts and sand wastes

To accompany the best of men in spirit and line, the messenger of mankind's Lord above the stars.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Welcome to you indeed, O 'Amr b. Murra.' And I replied, 'O Messenger of God, send me to my people so that God may favour them through me as He did me through you.'

"So he sent me to them, saying, 'Behave with kindness and speak the truth. Be you not churlish, nor arrogant, nor envious.'"

He told how he came to his people, and summoned them to the teachings of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and they all accepted Islam, except for one of their men. 'Amr then went with them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who greeted and welcomed them. He wrote for them a document as follows:

"In the name of God the Most Merciful and Beneficent. This document is a safe-passage from God through the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) through a truth-telling document and a veracious spokesman, sent with 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhani to Juhayna b. Zayd. For you there shall be the lowlands and the slopes, the depths and the sides of the valleys. You shall cultivate their produce and drink their pure water, provided that you affirm that you shall forsake one-fifth (of the harvest) and keep praying the five prayers. (Your rich shall pay the alms to the poor): one ewe for each forty sheep and one ewe for each five camels, or two ewes for any combination thereof. The rich shall not be eligible to receive charity. And God will bear witness that we so agreed, and the Muslims attending will bear witness. (This document is) handwritten by Qays b. Shammās."

He then gave some verses spoken by 'Amr b. Murra on that subject, as is depicted in the great *musnad ḥadīth* collection. In God we trust, and upon Him we rely.

And God Almighty said, "And when we made a covenant with the prophets and with you and with Noah and Abraham and Moses and Jesus son of Mary, and we made a firm covenant with them" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, XXXIII, v.7).

Many of our early ancestors said, "When God made his covenant with mankind the day he said, 'Am I not your Lord?', he made a special agreement with the prophets. And He affirmed that that group (consisted) of five great law-giving prophets, the first of whom was Noah and the last Muḥammad (ṢAAS)."

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aym informed us in his book the *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) through various routes from al-Walid b. Muslim, that al-Awzā'ī related to him, as did Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was asked, "When was the prophethood required of you?" He replied, "Between the creation of Adam and the blowing of the spirit into him."

Al-Tirmidhī related it similarly through al-Walid b. Muslim. He defined it as "good, but unique as a *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra; we know of it only from that line".

Abū Nu'aym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥalabī, quoting Abū Ja'far al-Nufaylī, quoting 'Amr b. Wāqid, from 'Urwa b. Ruwaym, from al-Ṣunabīḥī, saying that 'Umar said, "O Messenger of God, when were you made a prophet?" He replied, "While Adam was being formed in the clay."

He then related it from a *ḥadīth* of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim from Qays b. Rabī', from Jābir al-Ju'fī, from al-Sha'ḥbī, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that someone asked, "O Messenger of God, when were you (made) a prophet?" He replied, "While Adam was between soul and body."

In the tradition we gave in the story of Adam when God extracted from his loins his progeny, He singled out the prophets by a light between their eyes. It is apparent – but God knows best – that it (i.e. the light) was commensurate with their levels and ranks in God's view. If that be the case, then the light of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was greater, stronger, and more evident than that of all the rest.

And this is a great and obvious distinction and indication of his nobility and high worth.

And to that effect there is the *ḥadīth* spoken by Imām Aḥmad who said that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī related to him, as did Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ from Sa'īd b. Suwayd al-Kalbī, from 'Abd al-A'ālā b. Hilāl al-Salamī from al-'Irbaḍ b. Sāriyya, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "In God's view I was the Seal of the Prophets while Adam was still within his clay. And I shall tell you of the first of it – the prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus regarding me, the visions my mother saw, and similarly those that the mothers of the believers see."

Al-Layth and Ibn Wahb related this from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, and 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ from Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, who added, "his mother saw, when she delivered him, a light from him that illuminated the castles of Syria."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān related to him, as did Maṣṣūr b. Sa‘īd, from Badīl, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq, from Maysara al-Fajr, who stated that he said, “O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?” And he replied, “While Adam was between spirit and body.”

The line of transmission of this tradition is also excellent.

Ibrāhīm b. Tahmān related it similarly, along with Ḥammād b. Zayd and Khālīd al-Ḥadhdhā’ from Badīl b. Maysara.

Abū Nu‘aym related it from Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Aslam, from Muḥammad b. Bakr b. ‘Amr al-Bāhili, from Shaybān, from al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Sufyān, from Maysara al-Fajr, who said that he asked, “O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?” He replied, “While Adam was between spirit and body.”

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu‘aym stated in his book *Dalā’il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) that Abū ‘Amr b. Ḥamdān related to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān, quoting Hishām b. ‘Ammār, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, from Khulayd b. Da‘āj, and Sa‘īd, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), about Almighty God’s words, “And when we made a covenant with the Prophets.” He said, “I was the first of the Prophets in creation, and the last of them to be sent.”

He then related it from Hishām b. ‘Ammār from Baqīyya, from Sa‘īd b. Nusayr, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Hurayra, traced back similarly.

He also related it through Sa‘īd b. Abū ‘Arūba and Shaybān, from Qatāda who said, “It was related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the like.” And this account is very firm and reliable. But God knows best.

This acknowledges the extremely high regard in which he is held among the heavenly host of angels, that he is recognized among them for having been the Seal of the Prophets even before the soul was blown into Adam. This is because God’s knowledge of that was prior, most assuredly before the creation of the earth and heaven. And so all that remained necessary was to make reference to the recognition there was among the heavenly hosts. But God knows best.

Abū Nu‘aym reported from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd al-Rāziq from Ma‘mar, from Ḥammām, from Abū Hurayra, the *ḥadīth* being agreed upon as stating, “We are those who will have precedence at Judgement Day and who will be judged before the other creatures, even though they were brought the Scriptures before we were, we receiving them after them.”

Abū Nu‘aym added at the end, “And he (ṢAAS) was the last of them to receive a mission, and through him the prophethood ended. He will take precedence on Judgement Day, because he was the first covenanted for prophethood.”

He then said, “That *ḥadīth* depicts the high honour of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) regarding God’s appointing him to the prophethood before the completion of the creation of Adam. It is likely that it is this affirmation that

God conveyed to His angels, of what there was previously in His knowledge, and His judgement of sending a mission to him till the end of time."

This comment is in agreement with what we previously stated. And so all praise be to God.

In his interpretation of the *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam – about which there is some controversy – al-Hākim related from his father, from his grandfather, from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "When Adam committed sin, he said, 'O God, I ask you for Muḥammad's sake, won't you forgive me?' God replied, 'O Adam, how did you know Muḥammad when I haven't created him yet?' Adam replied, 'O Lord, because when you created me with your own hand and blew life into me from your spirit, I raised my head and saw on the foundations beneath the throne the writing, "There is no God but God. Muḥammad is the Messenger of God." I knew that you would never have added to your own name anyone but the most precious to you of your creation.' God replied, 'You have spoken the truth, O Adam; he is to me the most precious of my creation. And since you asked in his name, you have my forgiveness. Were it not for Muḥammad, I would not have created you.'"

Al-Bayhaqī said, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam alone gave this tradition, and it is weak. But God knows best.

God Almighty said, "And when God made a covenant with the prophets, saying, 'I brought you the Scripture and wisdom, then a Messenger will come unto you verifying what you have. Let you believe in him well, and aid him!' He said, 'Have you agreed, and accepted my covenant in that?' They replied, 'We have agreed.' He said, 'Then bear witness and I too along with you will bear witness. Whoever revokes this hereafter, those are sinners!'" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*, III, v.81–2).

'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, God bless them, said, "God never sent any prophet without first making a covenant with him (to the effect that) if Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was sent when that prophet was alive, then he would believe in him and aid him. And He ordered him to convey the covenant to his people, that if Muḥammad was sent while they were living, they really would believe in him and aid him to make him victorious."

This is a recognition and an affirmation of his honour and high stature among all the religions and upon the tongues of all the prophets. It is an announcement to them and from them of his being a Messenger to the end of time and of his being the most noble of the messengers and the Seal of the Prophets.

And God has made plain all the facts about him, all information, all secrets pertaining to him. He made his splendour very clear, as well as facts of his birth and homeland through the words of Abraham the "true friend", peace be upon

him, when he finished building the *ka'ba*: "O our Lord, send among them a Messenger from among themselves who will recite to them your signs and teach them the Scripture and wisdom, and purify them. You are the Mighty and the Wise" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.129).

The first clear and evident sign of his status among the people of the earth came, then, on the tongue of Abraham, the "true friend", the prophet, the next most honoured by God after Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

This why Imām Aḥmad said that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting al-Faraj, meaning Ibn Faḍāla, as did Luqmān b. 'Āmir, who said that he heard Abū Amāma say that he once asked, "O Messenger of God, what was the beginning of your mission?" He replied, "It was the prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus, and my mother's seeing a light emitting from her that illuminated the castles of Syria."

Imām Aḥmad alone gave this tradition, and none of the authors of the six (canonical) books (of traditions) included it.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr b. Abū 'Āṣim related in his book *al-Mawlid (The Birth)* through Baqīyya, from Ṣafwān b. 'Amr, from Ḥajar b. Ḥajar, from Abū Mariq, that a bedouin asked, "O Messenger of God, what event was it that began your prophethood?" He replied, "God took from me the covenant, as he took covenants from the other prophets." And the mother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw in her sleep that a light was emitting from between her feet that lit up the castles of Syria.

Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār stated that Thawr b. Yazīd related to him from Khālīd b. Ma'dān, from the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they, the Companions, asked, "O Messenger of God, tell us about yourself." He replied, "The prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus, and (the fact that) my mother saw, when she was pregnant, that a light came from inside her that illuminated Buṣrā in Syria."

The chain of authorities of this tradition is also excellent.

It contains good news for the people of our community in the lands of Buṣrā. It is the first place in Syria to receive the light of the prophethood; and to God all praise and favour are due. That is why it was the first city of Syria to be conquered. It was taken peacefully during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, God be pleased with him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled there twice in the company of his uncle Abū Ṭālib when he was a boy of 12. It was there the story of Baḥīrā the monk was set, as we have related above. The second time he was with Maysara, the freed man of Khadija, while on a trading expedition on her behalf. Also, it has the spot where the camel known as the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had knelt. Its remains are still there, so they say. Eventually its remains were gathered, and a mosque, famous to this day, was built over it. That is the town where the necks of the camels lit up from the light

of the fire that came from Ḥijāz in the year 654, according to the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "A fire leaves Ḥijāz that illuminates the necks of the camels at Buṣrā."

And God Almighty stated, "Those who follow the Prophet, the *ummi* (unlettered), whom they find written down with them in the Torah and the Gospel, who orders people to be good and forbids them evil, and who makes lawful for them good things and makes unlawful foul things, who removes from them their burden and the chains that were upon them. And so those who believe in him and honour him and help him and who follow the light that came down with him, those shall be successful" (*sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, VII, v.157).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā'īl related to him, from al-Jurayri, from Abū Ṣakhr al-ʿUqaylī, who said that a bedouin told him that he had brought in some merchandise to Medina while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still alive. And when he had finished selling it, he told himself that he should meet that man and listen to him.

The bedouin said, "He met me when he was walking between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. I followed them until they came to a Jew holding and reading the Torah, and consoling himself with it at the death of a son of his, the best and most handsome of boys. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'I beg of you, by Him who sent down the Torah, do you see in your Scripture any description of me and my place of origin?' The man made a gesture with his head, meaning, 'no'. But his (dead) son spoke, saying, 'But yes, by Him who sent down the Torah, we do find in our Scriptures a description of you and of your place of origin! I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God.' And so he said, 'Keep away the Jew from your brother.' Then he (the Prophet) took care of winding the dead boy in his shroud and performed the prayers for the dead over him."

This chain of authorities is excellent, and there are testimonies to its veracity in the *ṣaḥīḥ* from Anas b. Mālīk.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ghiyāth, Abū Baḥr that is, related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muslim, quoting ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb, from his father, from al-Ṣallātān b. ʿĀṣim, who related that his uncle said that he was seated with the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he gazed over at a certain man, a Jew wearing a shirt, trousers, and sandals. The Prophet (ṢAAS) began talking to him. The man asked, "O Messenger of God . . ." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "Are you witnessing that I am the Messenger of God?" "No," the man said. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, "Do you read the Torah?" "Yes," the man replied. He asked, "Do you read the Gospel?" "Yes," the man replied. "And the Qurʾān?" "No," the Jew replied. "But if you want, I will." The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked, "In what you read of the Torah

and the Gospel, do you find me to be a prophet?" The man answered, "We do find a description of you and of your place of origin. When you came, we hoped you would be one of us. But when we saw you we knew that you were not he." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "Why is that, O Jew?" He replied, "We find it to be written down that, 'There will enter paradise from his nation 70,000'. But with you we see only a few men."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then responded, "My nation is far greater in number than 70,000, and 70,000 more again."

This is a unique *ḥadīth* from such a source, and they (the scholars) have not promulgated it.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, from Sālim, the freed-man of 'Abd Allāh b. Muṭṭi', from Abū Hurayra who said that some Jews came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said, "Bring out your most knowledgeable man." They replied, "He is 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣūriyā." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat with him alone and adjured him by his religion and by God's blessings to them, by God who had fed them with manna and quails and shaded them with clouds. "Do you know me as the Messenger of God?" the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked. "Yes indeed, by God," the Jew responded. "And my people know what I know. You are fully apparent in the Torah. But they are envious."

"So what prevents you (from believing)?" he asked.

"I just hate to disagree with my people," the Jew replied. "Maybe they will follow you and accept Islam, then I will."

Salama b. al-Faḍl stated, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, to the effect that he used to say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to the Jews of Khaybar as follows, "In the name of God the most merciful and beneficent, from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, the companion and brother of Moses and the corroborator of the message Moses brought. God stated to you, 'O Jews, people of the Torah, you will find in your book the fact that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God; and those who are with him are violent against unbelievers, compassionate among themselves. You see them bowing down and prostrating themselves, desiring grace and approval from God. They have marks on their faces from the effects of prostration. That is how they are compared in the Torah and in the Gospel. (They are) like a plant that emits its shoot, then strengthens it so that it thickens and stands straight on its stem. He (God) gives the sowers delight so that He may enrage through them the unbelievers. God has promised forgiveness and great reward to those of them who believe and do good' (*sūrat al-Faṭḥ*, XLVII, v.29). I adjure you by God by that which has come down to you, and by Him who fed manna and quails to your forebears and tribes, who dried up the sea for your forefathers to save you from Pharaoh and his deeds, can you not tell us whether you find in God's revelations to you (the fact) that you

should believe in Muḥammad? And if you do not discover that in your Scriptures, then there is no hatred for you. (But now) what is right has become clear from what is error. And I call you to God and to his Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār related in his book *al-Mubtada'* (*The Beginning*) from Sa'īd b. Bashīr, from Qatāda, from Ka'b al-Aḥbār, and others related from Wahb b. Munabbih, that Bukhtunaṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar), after he had destroyed Jerusalem and kept the Jews in subjugation for seven years, saw strange visions in a dream that terrified him. And so he assembled his soothsayers and wise men and questioned them about those visions of his. They suggested, "If the King first tells us of them, then we can interpret them." But he replied, "I've forgotten them. And if you don't tell me in three days about them, I'll kill the lot of you!"

Off they went very fearful of his threat. Daniel, in gaol at the time, heard of this and told the gaoler, "Go and tell the King, 'We have a man who has knowledge of your visions and can interpret them.'"

So he went to tell the King who summoned Daniel. When he entered, Daniel did not bow down to him, so the King demanded, "What prevents you from prostrating before me?" Daniel replied, "God brought me knowledge, and ordered me not to bow to anyone but Him." Bukhtunaṣṣar then said, "I like those who fulfil their duty to their masters. Tell me about my vision."

Daniel said to him, "You saw a huge idol, its feet on the ground and its head in the sky. Its upper part was of gold, its middle of silver, its lower part of brass, its legs of iron and its feet of clay. While you were looking at it, delighted by its beauty and the intricacy of its workmanship, God cast down a stone from heaven which hit the top of its head and crushed it completely. Its gold, silver, brass, iron, and clay became mixed together so that it seemed to you that even if all men and all the spirits were to try to differentiate its components they would fail. When you looked at the stone that had been thrown, you saw it get bigger and bigger until it filled all the earth so that all you could see was it and the sky."

Bukhtunaṣṣar said, "You are right. That is the vision I saw. What does it mean?"

"Well", replied Daniel, "the idol represents various nations, early, intermediate, and late in time. The stone by which the idol was struck is a religion God will send and reveal to these nations at time's end. And God will send a prophet, an *ummi*, from the Arabs who will conquer with it all the nations and all the religions, as you saw the stone destroy the various components of the idol. It will overcome all the nations and religions, just as you saw the stone overwhelm the entire earth. God will purify the truth and annihilate falsehood through it. Through it He will guide those in error. He will teach the illiterate, strengthen the weak, uplift the humble, and give victory to the disadvantaged."

The account ends the story by Bukhtunaṣṣar releasing the Israelites through Daniel, peace be upon him.

Al-Wāqidi related, with a chain of authorities from al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, the story of the latter's going to al-Muqawkis, King of Alexandria, and of being questioned by him about the qualities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) similarly to how Heraclius asked Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb. He related how he questioned the Christian bishops in the churches for a description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and how they did so. It is a long story that is related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym in *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*).

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went past some Jewish schools and asked them, "O Jews, accept Islam. For, by Him in whose hand is my soul, you will certainly find description of me in your scriptures."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mūsā b. Dāwūd related to him, quoting Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān, from Hilāl b. ʿAlī, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār who said that he met ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and asked him, "Describe to me the qualities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that are in the Torah." He replied, "Certainly. He is, by God, referred to in the Torah as he is in the Qurʾān. 'O Prophet, we have sent you to give witness, to bring good tidings, and to warn, and to protect the illiterate. You are my slave and my messenger. I have named you *al-Mutawakkil*, "the manager", a man not rough or uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. A man who does not pay back evil with evil, but one who forgives and pardons. God will not take him until they set the deviant community aright by them saying, "There is no God but God." By him He will open blind eyes, deaf ears, and closed hearts.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muḥammad b. Sinān from Fulayḥ. He also related it from ʿAbd Allāh (who was the son of Rajāʾ, or as others say the son of Ṣāliḥ) from ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Abū Salama, from Hilāl b. ʿAllūya, and his text is similar to this, with additions.

Ibn Jarīr related it from a *ḥadīth* of Fulayḥ, from Hilāl, from ʿAṭāʾ. His account adds the words, "And ʿAṭāʾ said, 'I met Kaʿb and asked him about that, and he did not disagree by so much as a letter; though he said, "among the merchants". And he gave the line of authorities as Saʿīd, from Hilāl, from ʿAṭāʾ from ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Qaṭṭān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, quoting Abū Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Layth, quoting Khālīd b. Yazīd, from Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl b. Usāma, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār, from Ibn Sallām, who used to say, "We do find a description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the wording, 'We have sent you as a man to witness and to bring tidings, to warn

and to protect the illiterate. You are My slave and My messenger. I have named him *al-Mutawwakil*, "the manager"; he will be neither rough nor uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. He will not requite evil with the same but will pardon and make allowance. And He will not take him until he sets the deviant community aright by having them bear witness that there is no God but God. By him He will open blind eyes, deaf ears, and closed hearts."

ʿAṭā' b. Yasār stated, "Al-Laythī informed me that he heard Kaʿb al-Aḥbār say the same as Ibn Sallām."

My comment is, that this tradition from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām is similar, though the account from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr is lengthier. However, he found at the battle of Yarmuk two bags full of the books of the people of the Scriptures, and he used to talk about them a great deal.

And it should be recognized that many of our forebears used to apply the word "Torah" to the books of the peoples of the scriptures. These are in their view more comprehensive than those God revealed to Moses. This fact is attested from the *ḥadīth*.

Yūnus stated from Muḥammad b. Ishāq that Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Shuraḥbīl related to him, from Ibn Abū Awfā, from Umm al-Dardā' who said that she asked Kaʿb al-Aḥbār: "How do you find the description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the Torah?"

"We find him as Muḥammad the Messenger of God; his name is *al-Mutawwakil*. He is not rough nor uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. He has been given the keys. Through him, God will give sight to eyes that are damaged, and hearing to ears that are dulled. He will set right twisted tongues, through him, until they give witness that there is no God but God, one and without partner. And through him He will aid and protect the ill-treated."

And this is also related from Kaʿb from a different chain of authorities.

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, from Abū al-Walīd al-Faqīh, from al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān who indicated that ʿUtba b. Mukrim related to him, quoting Abū Qaṭan ʿAmr b. al-Haytham, quoting Ḥamza b. al-Zayyāt, from Sulaymān al-Aʿmash, from ʿAlī b. Mudrik from Abū Zurʿa, from Abū Hurayra, that regarding the wording, "And you were not besides Mt. Ṭūr when we called" the tradition gives, "it was called out to them, 'O nation of Muḥammad, I have responded to you before you called to me, and have given to you before you asked me.'"

Wahb b. Munabbih mentioned that God revealed to Dāwūd (David) in the Book of Psalms, "O Dāwūd, there will come after you a prophet named Aḥmad and Muḥammad, a truthful man, a lord; I will never be angry with him, and he will never make me angry with him. I have forgiven him before he disobeyed

me, both his previous and his later sins. His nation is forgiven. I have made gifts to them similar to those I gave to the prophets, and imposed duties upon them that I imposed upon the prophets and the messengers, so that they will come to me on Judgement Day with their light like that of the prophets.”

The text continues until the words, “O Dāwūd, I have given preference to Muḥammad and to his nation above all the nations.”

Knowledge of the existence of reference to him in the books of the peoples of the Scriptures, a fact known to the religion, is essential. And many verses of the holy Qurʾān give proof of that and we have, praise be to God, made reference to those in the proper places.

One such verse is, “(As for) those to whom we gave the Scripture before it, they believe in it. And when it is recited to them, they say, ‘We believe in it. It is the truth from our Lord. We were already submitting Muslims before it’” (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*, XXVII, v.52–3).

And Almighty God said, “Those to whom we have brought the book know him as they know their sons. (Yet) a group of them certainly conceal the truth, though they know it” (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.146).

Almighty God also said, “Those who were given the knowledge of it prostrate themselves on their faces when it is recited to them and they say, ‘Glory be to our Lord; the promise of our Lord is fulfilled’” (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.107–8). This means that if it were the promise of our Lord that Muḥammad (ṢAAS) exists and be sent, then that is an indisputable fact. And all praise to Him capable of whatever he wishes; there is nothing he is incapable of doing.

And the Almighty said, making reference to the priests and monks, “And when they hear what was revealed to the Messenger, you see their eyes overflow with tears for the truth they recognize. They say, ‘O God, we believe, so write us down among those bearing witness’” (*sūrat al-Māʾida*, V, v.83).

In the story of the Negus, Salmān, ‘Abd Allāh b. Salām and others, as will come hereafter, there are many testimonials to this effect. And all praise and power are to God.

In the explanatory notes relating to the lives of the prophets (in the text *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya: The Beginning and the End*) we referred to their descriptions of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of his towns of birth and of refuge, and of his nation. These occur in the accounts of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and others.

Almighty God has related of the last of the prophets of the Israelites, Jesus, son of Mary, that he stood up among his people and addressed them as follows, “I am the Messenger of God to you, verifying what is in the Torah that came before me and announcing the coming of a messenger who will come to you after me and whose name is Aḥmad” (*sūrat al-Ṣaff*, LXI, v.6).

And in the Gospel there are the tidings of *al-Fārqaḷit*, "the Paraclete",⁶⁹ by whom Muḥammad (ṢAAS) is meant.

Al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Yūnus b. 'Amr, from al-'Īzār b. Ḥarb, from 'Ā'isha, God be pleased with her, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "It is written in the Gospel (that he will be) not rough, nor uncouth, not one who shouts loudly in the markets, and does not repay evil with the like, but rather who pardons and forgives."

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated that Fayḍ al-Bajalī related to him, quoting Salām b. Miskīn, from Muqāṭil b. Hayyān who said that the Almighty and Glorious God revealed to Jesus, son of Mary, as follows: "Serve me well and listen and obey, O Son of the pure, chaste, virgin. We have created you without a physical father and have made you a sign for the worlds, so worship me. And explain to the people of Surān, in Syriac, and tell those around you that I am the existent truth that will not pass away. Believe in the Arab *ummi* (unlettered) Prophet; he who has the camel, and wears a *midra'a* (outer garment), and a turban that is his crown, and sandals, and has a cane that is his staff. His hair is curly, his brow is broad, his eyebrows are joined, his eyes are large, his lashes are fine, his eyes are black, his nose is curved, his cheeks are distinct, and his beard is full. The sweat of his face is like pearls; from him the scent of musk emanates. His neck is like a silver vessel, and along his collarbone gold seems to flow. He has hairs that grow long and soft from his throat down to his navel, his stomach bearing no other hair. He is broad of fingers and toes. He overshadows all when he is with others. When he walks he seems to emerge from the rock and flow from a stream. He has few progeny, as if he wanted males as his offspring."

This is also how al-Bayhaqī related this account, through Ya'qūb b. Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqī related that 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥakam b. Rāfi' b. Sinān said, "Some of my older male relatives told me that they had in their possession a document they had inherited before Islam and still had when God brought Islam. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina they told him of it and brought it to him. In it was written, 'In the name of God, His words are truth while those of evil-doers shall perish. This statement is for a nation that will come at the end of time who will wash their extremities and wear a loincloth around their waists. They will plunge into the seas after their enemies. They will perform prayers that would have saved Noah's people from the flood if spoken then, and 'Ād's people would not have been destroyed by the wind, and Thamūd's would not have been destroyed by the shouting. In the name of God, His words are truth,

69. For the interpretation of the Comforter or "Paraclete" (The Gospel according to John, 15.23 ff) as referring to the Prophet (ṢAAS), see Ibn Ishāq, *Sirat Rasūl Allāh*, Vol. I (Turāth al-Islam series), ed. M. al-Saqqā et al., p. 233. A Guillaume's trans., *The Life of Muhammad* (Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 104, may also be consulted.

while those of evil-doers shall perish.' The document then recounted another story. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was astonished at what was read to him from it."

We recounted, regarding the verse in *sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, "whom they find written down along with them in the Torah and the Gospel" (VII, v.157) the story of Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Umawī when (Abū Bakr) al-Ṣiddiq sent him with a group of men to Heraclius, calling upon him to worship God, Almighty and Glorious is He. He related how Heraclius brought out for them pictures of the prophets in a piece of cloth, from Adam to Muḥammad (ṢAAS). It showed how they had all looked. Then he related how, when he brought out the picture of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) Heraclius stood up to show his respect for him. He then sat down again and gazed at it, contemplating it closely. The group then asked him where he had obtained the picture and he responded, "Adam asked his Lord to show him all the prophets he had produced. And God did reveal their pictures to him. They were kept in the treasury of Adam, peace be upon him, where the sun sets. And *Dhū al-Qarnayn* (Alexander) took them out and gave them to Daniel."

The account continues, "Heraclius then stated, 'O how I wish I could leave my kingdom and were a slave to the worst of your kings till I die.' He then dismissed us, giving us generous gifts, and we left."

When the group returned to Abū Bakr and related to him what they had seen, how he had rewarded them, and what he had said, he wept and said, "Poor man! If God had wished good for him, He would have done so." Then he said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) related to us that they and the Jews would find among them the description of Muḥammad (ṢAAS)."

Al-Ḥākim related this tradition in full. It is written down here from the exegesis. Al-Bayhaqī related it in *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*).

Al-Umawī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād related to him from Ibn Ishāq who said that Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya related to him, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAmr b. Umayya, who said, "I brought in some slaves from the Negus who had given them to me. They said, 'O ʿAmr, if we saw the Messenger of God, we would recognize him without you telling us.' Abū Bakr passed by, so I asked them, 'Is that he?' 'No,' they replied. ʿUmar went by and I asked, 'Is that he?' 'No,' they responded.

"We went inside the house and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went by and then they called out to me, 'O ʿAmr that is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' When I looked I saw it was he, yet no one had told them so. They recognized him from the writings they had."

We previously recounted the warning made by Sabaʾ to his people, and how he had announced to them the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in poetry we gave earlier in his biography. So there is no need to repeat it. Also we

earlier recounted the words of the two rabbis to Tubba', the Yemeni, when he besieged the people of Medina, telling him that it was to be the place of refuge for a prophet at the end of time. And so he retired from the city and composed verses that include his salutations to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The Story of Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite and his foretelling the coming of the *ummi* Prophet.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Sahl al-Kharā'itī stated in his book *Ḥawātif al-Jānn (Calls of the Jinn)* that 'Alī b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥakīm, quoting 'Amr b. Bakr – who was the son of Bakkār al-Qa'nabī – from Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim, from Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās who said that when when Sayf b. Dhū Yazan came to power over Abyssinia (Ibn al-Mundhir said that his name was al-Nu'mān b. Qays), that being two years after the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a delegation of Arabs, including poets, went to congratulate and praise him and to recognize his achievements.

Among those who went to him was one delegation from Quraysh that included 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān, and Khuwaylid b. Asad, along with other Quraysh leaders. They went to Ṣan'ā' to see him, but he was in Ra's Ghumdān to which Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt made reference in the line of poetry:

"Drink up, may you enjoy it, with your crown raised upon your head at Ra's Ghumdān, a home for you to stay in."

The chamberlain went in to him and told the King where they were and he gave them permission to attend him. When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib arrived he asked to speak with the King, who replied, "If you are a man who speaks before kings, then I give you permission to do so now." 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib responded, "God has placed you, O King, in a high, impregnable, lofty, and splendid position, having given you growth in a spot where your roots have developed strong and well, firmly established, and eminently branched, in the most noble of lands, the best of origins. You are, may you be immune to curses, the King of the Arabs, their springtime that their land brings to growth, the head of the Arabs to which you give leadership, their pier upon which they depend, their refuge to which people have recourse. Your forebears were the best ever, and from them you came to us as the best successor. None with such forebears could fail, none perish with you as their successor. O King, we are the people of God's sanctuary, the custodians of His house. He who delighted you by removing the cares that oppressed us has brought us up to you, and so we are a delegation of congratulation, not of complaint."

The King asked, "And who are you who speak?"

He replied, "I am 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim." "Our sister's son?" "Yes." "Approach then." When he had done so the King addressed him and the delegation, saying, "Welcome indeed to you; may you enjoy your stay and find us generous hosts. The King has heard your speeches and of your kinship and accepted your petition. You are welcome at all times. You will be honoured as long as you stay, and awarded gifts when you leave."

The Arab delegation then went off to the guest quarters where they stayed a month having no access to the King but not being given permission to leave. He then again turned his attention fully to them and sent for 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with whom he sat alone, close by himself. He then said, "O 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, I am going to reveal to you a secret I know that I would not reveal to anyone else. But I believe you worthy of it and will tell you of it. Let you keep it to yourself until God makes His purpose known. For God will achieve His goal."

"I have found in the hidden book and the treasured knowledge we preserve and protect for ourselves alone certain information of vital and critical importance that affects the honour and virtue of mankind in general, your community in particular, and you in person."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib asked, "O King, the like of you brings joy and good! What is it, O he for whom company after company of bedouins would sacrifice themselves?"

He replied, "When a youth is born in Tihāma who has a sign upon him, a birthmark between his shoulders, he shall have leadership and through him you shall have primacy till Judgement Day."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib exclaimed, "May you be immune to curses, I have been better rewarded than any visitor before! And were it not for the great dignity, honour and glory of the King, I would ask him whose coming it is he is announcing such as to bring such joy to me."

Ibn Dhū Yazan responded, "This is the time for his birth, or he may have already been born. His name is to be Muḥammad. His father and his mother will die and his grandfather and his uncle will care for him, and hold him always dear. God will send him plainly and He will make us his helpers, through whom God will give power to His allies, humble His enemies, strike people down everywhere, render permissible the most precious of things on earth, destroy the idols, extinguish the fires, worship the All-Merciful, rout out the devil, his word being final, his rule being justice, demanding goodness and acting it, averting from evil and abolishing it."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib responded, "O King, may your power increase, your glory rise, your kingdom last, and your life be long, such is my origin. And so if power is coming to me plainly, then it has all become somewhat clear to me."

Ibn Dhū Yazan responded, "By the House that has a screen and the marks on the idols, you O 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib are, without doubt, his grandfather."

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib fell down prostrate in worship. The King then said, “Lift your head, calm yourself, and be content. Did you have any prior sense of what I told you?”

“O King,” he replied, “I had one son in whom I delighted and whose fond companion I was. I married him to a noble lady of his tribe, Āmina b. Wahb, and she had a son I named Muḥammad. But his father died, then his mother, and I and his uncle brought him up.”

Ibn Dhū Yazan then said, “What I told you is as you told me. Take care of your boy and protect him from the Jews; for they are his enemies. God will give them no path to him. Keep what I have told you from the group with you, for I am concerned that they or their children may feel some rivalry at your having the leadership and so scheme and plot his destruction. If I were not aware that I will die before his mission, I would take my men and cavalry and go to Yathrib, the seat of his reign. For I find in previous knowledge and the Scriptures that it will be in Yathrib that he will establish his power, there that he will find those to aid him, and there that his grave will be. If I were not concerned with protecting him from curses and from bodily harm, I would make public all about him despite his youth and would have crushed the Arabs’ nobles and leaders under his foot. But I am charging you with that since I do not find inadequate those who are with you.”

He then ordered that each one of them be presented with ten male and ten female slaves, one hundred camels, two sets of fine, striped clothing, five rotls of gold, ten rotls of silver, and a receptacle filled with ambergris.

For ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib he ordered ten times that amount. He told him to come back to him after one year, but Ibn Dhū Yazan died before the year had passed.

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib used often to say, “O Tribe of Quraysh, let not any one of you envy me the generosity of the king’s gift, large though it was, for it will not last forever. But do envy me the reputé, honour and pride there will be for me and for my ancestors to come.”

He would be asked, “When will that be?” And he would then reply, “It will one day be known, though after some period.”

On this subject Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams spoke the verses,

“We brought away good counsel, carrying it in bags on our mounts and on the saddle bags of camels, male and female;

Their grazing grounds stripped bare, rising high up to Ṣan‘ā’ from a deep ravine,

Leading us to Ibn Dhū Yazan, their appetite carrying them across the scant fodder of the road,

Feeding in their imagination on the lightning flashing constantly.

When they reached Ṣan‘ā’ they stayed in the home of the king and of ancient dignity.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related it thus in *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) through ʿAmr b. Bakīr b. Bakkār al-Qaʿnabī. Then Abū Nuʿaym said, “I was told on the authority of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAfir b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ṣafar b. ʿAfir b. Zurʿa b. Sayf b. Dhū Yazan who said it was related to him by his father Abū Yazan Ibrāhīm, and by his uncle Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Rajāʾ, and his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAfir, from his father, from Zurʿa b. Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite who said, ‘When my grandfather Sayf b. Dhū Yazan gained control over Abyssinia . . .’,” and he related it in full.

Abū Bakr al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq al-Qalūṣī related to him, quoting al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Faḍl b. Abū Sawiyya that he was informed by his father from his father ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Abū Sawiyya, from his grandfather Abū Sawiyya, from his father Khalīfa, who said that he asked Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿa b. Sawāʾa b. Khathʿam b. Saʿd, how was it his father named him Muḥammad. He replied that he asked his father the same question, and he replied, “Four men from Banū Tamīm, including myself, went on a trip. The group consisted of myself, Sufyān b. Mujāshīʿ b. Dārim, Usāma b. Mālik b. Jundab b. al-ʿAqīd and Yazīd b. Rabīʿa b. Kināna b. Ḥurbūṣ b. Māzin. We travelled to see Ibn Jafna, the King of Ghassān. When we were overlooking Syria we alighted at a stream where there were some small trees and we talked together. A monk overheard our conversation and, as he looked down on us, he said, ‘That language (of yours) is not the speech of this country.’ We replied, ‘No, we’re from a tribe of Muḍar.’ ‘From which subtribe?’ he asked. ‘From Khindif,’ we told him. ‘Very soon will be the mission of a prophet who will be the very last one of all prophets. Hurry to him and take your chances with him and you’ll be wise.’ We asked him, ‘What is his name?’ ‘His name is Muḥammad,’ he replied.

He went on, “When we came back from the land of Ibn Jafna each one of us had a son and each one named his Muḥammad.”

This means that each of them wanted his own son to be this Prophet whose coming had been foreseen.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Saʿd related to him, quoting Ḥāzim b. ʿAqqāl b. al-Zahr b. Ḥabīb b. al-Mundhir b. Abū al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Samawʿal b. ʿĀdiyā, quoting Jābir b. Jaddān b. Jamīʿ b. ʿUthmān b. Sammāk b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Samawʿal b. ʿĀdiyā that when death was close to al-Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir, his people of Ghassān gathered around him and said, “You know that God’s decree for you is near. We used to tell you in your youth to get married, but you refused. This brother of yours, al-Khazraj, has five sons, but you have none other than Mālik.” He replied, “No one shall perish who has left behind the like of Mālik. He who is capable of drawing fire out of stone is capable of giving progeny to Mālik, and fine heroic progeny too. Everyone, in any case, is headed for death.”

He then went to Mālik and said, "O son, (if it is a matter of choice, then choose) death over infamy, punishment over blame, stoicism over rage. The grave is better than poverty. And those few in number are those humiliated. Those who can attack are those who can escape. And defending women is part of being honourable. Time is of two days – one for you and one against. If it's going for you, don't overdo it, if against you don't give up. Either state will exhaust itself. Neither crowned kingship nor despised ridicule are permanent. Greet your day well, and God will bless you." He then spoke the following verses:

"I witnessed the taking of prisoners at the battle of Al-Muḥarriq, and I lived (to see) God's punishment for the sin (of Thamūd) at al-Ḥijr

I never saw any man, king or pauper, who was not on his way to the grave.

All glory be to Him who destroyed Thamūd and Jurhum; He will leave for me my progeny till time's end,

So that they will delight the kin of 'Amr b. 'Āmir (and protect them) against those who seek revenge.

And even if time had not worn me out and turned my head grey – for greyness comes with age –

We do have a Lord sitting high upon his throne who knows what good and evil there will be.

Has it not come to my people that God has a message by which good and happy people can succeed

When the Messenger was sent out from Ghālib's tribe at Mecca, between Mecca and al-Ḥijr?

There; so seek his victory for your country, O tribe of 'Āmir, for happiness is in victory."

Thereupon, so the account states, he died.

CHAPTER ON THE CRIES OF THE SPIRITS, CONSISTING OF WHAT WORDS OF INSPIRATION THE SPIRITS GAVE TO THE TONGUES OF SOOTHSAYERS, AND WHICH WERE TO BE HEARD BY THE IDOLS.

We previously reported the words of Shiqq and Saṭīḥ to Rabi'a b. Naṣr, King of Yemen, announcing the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of his being,

"A chaste messenger to whom revelation comes from the All-High."

Regarding his birth, there would come the words of Saṭīḥ to 'Abd al-Masīḥ, "when many recitations have been made, Lake Sāwa dried up, and the sceptre-bearer has appeared", by which he was referring to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we will explain in detail.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān al-Ju'fī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting 'Amr – he being Muḥammad b. Zayd – that Sālim told him from

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar who said, “I never heard ‘Umar ever say of anything, ‘I think it so’ without it being as he thought it would.”

“While ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was seated one day, a handsome man passed by. ‘Umar said, ‘Either I’m mistaken or that man has not adopted Islam, or maybe he was a soothsayer. Bring him to me.’

“So he was summoned and told the same. He commented, ‘I never thought I would meet a Muslim man in the manner I did today!’

“‘I invite you to tell me about yourself.’

“‘I was a soothsayer in the old days before Islam,’ he told him.

“‘And what was the strangest thing your female *jinni* friend, your channel, brought you?’

“‘Once, in the market, she came to me and I recognized that she was in a state of panic. She said, “Do you not see the spirits and their despondency, their despair after their decadence, and their clinging to their fast mounts and to the cloth under their saddles?”

“‘Umar said, ‘He spoke true. While I was asleep near their gods a man came with a calf that he sacrificed. And I then heard a voice cry out louder than any I had ever heard before. It said, “O Jalīḥ, a success! An eloquent man! He says, ‘There is no God but God!’” Everyone jumped up, and I said, “I’ll not leave till I know what’s behind this!” Then (the voice) called out, “O Jalīḥ, a success, an eloquent man! He says ‘There is no God but God!’” So I arose, and soon thereafter it was said, “This was a prophet.”’

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this tradition.

The man speaking here was Sawwād b. Qārib al-Azdī, called al-Sadūsī, of the people of al-Sarāt of the Balqā’ mountains. He had the honour of being a Companion and envoy of the Prophet (SAAS). Abū Ḥatīm and Ibn Mandah stated that Sa‘īd b. Jubayr and Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī quoted him. Al-Bukhārī said, “He had the honour of being a Companion.” Similarly Aḥmad b. Rūḥ al-Bardha‘ī, the *ḥāfiẓ*, included his name among the Companions, quoting al-Dārquṭnī and others besides these two. The *ḥāfiẓ* ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Sa‘īd al-Miṣrī said that his name was spelled, “Sawād”, not “Sawwād” b. Qārib. ‘Uthmān al-Waqqāṣī related from Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraẓī that he was a Yemeni noble man.

Abū Nu‘aym mentioned him in *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*). The account relating to him was also told by others at greater length but based upon al-Bukhārī’s account.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that a reliable source related to him, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b, the freed-man of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, that it was told to him that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, was one day sitting in the mosque of the Messenger of God (SAAS) when an Arab came in looking for

him. When 'Umar looked at him he commented, "That man is still a polytheist, still an unbeliever, or maybe he was a soothsayer before Islam."

The man greeted him, then sat down. 'Umar addressed him, "Have you become a Muslim?" "Oh yes, O Commander of the Faithful," the man replied. "Were you a soothsayer before Islam?" 'Umar asked.

The man replied, "Glory be to God, O Commander of the Faithful, you're casting suspicion on me; and you are receiving me with words I never heard you use to any other of your subjects since you came to power."

"O God, forgive me," exclaimed 'Umar. "Before Islam we were involved in things far worse than that. We worshipped idols and adopted images until God favoured us with His Messenger and with Islam."

"Yes, by God, O Commander of the Faithful. I was a soothsayer before Islam."

"Then tell me what your channel had informed you."

"It came to me one month or so before Islam and said, 'Do you not see the spirits and their despondency, their despair for their religion, and their clinging to their fast mounts and to the cloth under their saddles?'"

Ibn Ishāq commented that the preceding quotation was rhymed prose and not poetry.

"At that, 'Umar said, addressing the people around him, 'I swear, I was once near an idol, before Islam, along with a group of Quraysh. An Arab had sacrificed a calf and we were waiting for him to divide it up so we would have our share. Then I heard a voice louder than I had ever heard before coming out from the calf's belly. This was a month or so before Islam. The voice said, 'O Dhariḥ, success is won! A man is crying out and saying, "There is no God but God."'"

Ibn Hishām commented, "Another version has the words as, 'A man is crying out, his language eloquent, and saying, "There is no God but God."'"

He went on, "A scholar learned in poetry recited to me the lines,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their grief and their gripping their cloth-blankets on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the believing spirits are not like the impure ones.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya'fā al-Mawṣili stated that it was related to him by Yahyā b. Ḥijr b. al-Nu'mān the Syrian, and also by 'Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Anbārī, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Waqqāṣī, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī, who said that while 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God bless him, was one day seated, a man passed him by and someone asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, do you know this passer-by?" "Who is he?", he asked. They replied, "That is Sawwād b. Qārib whose channel came to him and told him about the rising of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

‘Umar sent for him and asked him whether he was Sawwād b. Qārib, and the man replied that he was.

“Are you still a soothsayer, as you were?” asked ‘Umar.

The man became angry and replied, “No one greeted me that way since I became a Muslim, O Commander of the Faithful.”

“O glory be to God!” exclaimed ‘Umar, “the polytheism we used to follow was far worse than the soothsaying you were involved in! But tell me what it was your channel told you of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

“Certainly, O Commander of the Faithful. One night I was between sleep and wakefulness when my channel came to me, kicked me and said, ‘Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārib, listen to what I have to say and comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib calling people to God and to His worship.’ He then recited these verses,

‘I was surprised at the spirits and their intentions and their gripping their saddle-bags on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the honest spirits are not like the lying ones.

So head to the finest men of Hāshim, their best men are not like their hindmost.’

“I told it, ‘Let me sleep. I’m very sleepy now.’

“The next night back he came and kicked me, saying, ‘Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārib, and listen to what I am saying. And comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib, calling men to God and to His worship.’ He then recited these verses,

‘I was surprised at the spirits and their knowledge, and their gripping their baggage on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for believing spirits are not like those that disbelieve.

So head for the finest men of Hāshim, amidst their hills and rocks.’

“‘Leave me alone to sleep,’ I pleaded, ‘I’m very sleepy.’

“The third night, again it came and kicked me, saying, ‘Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārib, and listen to what I am saying. And comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib, calling men to God and to His worship.’ He then recited the verses,

‘I was surprised at the spirits and their perceptions, and their gripping their cloth blankets on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the gracious of the spirits are not like the foul ones.

So head for the finest men of Hāshim, and raise your eyes to their head.’

“So I got up, saying, ‘God has put my heart to the test.’ I readied my camel for travel and went off to the city – by which he meant Mecca – and there I saw

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) amidst his Companions. I approached him and said, 'Listen to what I have to say, O Messenger of God.' 'Let's hear it,' he replied. So I recited to him the following verses.

'My channel came to me after rest and sleep, and I never experienced him to be untruthful.

Three nights and each time he would say, "A messenger has come out to you of (the tribe of) Lu'ayy b. Ghālib".

So I tucked up my waist-wrapper, for travel, and my strong and swift she-camel carried me across the deserts

And I bear witness that there is nothing besides God, and that you are safe from any conqueror

And that you are the messenger with closest access of all to God, O you born of the finest and best of men.

So order us to do whatever you are told, O best man ever to walk, even if what comes is such as to make the hair grey;

Intercede for me when intercession time comes, for none but you can help Sawwād b. Qārib.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions were most pleased at what I had said, their pleasure being evident in their faces.

"Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped from his place and came close to him and said, 'I wanted to hear that from you. Can your channel come to you today?'

"But after I had read the Qur'ān, then never again; God's book does away with any need for spirits.

"Umar then said, 'Once we were in a quarter of Quraysh known by their name of the Dhariḥ family. They had sacrificed a calf and the butcher was cutting it up when we heard a voice emitting from its stomach. We could not see anything (there), however. It said, 'O family of Dhariḥ, success is won. A voice is crying out, its tongue eloquent, giving witness that there is no God but God.'"

This account is abbreviated, as that of al-Bukhārī shows. They do substantiate that the one hearing the voice from the calf was Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Sahl al-Kharā'iṭī stated, in his work that he compiled on the cries of the spirits, that Abū Mūsā 'Imrān b. Mūsā al-Mu'addib related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Imrān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, quoting Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Waṣṣābī, from his father, from Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who said that Sawwād b. Qārib al-Sadūsī came in to Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, and the latter said to him, "By God, O Sawwād b. Qārib, I adjure you to say whether nowadays your soothsaying benefits you." He replied, "Glory be to God, O Commander of the Faithful, you've never greeted anyone else the way you have me!" "Glory be to God indeed, O Sawwād," he replied, "our

polytheistic practices were worse than your soothsaying. By God, O Sawwād, I've heard a most strange account relating to you." "Yes indeed, O Commander of the Faithful, strange it certainly was." "Tell me about it," asked 'Umar.

"Well, I was a soothsayer before Islam. One night when I was asleep, my channel came to me, kicked me and said, 'O Sawwād, listen to what I will tell you.' 'Go on,' I said. It then recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their concern, and how they gripped their blankets on their mounts

Heading for Mecca seeking guidance, for those of them that believe are not like those that are evil.

So travel to the best of Hāshim and raise your eyes to their head.'

"But I went to sleep, not caring at all what he had said. Then he came back the second night, kicked me and said, 'Up you get, Sawwād b. Qārib and listen to what I say.' 'Well let's hear it,' I said. He then recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their intentions and their gripping their saddlebags on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the honest spirits are not like the lying ones.

So head for the finest man of Hāshim, for their foremost men are not like their hindmost.'

"His words did intrigue me, somewhat, but I went to sleep. The third night he came again, kicked me and said, 'O Sawwād b. Qārib, are you going to comprehend or not?'"

"'How?' I asked. He explained, 'A prophet has come forth in Mecca calling for worship of his Lord. Go and join him. Listen to what I tell you.' 'Let's hear it,' I said. Then he recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their fright, and how they gripped their cloth blankets to their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the spirits who believe are unlike those who disbelieve.

So travel to the best of Hāshim, between their hills and rocks.'

"So I realized that God wished me well. I went and got a striped garment I had, unsewed it, put it on and placed my feet in the saddle stirrups of my camel and rode off till I reached the Prophet (ṢAAS). He then suggested to me that I become a Muslim, and I did so. I told him what had happened, and he said, 'When the Muslims are all gathered, tell them this.' So when all were assembled, I got up and recited the following verses,

'My channel came to me after rest and sleep, and I never knew him to be untruthful;

Three nights, and each time he would say, "A messenger has come to you out of Luṣayb b. Ghālib."

So I tucked up my waist-wrapper for travel, and my strong and swift she-camel carried me across the deserts,

And I know that there is nothing besides God, and that you are safe from any conqueror

And that you are the Messenger with closest access of all to God, O you born of the finest and best of men.

So order us to do whatever you are told, O best messenger, even if what comes is such as to make the hair grey.'

"The Muslims," he concluded, "were delighted with this."

"Well," asked 'Umar, "do you have any sense of that now?" "Since God has taught me the Qur'ān now, then no."

Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī related this anecdote from his father, from 'Umar b. Ḥaḥṣ. He said that when Sawwād b. Qārib came to 'Umar, the latter asked, "O Sawwād b. Qārib, what remains from your being a soothsayer?"

He got angry and retorted, "O Commander of the Faithful. I don't think you greeted any Arab like that before."

When 'Umar saw the anger in his face, he said, "Look Sawwād, the polytheism we were previously involved in was worse." Then he went on, "Tell me, Sawwād, that story I've so wanted to hear from you."

"Certainly. Once I was tending some camels of mine at al-Sarāt. One night when I was asleep a channel I had came to me, kicked me and said, 'Up you get, Sawwād b. Qārib! A prophet has appeared in Tihāma who calls people to the truth and to the straight path.'" He then related the story as given above, adding one last line to the poetry. It read:

"And intercede for me on a day when no relative than you will be of any use for Sawwād b. Qārib."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him: "Go to your people and speak these verses to them."

The ḥāfiẓ Ibn 'Asākir related this story through Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from al-Ḥakam b. Ya'qūb. 'Aṭā' al-Muḥāribī, from 'Abbād b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr who said that Sawwād b. Qārib al-Azdi recounted to him, "I was sleeping up on a mountain of al-Sarāt when someone came and kicked me . . ." And he went on to tell the story too.

It was also related through Muḥammad b. al-Barrā', from Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, from Abū Ishāq from al-Barrā', who said that Sawwād b. Qārib stated, "I was living in India when one night my channel came to me . . ." and he told the whole story. Then, after reciting the final piece of poetry, he said, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed so loud his back teeth were visible, and he commented, 'You did well, Sawwād!'"

Abū Nu'aym stated in his book *Dalā'il al-Nabuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, quoting

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥasan, quoting ‘Alī b. Ḥarb, quoting Abū al-Mundhir Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib, from his father, from ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umānī, who said that they had a man called Māzin b. al-‘Aḏūb who was custodian of an idol at a village called Samāyā, in ‘Umān. Banū al-Ṣāmit revered this idol, along with Banū Ḥuṭāma and Muhra, who were related to Māzin through his uncles on his mother’s side, her name being Zaynab d. ‘Abd Allāh b. Rabī‘a b. Khuwayṣ, of Banū Namrān.

Māzin said, “One day we brought a ewe to the idol for slaughter, it being our sacrifice, and I heard a voice emanating from the idol saying, ‘O Māzin, hear and rejoice. Goodness has emerged and evil been submerged. A prophet has been sent from Muḍar with God’s greatest religion. Abandon something carved from stone and you will be saved from scorching fire.’

“I was extremely scared to hear this.

“Then, a few days later, we sacrificed another ewe, and heard a voice from the idol say, ‘Come to me, come close and hear what you cannot ignore. This is a prophet who has been sent; he has brought truth revealed. Believe in him so that you will avoid the heat of a fire that will flame, a fire set alight by the stone.’”

Māzin continued, “This is amazing, I thought. And this is good intended for me. Then a man from Ḥijāz arrived, and I asked him what news there was back home. He replied, ‘A man called Aḥmad has emerged who tells everyone who comes to him to respond to God’s Messenger.’”

“This news relates to what I heard, I thought. So I rushed to the idol and broke it into small pieces. I then mounted up and rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God then opened my heart to Islam, which I accepted. I spoke the verses,

‘I broke Yājūr into pieces, there now being a Lord through whom we would see false guidance and delusion,

Through the Hāshimite, who led us out of our error, his religion having been unknown to me.

O rider, tell ‘Amr and its brothers that I detest those who said, “My Lord is Yājir.””

By ‘Amr here he means al-Ṣāmit, the silent one. By “brothers” he means Ḥuṭāma.

“I said, ‘O Messenger of God, I’m a man who is crazy for pleasure, for women and wine. But now the years are pressing hard, the money is gone, the concubines have thinned out, and I have no son. Please pray to God to alleviate my suffering, to make us modest, and to grant me a son.’

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) then spoke a prayer: ‘O God, exchange his pleasure-seeking with Qur’ān readings, his immorality with morality, his sin and corruption with chastity, make him modest, and grant him a son.’”

Māzin went on: "And so God alleviated my suffering and 'Umān became fertile. I married four noble women, learned by heart a portion of the Qur'ān, and God granted me my son Ḥayyān." He then recited the verses:

"My mount galloped towards you, O Messenger of God, traversing the deserts from 'Umān to al-'Arj,

So that you would intercede for me, O you who are the best of those who walked on earth; and God would forgive me, and I return victorious.

To people whose religion I contradict; their beliefs and likes are different from mine.

I was a man crazy over wine and women all my youth, until my boyhood almost wore out;

He substituted fear and anxiety for the wine, and gave me chastity for immortality, and reinforced my virtue.

So my interest and intent turned to the holy fight, and to God I direct my fasting, to God my pilgrimage."

He went on, "So when I came back to my people, they censured me and cursed me, and set one of their poets to attack me. And I realized that if I responded in like kind, I would only harm myself.

"So I moved away from them. Then a great delegation of them came to me; I had been formerly in charge of their affairs. They told me, 'O Cousin, we hate what has happened. If you can put it all aside, then return and be in charge of our affairs. And we'll not bother you or whatever is in your religion.'

"So I did return with them and spoke the lines,

'Your hatred for us is bitter in taste, whereas our dislike for you, O my people, tasted like buttermilk;

Time (fate) would not notice if your faults were laid out, but all of you when our faults are extolled are keenly aware;

Our poet does not answer you back, while your poet is eloquent and flamboyant in cursing us.

Towards you, you should know, there is in (our) hearts only irritation, while in yours there is hatred and loathing.'"

Māzin ended: "Then God led them all to Islam."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym related from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqayl, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "The first news of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina was as follows. A certain woman of Medina had a channel who would come to her in the form of a white bird. It alighted on a wall they had and she asked it, 'Why don't you come on down so that we can talk together and exchange news?' It replied, 'A Prophet has been sent in Mecca who has prohibited fornication. And so our pleasure is prevented.'"

Al-Wāqidi stated that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz related to him, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, as follows, “The first news that arrived in Medina about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that a woman called Fāṭima had a channel (a male *jinn*) that came to her one day but stood on a wall. She asked it, ‘Aren’t you coming down?’ ‘No, a Messenger has been sent who has prohibited fornication,’ he replied.

“One of the early Muslims related the same account also. He mentioned that the woman’s channel was called Ibn Lūdhān, and stated that he had been absent from her a long time, and then when he did come she reproached him and he replied, ‘I went to the Messenger and heard him forbidding fornication; so good-bye to you!’”

Al-Wāqidi stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda who said that ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān stated, “We left in a camel caravan for Syria, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission. When we were on the outskirts of Syria where a female soothsayer lived, she stood in our way and said that her channel came to her and stopped at her door. So she asked him to come in, but he replied, ‘There’s no way for that; Aḥmad has come forth and an unendurable situation has arisen.’”

‘Uthmān continued, “Then I left and, upon returning to Mecca discovered that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had announced his mission in Mecca and was calling people to God the Almighty and Glorious.”

Al-Wāqidi stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zuhri related to him, saying, “It used to be that inspired voices were heard; but when Islam came these were banned.”

There was a woman of Banū Asad named Sa‘ira who had a spirit companion. When it learned that inspired voices were not being allowed, he came to her and entered her chest where he made such an uproar that she lost her mind. From inside her chest he began shouting, “Embracing has been banned. Companionship has been abolished! And an unendurable situation has arisen! Aḥmad has forbidden fornication.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Kharā‘īṭi stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī – in Egypt – related to him, quoting ‘Umāra b. Zayd, quoting ‘Isā b. Yazīd, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kisān, from someone who told it to him, from Mirdās b. Qays al-Sadūsī, who said, “I was present with the Prophet (ṢAAS) when the subject of soothsaying came up and the changes that had occurred in it as a result of his coming forth. I said to him, ‘O Messenger of God, some of that used to go on among us. I can tell you about a slave-girl we had called al-Khulaṣa about whom nothing but good was known until she came to us and said, “O tribe of Daws something very strange has happened to me; did you ever know anything except good (about me)?” We asked, “What’s wrong?” She replied, “I was out with my sheep when a cloud overshadowed me, and I had

some strange experience, some sense of a man with a woman. I was afraid I might be pregnant." Eventually came the time for her to give birth, and she did produce a boy who had lop-ears like those of a dog. He remained with us till the age when he would play with other boys. Then one day he jumped into the air, threw off his waist wrapper and began screaming out at the top of his voice, saying, 'Yā wayla, yā wayla, yā 'awla yā 'awla, woe on the sheep, woe on Fahm who is the fire brand, there are horsemen, by God, behind the mountain path, and among them are youths who are handsome, noble.'"

"So we mounted up, our weapons ready, and asked, 'O you, woe to you, what do you see?' He asked, 'Is there some menstruating girl among you?' 'Who can find one for us?' we asked. An old sheikh of ours said, 'Yes, I have a daughter of a chaste mother.' We told him to bring her at once. So the sheikh brought the girl and (he) went up the mountain, telling her: 'Throw off your clothes and go out in front of them.' He then told our men, 'Follow on after her.' Then he said to one of our men called Aḥmad b. Ḥābis, 'O Aḥmad b. Ḥābis you get the first rider!' So Aḥmad charged and struck the first rider, felling him. And they were defeated and we plundered them. Then we built a house over them which we named 'Dhū al-Khulaṣa'. And this boy never told us anything that did not come out as he said.

"Until your mission, that is, O Messenger of God. One day he told us, 'O tribe of Daws, Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b has encamped.' So we rode off, with him telling us, 'Urge your horses on at speed, and stuff the enemy into their graves! Sweep them away in the morning and drink wine in the evening!'

"We met them in battle, but they utterly defeated us. So when we returned to him we demanded, 'What's wrong with you? What have you done to us?' When we looked at him we saw his eyes all red and his ears standing straight up. He was absolutely furious, almost exploding with anger. Then he left.

"We rode away and eventually forgave him, and nothing happened for a while. Then he summoned us and said, 'How would you like to go on a raid that will give you glory, and provide you fine booty so that you'll have a real treasure?' 'We need that more than anyone,' we replied. So he said, 'Then mount up.' We did so and asked, 'What next?' He replied: 'Attack Banū al-Ḥārith b. Maslamal' Then he said, 'Stop.' So we did, and he said, 'Attack Fahm!' Then he went on, 'But you've no bad blood with them; attack Muḍar; they have horses and cattle.' Then he said, 'No; attack Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. They're few in number and under protection.' Then he said, 'No; instead go after (the tribe of) Ka'b b. Rabī'a. first, lodge them at the estate of 'Āmir b. Sa'sa'a, then do battle with them!'

"So we engaged them in battle but they defeated us, indeed humiliated us. So when we returned we asked him, 'Woe on you! What are you doing to us?' He replied, 'I just don't know; he who was telling me the truth is now lying to me. Imprison me in my house for three days, then come back.'

"We did that. Then, after three days, we returned to him and let him out. And to our surprise he was like a stone of fire! He said, 'O Daws, heaven is protected! And the best of prophets has come forth!' 'Where?' we asked. 'In Mecca; and I am dying, so bury me on a mountain top, for I shall burst into flames. If you leave me (unburied) I will be a source of your shame. When you see me catch fire and flame, then throw three stones at me and with each one say, 'In your name, O God.' Then I will die down and go out.'

"And he did die and burst into flame! We did what he had told us, throwing three stones and saying after each one 'O God, in your name!' And he did die down and go out.

"Things went on as before until the pilgrims came and told us of your mission, O Messenger of God."

Very strange!

Al-Wāqidi related to us, from his father, from the son of Abū Dhīb, from Muslim b. Jandab, from al-Naḍr b. Sufyān al-Hudhalī, from his father, who said, "We left for Syria on a camel caravan and when we were between al-Zarqā' and Muḥān, having stopped there to rest for the night, along came a horseman, seemingly somehow between earth and sky, who called out, 'Get up, all you who sleep! This is no time to rest! Aḥmad has come forth and put all the spirits to flight!'

"We were terrified, though brave men we were, all having heard this.

"So we travelled back to our people and when we arrived we found them discussing a conflict in Mecca among Quraysh about a Prophet who had come forth from among them, from the 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib family, whose name was Aḥmad."

Abū Nu'aym related this.

Al-Kharāṣī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī – in Egypt – related to him, quoting 'Umāra b. Zayd, 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Alā', quoting Yahyā b. 'Urwa, from his father, who said that a group from Quraysh, including Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Qusayy, Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb and 'Uthmān b. al-Huwayrith, were once at a place where they had an idol around which they would assemble. That particular day they had set aside as a holiday each year. They would worship it and make sacrifice of camels to it and then feast, drink wine, and say prayers to it. When they went into it that night, they saw it to be overturned onto its face. They disliked that, so they took it and set it back up as before. Soon, however, it tumbled over violently, but they set it back straight as before. Again, for a third time, it fell over.

Seeing this they were both amazed and very worried. 'Uthmān b. al-Huwayrith said, "Why is it turning upside down so much? This must be because something has happened." This was occurring during the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born.

ʿUthmān then spoke the following verses,

“O festival idol, around whom assemble the chiefs of delegations come from far and near,

You turn upside down if defeated; tell us why. Is this unimportant, or do you turn in anger?

If this is for some sin we have committed, we will acknowledge it and give up this sin,

But if you have been defeated and turned over in abasement, then among idols you are no Lord, no master.”

They then set the idol back in its position. When they did so, a great voice rang out from inside the idol, saying,

“It fell over because of a newly born, light from whom illuminated all the mountain sides of all the earth, in east and west,

To which all the idols, without exception, fell down and at which the hearts of all the kings of the earth, without exception, trembled in fear.

And the fires of all the Persians died down and went out, the king of the Persians himself spending a night of great anxiety.

The soothsayers of the unknown having been abandoned by their spirits, from them no information coming, true or false.

O Qusayy, come back from your error, come over to Islam and to the wide-open house.”

When they heard this they conferred together in private and some of them said, “Let us be truthful to one another and keep our secret among one another.”

All of them said, “Yes indeed!”

Waraqā b. Nawfal told them, “By God, you all know that your people have no religion. They have made an enormous mistake and abandoned Abraham’s religion. What purpose is there in a stone you circumambulate that does not hear, nor see, nor can do any good or harm? O my people, adopt a religion!”

The account proceeds, “And so thereupon they left, travelling all over asking about the *ḥanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham, God bless him.”

As for Waraqā b. Nawfal, he became a Christian, studied the Scriptures and so became very learned.

ʿUthmān b. al-Huwayrith travelled to the emperor, became a Christian and lived there in high estate with him.

Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl tried to leave but was gaoled. Eventually, however, he did leave, travelling far and wide till he reached al-Raqqa, in the Arabian peninsula. There he met a learned monk whom he told what he wanted to know. Then the monk said, “You are seeking a religion to which you won’t find anyone to lead you. But the time is near for a prophet who will come forth from your land and who will be sent with the *ḥanifiyya* religion.”

When he was told this Zayd headed back for Mecca but the Lakhmites attacked and killed him.

As for ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, he stayed in Mecca until the Prophet (ṢAAS) was sent. He left thereafter with the others who went to Abyssinia. Once there, he became a Christian and abandoned Islam. He remained there till he died, still a Christian.

There is testimony for this in the earlier account given of the life of Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl.

Al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Ṣāliḥ Abū Bakr al-Warrāq related to him, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, quoting his father, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from al-Zuhri, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Anas al-Sulamī, from al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās who said he was one day busy impregnating a milch-camel at midday when a white dove appeared before him with a rider on its back all dressed in clothing as white as milk. The rider said to him, “O ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, don’t you see that the heavens have assembled their guards, that war has choked on its own breath, that the mounts have their riding blankets saddled, and that there (has come) he who brought piety and devotion on Monday, the night of the third day, the master of the furthest-riding camel?”

Al-ʿAbbās then said, “So I returned in a fright, very scared by what I had seen and heard. Then I went to an idol we had called al-Ḍimār that we used to worship; it would address us from inside its belly. I swept up all around it, anointed it and kissed it, and then a voice sounded from inside it saying,

‘Tell all the tribes of Sulaym that al-Ḍimār is gone, and that the people of the mosque have triumphed.

Al-Ḍimār is dead, though once he was worshipped, before prayer with the Prophet Muḥammad.

He who inherited the prophethood and the right path following the son of Mary is from Quraysh, rightly guided.’”

He continued, “So off I went until I reached my people and told them what had happened. Then I left, along with 300 of my men of Banū Ḥāritha, to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was at Medina. We entered the mosque and when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me he said, ‘O ʿAbbās, how did your acceptance of Islam come about?’ I then told him the story. He was delighted, and thereupon I and my men all adopted Islam.”

The *ḥāfiḡ* Abū Nuʿaym related this in the *al-Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) from an account of Abū Bakr b. Abū ʿĀṣim, from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān.

He then recounted it again through al-Aṣmaʿī, who said, that al-Waṣṣāfi related to him, from Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir, from Qabīṣa b. ʿAmr b. Ishāq al-Khuzāʿī, from al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, who said, “My adoption of

Islam first came about this way. My father Mirdās, when near death, recommended to me an idol named Ẹimār he had. So I placed it in a building and established a visitation time, once each day. Now when the Prophet (ṢAAS) came forth, I heard a voice calling out through the night that scared me. So I hurried to Ẹimār seeking its help and heard a voice coming from its belly that said,

'Tell to the tribe of all Sulaym that *al-Anīs* (the close friend)⁷⁰ is gone and that the people of the mosque live on.

"Ẹimār has perished, and he was once worshipped, before the Scripture (was sent) to the Prophet Muḥammad.

"He who has inherited the prophethood and the right path, after the son of Mary, is from Quraysh, rightly guided.'"

He went on, "I kept this from my people. After they had returned from the battle (of the siege of Medina) I was out with my herd on the side of the ravine at Dhāt ʿIrq, asleep, when I heard a voice. Then I saw a man riding on a dove's wing and saying, 'The light appeared on the night before Tuesday along with (the birth of) the master of the she-camel named *al-ʿAdbā*,⁷¹ at the house of Banū al ʿAnqā.' And another voice, from the left, replied, 'Tell the disheartened spirits that the mount has put on its saddle blankets, that heaven has been protected by its guards.'

"I jumped up in fright at this and knew that Muḥammad was a messenger. So I rode my mare as fast as I could till I reached him and pledged him my allegiance. Then I went off, burned Ẹimār in fire, returned again to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and recited to him the following verses:

'By your life, by my making Ẹimār as partner with the Lord of the worlds

And by my leaving the Messenger of God with the Aws tribe around him, those being his helpers;

I am like someone who left the easy ground and sought out the difficult one, to find his path into the most difficult of matters,

So I believed in God, whose servant I am, and opposed those who have begun seeking destruction.

And I turned my face towards Mecca, seeking to declare allegiance to the blessed Prophet of the most noble men,

A Prophet who came to us after Jesus, with a message of truth in which there is the conclusive word.

Entrusted with the Qurʾān, the first Intercessor and the first Messenger to respond to the angels,

He restored the bonds of Islam after they had been broken, making them firm and establishing the rituals.

70. He is referring to the idol Ẹimār.

71. The camel of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was so named.

I meant you, O best man of all the world; you have been situated at the top of all heights and possessed all eminence and honour.

You are the purified one of Quraysh; when they fade away you will remain blessed for the ages.

When the two tribes Kaʿb and Mālik trace their lineage we find you of pure descent, and your fertile women too.”

Al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī, in Egypt, related to him, quoting ʿUmāra b. Zayd, quoting Ishāq b. Bishr and Salama b. al-Faḍl, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq who said that it was related to him by a sheikh from among the Companions whose name was ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd, from the family of Muḥammad b. Maslama, that he said that he was informed that men of Khathʿam used to say, “This is what drew us to Islam. We used to be a people who worshipped idols. One day we were at an idol of ours when a group came to seek the idol’s advice in settling a dispute among them. Suddenly a voice called out to them:

‘O people possessed of bodies, old men and young alike, what are you with your perplexed minds to rely on idols for judgements?’

Are all of you in confusion, sleeping, or do you not see what I see: a shining light, clearing up the darkness, has emerged to view from Tihām?

That is a prophet, Lord of mankind, who has brought Islam after disbelief.

The All-Merciful has honoured him by making him a leader, and a messenger whose words are truthful.

The most just of all judges, he commands prayer and fasting

And piety and reconciliation and drives people away from evil.

And from immorality, idol worship, and sin; he is from Hashim among the elite of leaders

Announcing (his mission) in the sacred land.’

“And when we heard this, we broke away from the idol, came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam.”

Al-Kharāʾiṭī stated that ʿAbd Allāh al-Balawī related to him, quoting ʿUmāra, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAlāʾ, quoting Muḥammad b. Akbar, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, that there was a man from the Banū Tamīm called Rāfiʿ b. ʿUmayr, a highly skilled tracker, the best of all men in travelling at night, and the most intrepid in danger. The Arabs therefore used to call him “Duʿmūṣ of the Arabs”, a name implying his skill in following a trail and his bravery. He recounted how he first adopted Islam, as follows, “One night I was travelling over deep sand when I felt very sleepy. So I dismounted, tied my camel down, rested my head on its leg and went to sleep. Before falling asleep I said a prayer: ‘I seek protection from the master (spirit) of this valley against being harmed or disturbed by evil spirits.’ In my sleep I saw a young man creeping up on my camel, a spear-head in his hand with which he was going to stab her in the throat. At that I

awoke in alarm and, though I looked in all directions, I could see nothing. I told myself it was just a dream. So I went back into a light sleep and saw the same as I had before. Again I awoke, walked all around my camel but saw nothing. Once more I slept, saw the same and awoke to find my camel trembling. Again I slept, saw the vision once more and awoke to find my camel in a disturbed state. I turned around and there was a young man just like I had seen in my dream, carrying a spearhead in his hand which was being restrained by an old man who was reciting:

'O Mālik b. Muḥalhil b. Dithār, easy does it, my mantle and waist-wrapper be your ransom,

Leave the human's camel alone, don't harm it and choose instead whatever of my bulls you want.

You're showing me a side of yourself I never knew, not to honour my relationship to you and my honour.

Going up to him with a poisoned spearhead! Woe to you for doing so, O Abū al-Ghaffār.

If it were not for shame and your family being neighbours, I'd tell you things of me I've not disclosed.'

"After he had spoken thus, the young man responded:

'Did you want to raise and drop our reputation for no contemptible action, O Abū al-ʿĪzār?

They never in the past had a lord among them; it is Banū al-Akhyār who are best.

So go your way, O Muʿakbar; however, the protector was Muḥalhil b. Dithār.'

"While they were thus disputing three bulls emerged from the wilderness and the old man said to the young one, 'Go on now, nephew, just take any one of these you want in compensation for the camel of my human friend here.' So the young man did take one bull and left with it. Then the old man turned to me and said, 'When you go down into some valley or other and are afraid, then say, "I take refuge in God, the Lord of Muḥammad, from the terror of this valley." Don't seek the protection of any spirit because they're all finished.' I asked him, 'Who is this Muhammad?' He replied, 'He is an Arab prophet, neither of the east nor of the west, who was sent down on a Monday.' 'Where does he live?' I asked. 'Yathrib, where there are palm trees', he replied. So I rode off on my mount as soon as dawn broke and rode on and on till I entered Medina (i.e. Yathrib). The Messenger of God (SAAS) saw me and he told me my story before I told him anything about it! He invited me into Islam, and I did accept Islam."

Saʿīd b. Jubayr commented, "We used to think that it was about him that God revealed the words, 'There were human men who used to seek protection from spirit men, and so made them more malicious'" (*sūrat al-Jinn*, LXXII, v.6).

Al-Kharāṣī related, through Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād b. Abū Ḥanīfa, from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿAlī, who said, "If you should be in a valley where you fear lions, then say 'I seek protection from Daniel and the well against the evil of the lion.'"

Al-Balawī recounted, from ʿUmāra b. Zayd, from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq who said that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith related to him, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, the story of ʿAlī's killing the *jinn* in the well which had a flag that was at al-Juhfa. This happened when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him to get water; they (the *jinn*) wanted to prevent him and so they cut up the bucket. He then went down to them; this is a long and very objectionable story. But God knows best.

Al-Kharāṣī stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Muṣʿab the Damascene and others, and also by Sulaymān, son of the daughter of Sharāḥbīl the Damascene, and by ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. al-Ḥajjāj, as by Khālīd b. Saʿīd, from al-Shaʿbī, from a man who said that he was once attending an assembly with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. There also present were a group of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who were discussing the virtues of the Qurʾān. One of them referred to the final verses of *sūrat al-Nahl* (XVI). Another suggested *sūrat Yā Sin* (XXXVI). ʿAlī said, "How about the *Āyat al-Kursī*? ('The Throne Verse', *sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.255). It has 70 words, each one of which has a blessing."

One of those present was ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karīb who was never lost for a comment. He asked, "Where do you stand regarding the invocation, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent'?" ʿUmar said, "Tell us an anecdote, O Abū Thawr?" (addressing ʿAmr).

He responded, "One time, before Islam, I felt terribly hungry, so I urged on my horse into the wilderness, but all I found were some ostrich eggs. As I went further I came across a bedouin sheikh in a tent with a girl beside him who was as beautiful as the rising sun. He also had some young goats. I addressed him, saying, 'Surrender, may your mother be bereft of you!' He raised his head to me and replied, 'Now lad, if you need hospitality, then dismount. If you want help, I'll help you.' But I replied, 'Surrender!' He then recited the following verses,

'We offered you hospitality out of kindness on our part, but you were not converted, in ignorance, acting as the unlucky do.

You came and insulted us and were rude. And your throat would be slashed before you get what you hoped to get from my daughter.'"

He went on: "And then all of a sudden he leapt at me, saying, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent.' Suddenly I felt as if I were beneath him in submission. He then asked, 'Well, shall I kill you or let you go?' 'Let me go,' I said. Then he stood back from me. But at that point my spirit

persuaded me to try again, so I said, 'Surrender! May your mother be bereft of you!' He responded with the verses:

'In the name of God and the All-Merciful, we were victorious there, and by the Most Beneficent it was we conquered.

But the determination of a haughty man will do no good when once we go forth to battle.'

"He then leapt at me, while I was there under him in submission. 'Well,' he said, 'should I kill you or let you go?' 'Let me go,' I replied. He stood back from me and I hurried some small distance away. But then I said to myself, 'O 'Amr, can this old sheikh really defeat you? By God, better you be dead than alive.' So I went back to him and said again, 'Surrender! May your mother be bereft of you!' Again he leapt at me, saying, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent,' and again I suddenly found myself there in submission beneath him. Again he asked, 'Should I kill you or let you go?' Again I replied, 'Let me go.' 'Impossible! Now girl, bring me the sharp dagger.' She brought it to him and he lopped off my forelock! When the Arabs defeated a man and lopped off his forelock they would be placing him into servitude. So I stayed with him for a time as his servant. He then said to me, 'O 'Amr, I want you to ride out into the desert with me. I have fear of you yet am fully confident in the words, "In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent."' "

"So off we went till we came to a valley that was overgrown, awesome and spirit-ridden. He cried out at the top of his voice, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent!' Immediately every bird there left its cover and flew off. He repeated the same cry and every single lion there fled its den. Again he made the cry and all of a sudden there before us was an Abyssinian who had come out at us from the valley, standing there like a tall palm tree. The sheikh said to me, 'O 'Amr, when you see us both go off alone together, then say, "May my master overcome him through the words 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.'"' But when I saw them alone together I said, 'May my master overcome him through al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā.' So the sheikh did nothing. He then came back to me and said, 'You realize you disobeyed me?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'but I won't do it again.' He then said, 'When you see us alone together, then say, "May my master overcome him through the words 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.'"' 'All right,' I agreed. So when I saw them go off alone together I did say, 'May my master overcome him through (the words) "In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent."' The sheikh then threw himself upon the Abyssinian, sliced at him with his sword, slit his stomach open and drew out from his insides something in the form of a black candle. He then said, 'O 'Amr, this is his deceit and his rancour.' He then asked me, 'Do you know who this girl is?' 'No,' I answered.

'This', he replied, 'is al-Fāri'a, daughter of al-Salil al-Jurhumi, a leader of the demon spirits. Those are all her people, her relatives. Every year one man of them makes an attack on me, but God helps me defeat him through the words, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.'" He then said, 'You saw how I treated that Abyssinian. Now I'm really hungry, so get me something to eat.' I rode my mount off into the desert but only found some ostrich eggs. These I brought back for him but found him asleep. Beneath his head there was something that looked like a piece of wood. When I drew it out it was a sword, its size being one hand-span by seven. I struck his legs off with one blow which severed them along with his feet. He sat up on his haunches and cried out, 'May God destroy you! How treacherous you are, traitor!'"

Umar then asked, "What did you do then?"

"Well," Amr replied, "I just kept hitting him till I had chopped him up into little bits." He remained silent in sorrow a while, then went on, reciting the verses:

"Through deceit and from close by you took Islam's brother; I never heard the like in Arabs of former times.

(Even) the non-Arabs would be shamed in their honour to do as you did; may you perish for what you did to this able Lord.

Yet I am amazed that you were able to murder him; and that you did not care how (well) he treated you when you sinned.

He was a chief who had forgiven you often and whose hands clung to you at his place of death.

Yet if I had been acting during Islam as they have done to polytheists and those of the cross,

Then you would have attained by my justice a terrible fate such as to make its sufferer call out in grief and woe."

"And what happened to the slave girl?" he asked. Amr replied, "I then went to her. When she saw me, she said, 'What happened to the sheikh?' 'The Abyssinian killed him,' I replied. 'You lie!' she cried. 'You killed him, by betraying him!' Then she recited the verses:

'O eyes, weep well for the brave warrior, then weep copious droplets more;

Do not tire of weeping, for fate has deceived you (in taking) a trustworthy man who had truth and was patient.

A man who was pious, stately and wise, a man worthy of glory on Judgement Day.

How sad I am that you let Amr live, for time has given you up to your fate.

By my life, if you had not sought him out in betrayal, you would have faced a lion as sharp as a sword.'

"What she said greatly angered me so I drew my sword and entered the tent to kill her. But in the tent I found no one. So I herded up the cattle and came home."

This is a curious anecdote.

It is obvious that the sheikh was a demon spirit, one of those that adopted Islam and learned the Qur'an, one thing he used being the invocation "In the name of God the most Merciful, the most Beneficent." He would seek protection by speaking it.

Al-Kharāṣī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī related to him, quoting 'Umāra b. Zayd, saying that 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Alā' related to him, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from his grandmother Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, who said, "Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl and Waraqa b. Nawfal used to tell how they went to the Negus after the retreat of Abraha from Mecca. They would say, 'When we went in to him, he told us, "O you two men of Quraysh, tell me truthfully. Was there born among you a boy whose father wanted to sacrifice him and who had divining arrows cast about him, but who was saved and had many camels sacrificed for him?"

"Yes,' we replied. 'Do you have knowledge of him then, and of what became of him?' We replied, 'He married a woman named Āmina, daughter of Wabḥ; he left her pregnant then went away.' 'Do you know if a child was born or not?'

"Waraqā b. Nawfal replied, 'I will tell you, O King. I had spent a night at an idol of ours around which we used to circumambulate and worship. Suddenly I heard a voice emanating from its belly that said, "The Prophet is born and so the kings are abased, falsehood is averted and polytheism is dead."

"The idol therupon tipped over on to its face.'

"Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl then spoke, 'I had a similar experience, O King.' 'Let's hear it,' he was told. He related as follows, 'On just such a night as he told of, I left my people, who were talking about Āmina's being pregnant, and went to Mt. Abū Qubays, wanting to be alone there because of something that was bothering me. Suddenly I saw a man descend from the skies who had two green wings. He stood atop Mt. Abū Qubays, then looked down over Mecca and said, 'Satan is humiliated and the idols are cast down. The 'Trustworthy One' is born.' He then spread out a cloth he had with him and floated away on it to the east and west. I saw that he had lit up all beneath the sky and a light was shining so brightly that it almost blinded me. I was awed by what I had seen. The man who had called out flapped his wings and flew down to the *ka'ba*, a light shining from him that illuminated all Tihāma. He then spoke, "The earth is aflame and has reached its springtime." He then gestured towards the idols that were in the *ka'ba* and they all fell down.'

"The Negus said, 'Let me tell you now what happened to me. I was asleep that same night you mentioned, alone in a pavilion, when out from the ground came a neck and a head which said, "Woe has befallen the warriors with elephants! flocks of birds cast clay stones at them. The criminal aggressor al-Ashram has

perished! And the *ummi* prophet has been born, he from Mecca, from the sacred quarter. Whoever responds to him will be glad; whoever scorns him will be sad." He then entered the earth and was gone. I tried to scream, but couldn't say a word. I then tried to get up, but could not do so. I struck the pavilion with my hand and my family heard this and came to me. I told them, "Keep the Abyssinians away from me." They did so. And then I regained use of my tongue and feet."

If God Almighty wills it, I will now give accounts, in the stories relating to the birth, concerning the visions of Chosroe of the collapse of 14 balconies of his palace, of the extinguishing of his fires, of the visions of his soothsayer, and Saṭīḥ's interpretation of these through the help of 'Abd al-Masiḥ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Asākir related in his history work dealing with the life of al-Ḥārith b. Hānī b. al-Mudlij b. Ibn al-Miqdād b. Zamal b. 'Amr al-'Udhri, from his father, from his grandfather, from his father, from Zamal b. 'Amr al-'Udhri, who said, "The Banū 'Udhra had an idol called Ṣamām whom they venerated. And it was kept with Banū Hind b. Ḥirām b. Dabba b. 'Abd b. Kabīr b. 'Udhra, its guardian being a man called Ṭāriq. People used to make sacrifice near it. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came forth we heard a voice that said, 'O Banū Hind b. Ḥirām, the truth has come forth and Ṣamām has gone; Islam has done away with idol worship.' We were very alarmed and awed by this. Nothing more happened for several days, but then we heard a voice saying, 'O Ṭāriq; the truth-telling Prophet has been sent with spoken inspiration. A man has emerged in the land of Tihāma announcing the truth; those who support him will live secure, while those who desert him will regret it. This now is my farewell until Judgement Day.'

"At that', Zamal said, 'the idol fell forward on its face. So I bought a riding camel and rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along with a group of my tribesmen. I recited to him the following verses:

'To you, O Messenger of God, I directed (my mount), driving it hard over high rough ground and sandy lowlands
To give strong help to the best of men, to tie a rope of yours to my own,
And I testify that there is nothing besides God, and that I will worship Him so long as my shoes weigh down my feet.'

"So I accepted Islam and pledged my allegiance to him. We told him what we had heard, and he responded, "That was demon-spirit talk."

"He then said, 'O you Arabs, I am the Messenger of God to you and to all mankind. I call upon you to worship God alone. I tell you I am his Messenger and his servant and that you must make pilgrimage to the *ka'ba*, fast for one month out of twelve, that being Ramaḍān. Those of you who respond to me shall have paradise as your abode. Whoever opposes me will have hell-fire as his final destiny.'

"He went on, 'So we accepted Islam and he made a pact with us. He wrote a document for us as follows: "In the name of God, the most Merciful and most Beneficent; this is from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Zamaḥ b. 'Amr and to those in particular who accepted Islam with him. I am sending him to his people intentionally. Whoever accepts Islam is on the side of God and his Messenger. Whoever refuses can have a truce for two months. Witnessed by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb and Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī."'"

Ibn 'Asākir at this point made the comment, "Very strange!"

Sa'īd b. Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawī stated in his history of the Prophet's wars that Muḥammad b. Sa'īd – meaning his uncle – told him that Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir said that he was told that Ibn 'Abbās said that a demon-spirit called out to Abū Qubays, saying,

"O people of Fihri! May God find your views repugnant; how petty minds and intelligence are

When they disregard those slandering the religion of their fathers, those noble guardians!

He has allied with the spirits, the spirits of Buṣrā against you, along with the men of the palm trees and the forest

You are about to see the horsemen running (right and left) swiftly killing people in sheepskin garments.

Is there any noble man among you, who has the spirit of a free man, a man of illustrious parents and relatives,

A man to strike a blow that will be a warning and a rupture from anxiety and worry?"

Ibn 'Abbās stated, "This poetry became a refrain for the people of Mecca, and they would recite it to one another. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This is a devil who speaks to people through the idols; his name is Miṣ'ar; and God will confound him.' Nothing else happened for three days and then a voice cried out on the mountain:

'We killed Miṣ'ar in three days when he disgraced the spirits and advocated evil.

I slashed at his head with a sharp sword drawn because he reviled our Prophet made pure.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'This is a genie whose name is Samij; when he believed in me, I renamed him 'Abd Allāh; he told me he spent three days searching for him (Miṣ'ar).' 'Alī said, 'May God reward him well, O Messenger of God.'"

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aym stated in the *al-Dalā'il (The Signs)* that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, quoting Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā b. Abū Ḥarb al-Ṣaffār, quoting 'Abbās b. al-Faraj al-Riyāshī, quoting Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Abū Thābit, from his father,

from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me on a mission to Ḥaḍramawt⁷² before his migration. On the way, during the night, I heard a voice cry out,

‘O Abū ‘Amr, insomnia afflicted me, sleep fled and slumber was impossible
At thought of a group of men who came before and now are gone; and all mankind
have their palaces disappear.

They passed away, moving to their deaths, destined (to their graves) not to a watering
place.

They left, while I remained behind, alone, with no one to assist me,

Futile, unable to even deal with an issue that a child could handle (with ease).

After all, I am not remaining with a people whose tombs are like those of Thamūd

And ‘Ād and the centuries are all equal to death, all being mere stalks after harvest.’

“Another voice then called out, ‘O Khar‘ab, “soft twig”, has wonder taken
your senses? Wonderful, wonderful things are happening between Zahra and
Yathrib.’

“‘What’s happened there, O Shāḥib?’ He replied, ‘The Prophet of peace has
been sent with the best of words to all of humanity. And he has left the holy
places for the date palms and forts.’

“He asked, ‘What’s it all about, this Prophet with a mission, the Revealed
Scripture and this “chosen” *ummi*?’ He replied, ‘He is a descendant of Lu‘ayy b.
Ghālīb, son of Fīhr b. Mālīk b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna.’ The second voice replied, ‘O
what a pity! I’m too old for this, my time is all gone. Al-Naḍr b. Kināna and I
used to aim at the same target, drink cold milk together. Early one cold morning
I accompanied him out from Dawḥa; he arose with the sun and set with it too,
with him telling what he heard and verifying what he saw. If this man is of his
descent then the sword is sheathed, fear has gone, sexual immorality is over, and
usury is no more.’

“‘Then tell me what will be?’ He replied, ‘Distress, misery, and hunger are
over. Strength and bravery are over, except for what is to remain in the tribe of
Khuzā‘a. Oppression, sufferings, along with high character are gone, except for
what is to remain in the tribes of Khazraj and Aws. Conceit and arrogance are
gone too, along with calumny and perfidy, except for what is to remain in Banū
Bakr, meaning Ibn Hawāzin. Regrettable and sinful deeds are over, except for
what is to remain in Khath‘am.’

“‘Tell me what else will be?’ He replied, ‘If goodness is defeated and the free
woman suppressed, then leave the land of migration. If the peace is disrupted
and family ties are broken, then leave the holy land.’ ‘Tell me what will be?’ He
replied, ‘Were it not for ears that hear, eyes that shine, I would tell you what

72. Part of south-western Arabia, on the Arabian Sea.

would fill you with dread.' Then he went on, 'Nowhere have I slept in peace, O Ibn Ghawt, without a morning arriving for us.'

"He went on: 'And then he screamed like a woman in labour. Dawn then broke and I went to look. And what I saw was a small iguana and a snake, both dead.

"It was only through this incident that I learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had migrated to Medina."

Abū Nu'aym then related this story from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī, from al-Naḍr b. Salama, from Ḥassān b. 'Ubāda b. Mūsā, from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām, from Shahr, from Ibn 'Abbās, from Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, as follows, "After we pledged our allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on 'Aqaba night, I left for Ḥadramawt on business. That having been concluded, I started back. Some distance along the way I fell asleep and awoke in a fright to hear a voice shouting, 'O Abū 'Amr, insomnia has afflicted me, sleep has fled and my slumber is interrupted.'" And he recounted the whole incident as given above.

Abū Nu'aym stated that Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Abū Ghazīyya Muḥammad b. Mūsā, from al-'Aṭṭāf b. Khālīd al-Waṣṣābī, from Khālīd b. Sa'īd, from his father, who said that he heard Tamīm al-Dārī say, "I was in Syria when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission. I left on some business and on the way night fell. I said, 'I claim to be under the protection of the chief spirit of this valley for this night.' When I went to bed, I heard someone I could not see calling out, 'Seek God's protection. For no spirit can give anyone protection from God.' 'By God,' I exclaimed, 'what are you saying?' The voice replied, 'The Messenger of the *ummi*s, the Messenger of God, has come forth. We prayed behind him at al-Ḥajūn. We accepted Islam and became his followers. The tricks of the demon-spirits are over, and they have been pelted with shooting stars. Hurry to Muḥammad, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, and accept Islam.'"

Tamīm went on, "When morning came I went on to Ayyūb's monastery, where I asked to see a monk and told him what had happened. He said, 'They spoke the truth to you. He is leaving the holy place, and the place where he is migrating is holy. He is the best of prophets. Do not let anyone beat you to him.'"

Tamīm continued, "I took the trouble to travel hurriedly until I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and then accepted Islam."

Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl stated, from 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Hudhālī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Sā'ida al-Hudhālī, from his father, who said, "We were at our idol named Suwā', having brought some sheep of ours to him. They consisted of 200 ewes that were afflicted with mange. We brought them close to him seeking his blessing. Then I heard a voice calling out from the belly of the idol, 'The tricks

of the demon-spirits are no more; we have been pelted with shooting stars -- all for a Prophet whose name is Aḥmad!

“‘You have misled us, by God!’ I exclaimed. I turned the face of my sheep away, urging them towards my people, and I then saw a man who told me of the appearance of the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Abū Nu‘aym mentioned this account as such, without elaboration. He then stated that ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Makhzūmī, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān, from Ḥakīm b. ‘Aṭā’ al-Zafarī, who is of Banū Sulaym, descended from Rāshid b. ‘Abd Rabbiḥī, from his father, from his grandfather, from Rāshid b. ‘Abd Rabbiḥī, who said, “The idol known as Suwā‘ was at al-Miḥlāt, one of a group worshipped by the tribes of Hudhayl and Banū Zafar b. Sulaym.” Banū Zafar dispatched Rāshid b. ‘Abd Rabbiḥī with a gift for Suwā‘ from Sulaym.

Rāshid went on, “At dawn I attended an idol before the idol Suwā‘. As I did so, all of a sudden a voice rang out from its belly, ‘How strange! How very strange that a prophet should come forth from the family of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib who would ban fornication, usury and sacrificing to idols! And the skies are being guarded and we are being pelted by shooting stars! How strange! How very strange!’ Then another idol screamed out from deep within itself, ‘Al-Ḍimār has been abandoned, and he used to be worshipped! The Prophet Aḥmad has come forth. He says the prayers, orders the payment of alms, fasting, piety, and kindness to relatives.’ Then another voice shouted from the belly of another idol:

‘He who has inherited the prophethood and the true religion after Mary’s son is of Quraysh, rightly guided

A prophet come to inform of what is past, and what is today the truth, or tomorrow.’”

Rāshid went on: “Next dawn I attended Suwā‘ and there were two jackals licking all around it and eating what had been sacrificed to it. And they were directing their urine on to it.”

At this Rāshid b. ‘Abd Rabbiḥī spoke the verse:

“Is this a lord upon whose head two jackals urinate? Whoever has jackals urinate upon him is disgraced!”

“This occurred at the time of the emergence of the Prophet (ṢAAS), his migration to Medina and his acceptance by the people. And so Rāshid left and made his way to the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Medina, taking along a dog he had with him. Now at that time Rāshid’s name was *Zālim*, tyrant, evil-doer, and that of his dog *Rāshid*, rightly guided. The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked him what his name was. He replied ‘Zālim’. ‘And what is your dog’s name?’ ‘Rāshid,’ he replied.

'Well,' said the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'Now your name is Rāshid and your dog's Zālim!' And the Prophet (ṢAAS) laughed.

"And so Rāshid pledged his allegiance to him and remained in Mecca with him. He then made a request to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to receive the land fees for Wahāt, and he described it to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him the land fees right for the heights above Wahāt, along with control over *sha'wa al-faras*, the 'horse bridle', monument and over the rituals there of throwing stones at it three times. He presented him with a waterskin filled with water and spat in it. He told him, 'Empty it out at the top of the tract, and don't deny people access to its overflow.' And so he did. He therefore channelled the water into an open ditch which still flows to this day. Around it he planted palm trees. It is said that all Wahāt uses it for their water supply and that the people there call it 'the water of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' The people of Wahāt also wash in it. Rāshid's stone-casting site was attended by many travelling parties, called the 'caravans of the stone'. One morning Rāshid went to Suwā' and demolished it."

Abū Nu'aym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Khuzā'i al-Ahwāzī, quoting Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Dāwūd b. Dalhāth b. Ismā'īl b. Musri' b. Yāsir b. Suwayd, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from his father, from his father Dalhāth from his father Ismā'īl, that the father of the last-mentioned, 'Abd Allāh, related to him from his father Musri' b. Yāsir that his father Yāsir related to him, from 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhannī who used to tell the following, "Once, before Islam, I went on pilgrimage with a party from my tribe. At Mecca, during my sleep, I saw a blinding light emitting from the *ka'ba*, so strong that it lit up Mt. Yathrib and the mountains overlooking the town. I heard a voice in the light that said, 'The shadows have been dispelled, the light now shines bright, and the last of the prophets has been sent.'

"Then another light shone forth by which I could see the castles of al-Ḥīra and Chosroe's palace. I also heard a voice in the light that called out, 'Islam has appeared, the idols have been demolished and reconciliation has come.'

"I awoke with a start and said to my people, 'By God, in this Quraysh quarter something tremendous is going to happen!' And I told them what I had seen. When we got back home a man arrived who told us that someone named Aḥmad had received a mission. I went to that man, and told him what I had seen. He told me, 'O 'Amr b. Murra, I have been dispatched to all mankind to invite them into Islam, to command them not to shed blood, to bring about reconciliation, to worship God, to reject the idols, to make pilgrimage to the *ka'ba*, and to fast one month in twelve, Ramaḍān that is. For those who respond there will be paradise. Whoever disobeys will go to the fire. So you, 'Amr b. Murra, you believe and God will spare you from the fires of hell.'

"I therefore said, 'I bear witness that there is no God but God and that you are the Messenger of God. I believe in all you have brought us regarding what is lawful and what is disallowed, even though that will give offence to many people.' I then recited to him some verses I had composed when I had heard of him. We used to have an idol, and my father was its guardian. I went to it and demolished it and then joined up with the Prophet (ṢAAS). I recited,

'I bore witness that God is truth and that I will be the first to abandon the stone idols;

I then hurried to depart to you, travelling over ravines and flat lands towards you.

To attend the very best of men in spirit and in ancestry, the messenger of man's sovereign above the stars.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'Welcome indeed, O 'Amr b. Murra.' I replied, 'O Messenger, may my father and mother be sacrifice for you! Send me back to my own people, so that God may give me to benefit them as he has given you to me.'

"So he did send me to them, saying, 'Speak only what is right; do not be harsh, nor arrogant, nor envious.'

"When I went to my people, I told them, 'O you, Banū Rifā'a, and you too, Banū Juhayna, I am a messenger to you from the Messenger of God. I invite you to paradise and warn you of the fire. I command you not to shed blood, to encourage reconciliation, to worship God, to reject the idols, to make pilgrimage to the *ka'ba*, to fast during Ramaḍān, one month in twelve. Those who respond will go to paradise. Those who disobey will go to the fires. O people of Juhayna, God, all praise be to Him, has made you better than your forebears. He made you hate, in your state of ignorance, the obscene practices which others have found acceptable. They used to unite two sisters, men would marry their fathers' wives, and they would allow warfare during the sacred month. So respond to this Prophet (ṢAAS) sent to you from Banū Lu'ayy b. Ghālib, and you will attain respect on earth and honour in the hereafter. Hurry! Hurry to do this, so that you will find favour with God.'

"They did all respond, except for one man. He arose and said, 'O 'Amr b. Murra, may God embitter your life for you! Do you order us to reject our gods and break apart our community by abandoning the religion of our forefathers in favour of what this Qurayshite from Tihāma advocates? No; and you are neither welcome nor honoured here!' He then spoke the verses,

'Ibn Murra has come here and made a speech, but it's not a speech of someone wanting goodness.

I consider his words and deeds will be one day, however long the wait, mere winds.

Are we to deprecate our elders now gone? Whoever seeks for that will never achieve success.'

"To that 'Amr b. Murra responded, 'Whoever is the liar, may God embitter his life, silence his tongue, and blind his sight!'

"'Amr b. Murra went on: 'And by God, by the time he died his mouth had dropped, he had lost all taste for food, and he was blind and dumb.'

"'Amr b. Murra and those others of his people who had accepted Islam then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS). He welcomed and honoured them and wrote for them a document, the text of which was as follows, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent, this document is from God through the tongue of the Messenger of God and is a trustworthy document, a spoken truth, (sent) with 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhānī to Juhayna b. Zayd: "You shall have the low-lying flat and fertile lands and the sides and backs of the valleys, and all their vegetation and their pure water to drink. Provided that you forsake one fifth (of the harvest), and perform the five daily prayers. Your rich shall pay alms (to the poor): one ewe for each forty sheep, and one ewe for each five camels, or two ewes for any combination thereof. The rich shall not be eligible to receive charity. The Muslims present here witness this document (written by) Qays b. Shammās, may God bless them all.'"

That was when 'Amr b. Murra spoke the following verses,

"Did you not see that God has made his religion apparent and made plain the proof of the Qur'ān to 'Āmir,

A document from the Merciful one, a light for our community and our descendants in desert and town alike.

To the best of all walking on the earth, its very best when troubles loom thick.

We obeyed the Messenger of God when the enemy tribes were torn apart by sharp swords and valiant knights.

We are a tribe walled about by our glory, when during warfare the heads of great men are brought in.

We are the warriors, entertain the battle with strong arms and shining swords in the hands of our valiant raiders;

Around him you see the *anṣār*, his followers, protecting their prince with their spearpoints and the flats of their swords;

When warfare goes on at every great event, grinding with its mill the strongest of lions,

His complexion remains serene, his face gleaming like the light of the full moon amidst the stars."

Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. Yahyā al-Umawī stated in his *Maghāzī* collection that 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh, quoting al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd, and al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shi'bī, quoting a sheikh of Juhayna, who said, "One of our men became extremely sick, so ill that we dug his grave and prepared to bury him. He passed out, then opened his eyes and came to again and asked, 'Have you dug my grave?' 'Yes,' we told him. He then asked, 'What did al-Fuṣal do?'

making reference to a cousin of his. We replied, 'Ṣāliḥ passed by a while ago and asked after you.' 'He's soon going to be put in my grave; a spirit came to me after I became unconscious and said, "Weep to Hubal; don't you see your grave is being made ready and that your mother is almost bereft of you? What do you think? Supposing we were to reverse it away from you and then filled the grave with stones and threw in it al-Fuṣal who passed by and said he would take your place, thinking he would not do so. Will you thank your Lord and pray and abandon the religion of those who worship idols and who go astray?" "Yes," I replied. The voice said, "Get up; you are made healthy."'"

He went on, "So the man was cured and al-Fuṣal died and was put in his grave."

Al-Juhaynī stated, "And I saw that man of the Juhayna tribe after that; he was praying, cursing the idols and striking them."

Al-Umawī said that 'Abd Allāh related to him, saying that once, when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, was in a gathering where they were discussing the spirits Khuraym b. Fātik al-Asadī said, "Should I tell you how I came to adopt Islam?" "Yes, do," he said.

"I was once searching for a young she-camel of mine, following a trail of hers that went up and down till finally I was at Abraq al-'Azzāf. There I tied my camel-mount down and spoke the words, 'I claim protection from the chief spirit of this place; I claim protection from the leader of this valley.' When I had done so, a voice called out the following verses,

'Woe to you! Seek protection with the Lord of majesty, glory, exaltation, and precedence

And then recite verses from (*sūrat*) *al-Anfāl*, saying that God is One, and do not worry.'

"I was dumbfounded, but once regaining my wits, I said,

'O voice what is it you say? Is it truth you have, or falsehood? Make plain, may God guide you, what is the way?'

"It spoke again:

'This is the Messenger of God, he who does good deeds, at Yathrib, who calls to salvation,

Who commands piety, prayer and restrains people from sins.'

"I said, 'I'll not rest till I come to him, and believe in him.' I then set my foot in the stirrup of my mount and spoke the verses,

'Guide me, guide me on the right course, may you never hunger or lack shelter so long as you live.

May you never cease being a lord of strength; don't keep the good you were granted from all the spirits as long as you live.'

"He replied,

'May God accompany you and lead your mount; may He enhance your wage and protect your soul;

Believe in Him, may my Lord grant you success, and give him a great victory as he will you.'

"'Who are you; may God forgive you. Tell me so I can inform him when I come to him.' He replied, 'I am Mālik b. Mālik and am his chief over the spirits of Naṣībīn. Your camel is being protected until I reunite it with your people, if God wills it.'"

The narrator went on, "So I travelled on till I reached Medina; it was a Friday and people were on their way to the mosque. There the Prophet (ṢAAS) was upon the *minbar*, the pulpit, looking wonderful as he addressed the congregation. I told myself I would make my camel kneel at the door of the mosque until he prayed. Then I would go in to him, accept Islam and tell him of it. When I had set my camel down, out to me came Abū Dhar who said, 'Welcome, indeed welcome! We heard of your having become a Muslim, so come on in and pray.'

"I did so, and later went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he told me of my accepting Islam. I commented, 'Praise be to God!' He said, 'By the way, your friend did keep faith with you, that being his nature. He did lead your camel back to your people.'"

Al-Ṭabarānī related this anecdote in his discussion of the life of Khuraym b. Fātik in his encyclopedia. There he stated that al-Ḥusayn b. Ishāq al-Yasīri related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shāmī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Iskandarī, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Sa'īd b. Abū Sa'īd al-Maqburī, from Abū Hurayra, who said that Khuraym b. Fātik said to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, "O Commander of the Faithful, may I tell you how I came to accept Islam?" "Certainly," he replied.

He then recounted it as above except for saying, "Then Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, 'the trusting', came out and said, 'Come inside. We have heard about your accepting Islam.' I replied, 'But I don't know how to cleanse myself properly.' So he taught me how and afterwards I went in to the mosque where I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looking really happy and saying, 'There is no single Muslim who has performed the ablutions, and done so properly, who then has prayed, learned it by heart and understood it, who will not enter paradise.'

"'Umar then told me, 'Bring us some proof of this (your conversion) or I will punish you severely.' So a sheikh of Quraysh, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, testified on my behalf and his testimony was accepted."

The same source then related this anecdote from Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. Taym, from Muḥammad b. Khalifa, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, from his father, who said, "'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said

to Khuraym b. Fātik, 'Tell me some *ḥadīth* I will enjoy.' He then related the story exactly as in the first version.

Abū Nu'aym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Abū 'Abd al-Mālik Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī al-Dimashqī, quoting Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of Shuraḥbīl's daughter, quoting Ismā'il b. Ayyāsh, from Yaḥyā b. Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Daylamī, who said that a man came to Ibn 'Abbās and said, "We have heard that you, in reference to Saṭīḥ, maintain that God created him. But why would He have created of mankind anyone like him?" He replied, "Yes, God did create Saṭīḥ al-Ghassānī out of flesh over strips of palm bark. He had no bones or sinews except for his skull and his two hands. He was folded over from his feet to his collarbone as a robe is folded; the only part of him that moved was his tongue. When he wanted to travel to Mecca, he was carried on a board and brought there. Four men of Quraysh went out to greet him, they being 'Abd Shams and Hāshim, the sons of 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, al-Aḥwaṣ b. Fīhr, and 'Uqayl b. Abū Waqqāṣ. They pretended different identities and told him, 'We are men of Jumaḥ who have come to you. We heard of your arrival so thought we would come to you; our doing so is a right of yours and a duty of ours.' 'Uqayl presented him with an Indian platter and a straight Rudaynī lance which were placed by the door of the holy *ka'ba* to determine whether or not Saṭīḥ would see them.

"Saṭīḥ spoke: 'O 'Uqayl, give me your hand.' 'Uqayl did so and Saṭīḥ continued, 'O 'Uqayl, by the hidden world, by Him who forgives sins, by the pact that is fulfilled and by the *ka'ba* that is built, you have presented me with a gift, the Indian platter and the straight Rudaynī spear.' They replied, 'You are right, O Saṭīḥ!' He then said, 'By Him who brings joy, by the rainbow, by all other joys, by the orphan lying prostrate, by the palm trees, the fresh plants, and by the dates, the crow as it passed by presented itself and made known that your group is not of Jumaḥ, and that their ancestry is of great Quraysh.' They replied, 'You are right, O Saṭīḥ! We are of those who guard the holy *ka'ba*; we have come to visit you because of what we have learned of your knowledge. So tell us what will happen in this time of ours and what will come hereafter; perhaps you do have knowledge of that.'"

He replied, "Now you are telling the truth! Take the following from me and from what God has inspired me with. You, O Arabs, are in the age of senility; your mental perception is the same as that of the non-Arabs. You have neither knowledge nor understanding. But from your descendants there will come people of understanding who will seek out all kinds of knowledge. They will destroy the idols, reach the dam, kill foreigners, and seek after booty."

They then asked, "But who will those men be, Saṭīḥ?" He replied, "By the pillared house, by security, and by tranquillity, after you there will be your descendants; it is they who will destroy the idols, forbid the worship of Satan,

worship the All-Merciful alone, spread the best of all religions, honour the building (the *ka'ba*), and ask judgements of the young heroes."

"Whose progeny will they be?" they asked.

"By the most noble of all, by Him who communicates with the nobles, by Him who moves the winding dunes, by Him who multiplies by doubling, thousands will arise from the line of 'Abd Shams and 'Abd Manāf, and there will be disputation over this."

"O Saṭīḥ," they commented, "what misery there will be for them, from what you tell us you know. From what land will those men come?"

He replied, "By Him who will remain everlasting, by Him who will reach eternity, there will come forth from this land a young man who will guide to what is right, who will reject the idol Yaghūth and illusion, who will be innocent of worshipping what is repugnant; he will worship one Lord alone. And then God will cause him to die, with all praise. From the earth he will be missed; in heaven he will be witnessed. After him *al-ṣiddiq* ("the trusting", i.e. Abū Bakr) will come to rule; when he judges he speaks the truth and in restoring right he is neither foolish nor intemperate. Then he will be followed to power by *al-ḥanīf*, ("the true believer", i.e. the Caliph 'Umar), he who puts to the test and is lordly, a man who disavows violent language, who gives hospitality to guests, and who is wise and prudent in his judgements. Then there will follow him a man who will be demanding and invite others to the cause, and various groups and factions will assemble about him. Then they will kill him out of envy and rage; the old man will be seized and hacked to pieces and men will speak orations over him.⁷³ Then will follow *al-nāṣir*, "the protector", a man who will confuse right opinion with that of the unfriendly ones. Soldiers will rule over the earth. Then after him his son will reign, and take what he gathers yet gain little praise. He will consume his wealth and eat alone. Those after him of his progeny will expand that wealth. Following him will rule a number of kings; doubtless there will be much blood spilled over them. After them will come the beggars, who will soon be folded up like cloth. Then will come a strong and ruthless man, who destroys justice, subjugates Egypt and conquers the earth with brutality. Then will come a man short of stature, who will have a mark on his back, die violently and so good-bye! Then for a while a young man will rule who will leave the kingdom ruined. His brother will succeed him and continue the same way, concerning himself with wealth-gathering and speech-making. After him a fool will rule, a worldly, comfort-loving and spoiled man. His intimates and family will advise him, then rise up against him, depose him from rule and kill him. Then after him will rule *al-sābi'*, "the seventh", who will leave the kingdom a wasteland. His sons in his rule will be like those who are deformed, all of them. After that,

73. The assassinated Caliph 'Uthmān is clearly implied.

every destitute fellow will hunger for rule. He will be followed by the greedy one. A group of Qaḥṭān will favour Nizār when they meet at Damascus, in two groups between Bunyān and Lubnān. Yemen at that time will consist of two parties, those engaging in consultation, and those holding back. Nothing will be seen except failure and disintegration, prisoners in chains surrounded by swords and horses. Thereafter dwellings will be demolished, widows will be plundered, pregnant women will miscarry, and earthquakes will occur. Wā'il will seek the Caliphate and Nizār will be furious. Slaves and evil men will be favoured, while the best of men will be in disfavour. Prices will rise, in the month of Ṣafar, and people will kill each other. Then they will move into trenches which will have hair-cloth and trees to block the rivers, and he will defeat them early in the day. The best will appear, but neither sleep nor decision will avail them. (This will continue) until he enters one of the chief cities, where death and fate will overcome him. The archers will come and assemble on foot, to kill the mail-clad warriors and to capture the defenders. The evil-doers will perish; there he will be seized, at the headwaters. Then religion will die out, all things fall into disarray, the Scriptures are disbelieved, the bridges are demolished, and the only ones who escape are those on islands in the seas. Then the seeds will go bad, the bedouin will appear, there not being among them anyone to warn them against what is immoral and sinful, at a time of great difficulty, if people had decency, but alas! Wishful thinking will do no good."

They asked, "What then, Saṭīḥ?" He replied, "Then there will appear a man from the people of Yemen, a man like a strong, thick rope, and through him God will abolish dissension."

The above material is a strange relic. We have recorded it here for its peculiarity, and for the references to the dissensions and battles it includes.

The story of Shiqq and Saṭīḥ with Rabi'a b. Naṣr, king of Yemen, and how he announced the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been given above. Similarly we already recounted the story of Saṭīḥ with his nephew 'Abd al-Masiḥ, when the king of the Banū Sāsān sent him when the palace was shaken, the fires were extinguished, and the high priest had his visions. All that occurred on the night of the birth of him who, by his *sharī'a*, superseded all other religions.

CHAPTER ON THE MANNER OF THE BEGINNING OF THE REVELATION TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST REVELATION TO HIM FROM THE GLORIOUS QUR'ĀN.

This occurred when he was 40 years of age.

Ibn Jarir recounted, from Ibn 'Abbās and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib, that his age at the time was 43.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from 'Uqayl, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from 'Ā'isha, God be pleased with her, who said, "The first indication of revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in the form of true visions in his sleep. Every vision he had came like the breaking of dawn.

"He then developed a liking for solitude. He would spend time alone in the cave Ḥirā', where he would seek religious purification through devotions. He would stay there many nights and then return to his family for more provisions to continue doing so; then he would come down to Khadija and repeat the same.

"Eventually the truth came to him while he was there in that cave Ḥirā'.

"The angel came and told him, 'Read!' He replied, 'I don't read.' He then said, 'The angel then overpowered me and choked me until I could bear it no more, and then he released me. Again he said, 'Read!' Again I replied, 'I don't read.' Once more he overpowered me and choked me till I could bear it no more, then he released me and said, 'Read!' I replied, 'I don't read.' Again he overpowered me and choked me a third time until I could bear it no more. Then he released me and said, 'Read in the name of your Lord who created; He created man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know' (*sūrat al-ʿAlaq*, XCVI, v.1-5).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned home with this, his heart palpitating. He went in to Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, and said, 'Wrap me up! Wrap me up!' They did so until the terror left him.

"He then spoke to Khadija, telling her what had happened, saying, 'I was afraid for myself.'

"Khadija replied, 'Oh no! I swear by God He would never abuse you. You maintain family ties, you are hospitable to guests, you support the weak, provide for the poor and help out when tragedy strikes.'

"Khadija then hurried off with him to Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-ʿUzzā, who was her cousin. He had earlier become a Christian, and used to write the Hebrew script, copying out from the Bible in Hebrew whatever God inspired him to write. He was an old man by then, and he was blind.

"Khadija told him, 'O cousin! Listen to your nephew!' Waraqa then addressed him, 'O nephew, what did you see?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him what he had seen. Waraqa commented, 'This was the angel Gabriel who used to come down to Moses. How I wish I were a young man again! I hope I am still alive when your people exile you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) exclaimed, 'Are they to exile me?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'no one has ever received what you have without being treated as an enemy. If I am alive when your time comes, I will give you every help.'

"Not long thereafter Waraqa died, and the revelation waned for a period, so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was so depressed – as we have been told –

that he would frequently feel like throwing himself down from the summits of high mountains. Whenever he reached the top of a mountain, to throw himself down, Gabriel would appear and say, 'O Muḥammad, you are in truth the Messenger of God!' This would relieve his distress and he would return down. And if the inspiration was again long in coming, he would feel and do the same."

Another account gives the same wording, except that it substitutes the word "when" for the word "whenever" above.

The account is given in full in this way in the *Bāb al-Ta'bir* (*The Chapter on Expression*) in al-Bukhārī's work.

Ibn Shihāb stated that Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān informed him that Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī said, in relating matters concerning the revelation period, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "While I was walking, I heard a voice from the sky. I raised my sight and there was the angel who had come to me at Ḥirā' seated on a throne between the sky and the earth. I was terrified and returned home, saying, 'Wrap me up! Wrap me up!' And so God revealed the verse, 'O you who are all wrapped up! Arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord! Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!' (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*, LXXIV, v.1-5). And the revelation became stronger and continued uninterrupted."

Al-Bukhārī added that 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf and Abū Ṣāliḥ gave this tradition a further link, from al-Layth. And Hilāl b. Raddād added a link, from al-Zuhri. Yūnus and Ma'mar, moreover, gave in the prior text the word *bawādir*, "emotions", in place of the word *fu'ād*, "heart".

This tradition was related by Imām al-Bukhārī, God be pleased with him, in various parts of his work. We have discussed it at length in our first commentary on al-Bukhārī, in the book on *The Beginnings of the Revelation*, in terms of both its chain of authorities and its text. And to God is all praise and grace.

In his *ṣaḥiḥ* collection, Muslim derives this tradition from an account of al-Layth, and through Yūnus and Ma'mar from al-Zuhri, just as al-Bukhārī attributes it to their authority. In our own commentaries we referred to the additions made by Muslim and to his accounts of it. And to God be praise. Muslim's account of the above goes as far as the above words of Warāqa, "I will give you every help."

The statement, given above, of 'Ā'isha, mother of the believers, that, "the first indication of revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in the form of true visions. Every vision he had came like the breaking of dawn" corroborates what Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār related from 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr al-Laythī, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "And Gabriel brought me while I was asleep a piece of silk brocade cloth with writing on it. He told me, 'Read!' I replied, 'What should I read?' Thereupon he choked me till I thought it meant death. But then he released me." He related the rest of 'Ā'isha's statement in the same words.

This came as a prelude to the awakening that followed. The Prophet (ṢAAS) is reported to have expressly stated this in the book on the *maghāzī*, the military campaigns, by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhri; therein it states that he saw all that in a dream, and that the angel appeared to him thereafter when he was awake.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym al-Aṣbahānī stated in his work *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) as follows, "Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, quoting Janāb b. al-Ḥārith, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ajlāḥ, from Ibrāhīm, from 'Alqama b. Qays, who said, 'The first visitation to prophets is during their sleep, so that they will remain calm; revelation comes thereafter.' This comment comes directly from 'Alqama b. Qays himself. It is an appropriate one that is substantiated by both what preceded and what followed it."

*A DISCUSSION OF THE AGE OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) AT THE TIME
OF HIS RECEIVING THE MISSION AND THE DATE THEREOF.*

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Abū 'Adī related to him, from Dāwūd b. Abū Hind, from 'Āmir al-Sha'bi, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission when he was 40 years old. The angel Isrāfil was entrusted with his prophethood for three years, during which he would teach him words and facts; the Qur'ān was not revealed then. After those three years Gabriel was entrusted with his prophethood and the Qur'ān was revealed through his voice over a 20-year period, 10 in Mecca and 10 in Medina. The Prophet (ṢAAS) died when he was 63 years old.

This chain of authorities back to al-Sha'bi is a correct one. It establishes that Isrāfil was entrusted with him for a 3-year period after his age of 40, and that Gabriel came thereafter.

Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, however, has stated, "'Ā'isha's account does not refute this. It is possible that first of all he did receive visions, and that Isrāfil was put in charge of him during the period he spent alone in Ḥirā', casting words at him at speed and not actually staying with him, and teaching him gradually. This was so until Gabriel came to him and taught him, after having throttled him three times. And so 'Ā'isha related what had happened to him with Gabriel and did not tell what had occurred with Isrāfil in order to shorten the account. Or she did not know about the story of Isrāfil."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Hishām recounted to him, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās who said, "The Qur'ān was revealed to the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he was 43 years of age. He stayed in Mecca for 10 years and lived in Medina for 10. He died at the age of 63."

Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib related the same. Then both Aḥmad b. Ghundar and Yazīd b. Hārūn related from Hishām, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn

‘Abbās, that he said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission and the Qur’ān was revealed to him when he was 40 years old. He stayed in Mecca for 13 years, and in Medina for 10. He died at the age of 63.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting ‘Ammār b. Abū ‘Ammār, from Ibn ‘Abbās who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) lived in Mecca for 15 years, for 7 of which he was seeing the light and hearing the voice, and then for 8 years while he was receiving revelation. He lived in Medina for 10 years.”

Abū Shāma stated, “The Messenger of God used to see strange visions before his mission.”

On this same subject there is the material in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, on the authority of Jābir b. Samura, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “I know a rock in Mecca that would greet me before I received my mission. I still know it now.” The statement ended thus.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only preferred the seclusion and being alone from his people because of the clear error in which he saw them engaged. This was in their worshipping and prostrating before idols. His liking for being alone increased as God’s revelation to him came closer (ṢAAS).

Muḥammad b. Ishāq recounted, from ‘Abd al-Mālik b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Sufyān b. al-‘Alā’ b. Ḥāritha – who was, he said a very attentive listener – from a certain scholar who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to go out to Ḥirā’ for one month every year and pray alone, he being one of those Quraysh men who would, in the *jāhiliyya*, practise this prayer in seclusion. He would feed the poor who would come to him. Having left there he would not re-enter his own home without first circumambulating the *ka‘ba*.”

This was related similarly from Wahb b. Kaysān, to the effect that he heard ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr telling ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr a similar account.

This shows that it was a custom for religious-minded men of Quraysh to go and stay on Ḥirā’ for prayer. This is why Abū Ṭālib spoke the following line in his famous ode:

“By Thawr and by Him who established Thabir in its place, and by those who ascend to Ḥirā’, and then descend.”

This is the correct form for the recitation of this verse, as mentioned by al-Suhaylī, Abū Shāma and our Sheikh, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, God be pleased with them all. Some reciters made a mistake in this verse, making it read, “and by those who go up to ascend in *ḥar*, ‘heat’, and descend.” This version is weak and incorrect. Though God alone knows best.

The word Ḥirā’ is sometimes treated as contracted or lengthened, declined or indeclinable. It is a mountain in the heights over Mecca, three miles distant from

it, to the left side of the path to Minā. It has a summit that overlooks the *ka'ba* to one side, and the cave is on that side. How splendid is the verse of Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj:

"But no, by the Lord of the secure (pigeons) dwelling (at the *ka'ba*), and by the Lord of a corner Hīrā', sloping downwards . . ."

The explanation (by al-Bukhārī) that *al-Taḥannuth* means devotion, is one interpreted from the context. Otherwise, the truth of *al-Taḥannuth*, as interpreted from its form, lies in what al-Suhaylī suggested, namely, "entering into *al-ḥinth*", i.e. sin or perjury. However, a few words in the language were heard to mean "the departure from" rather than "entering into". These words have a form like the verb *taḥannatha*, i.e. "he left the state of *ḥinth*". Examples would be *taḥawwaba*, i.e. "he abstained from crime", and *taḥarraja*, i.e. "he kept away from sin", and *ta'aththama*, i.e. "he abstained from iniquity". Similarly there is *tahajjada*, a word meaning to give up *al-hujūd*, sleep to attend prayer. Also there are *tanajjasa*, "he left an impure state", i.e. he cleaned himself, and *taqadhdhara*, "he avoided foul actions". Abū Shāma cited this example.

Ibn al-A'rabī was asked about his interpreting *yataḥannathu* as meaning "he performs his devotions", and he replied, "Well, I don't actually know that, but there is the example of *yataḥannafu*, derived from the word *al-ḥanifiyya*, signifying the religion of Abraham, peace be upon him."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Arabs say *al-taḥannuth* and *al-taḥannuf* (as having the same meaning), where the letter *f* has replaced the letter *th*. This is similar to the change from *jaddafa* to *jadhdhafa*, both meaning "he rowed a boat". As Ru'ba's verse goes,

" . . . if my stones were with *al-ajdhāf* . . .", by which he means *al-ajdāth* (the graves).

Abū 'Ubayda related to me that the bedouin say *fumma* for *thumma*, meaning "then".

I would add that some commentators say *wa fūmuhā* when they mean *wa thūmuhā*, when referring to *thūm*, i.e. "garlic".

The scholars differ over the devotion to prayer of the prophet (ṢAAS) before his mission, whether he was following some religion, and what that was.

Some say that it was the religion of Noah.

Others suggest that of Abraham, it being the most similar as well as the most powerful.

Others say that of Moses, yet others that of Jesus.

Others say that all that is established is that he did have a religion, and that he followed and observed it.

For the interpretation of these statements and the circumstances in which they were made, one should look elsewhere in works on the origins of Islamic jurisprudence. But God knows best.

The words "eventually the truth came suddenly to him while he was in the cave Ḥirā'" mean that it came to him abruptly and unexpectedly. As God stated, "And you had no hope that the Book would be delivered to you, but it is a mercy from your Lord" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*, XXVIII, v.86).

The first portion of this holy chapter, namely "Read in the name of your Lord who created; He created man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know" (*sūrat al-ʿAlaḳ*, XCVI, v.1-5) was the first part of the Qurʾān revealed, as we established in the commentary and in what will follow; it came on a Monday.

It has been similarly affirmed in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, on the authority of Abū Qatāda, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about fasting on Mondays. He replied, "That is a day on which I was born, and a day on which I received revelation."

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "Your prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday, and he was made a prophet on a Monday."

ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, Abū Jaʿfar al-Baqir, and several other scholars similarly stated that he received revelation on a Monday; this is a matter undisputed among them.

It is said, moreover, that that occurred during the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal; it has also been previously stated from Ibn ʿAbbās and Jābir that he was born on the 12th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, received his mission on the same date, and also on that day he was raised to heaven.

It is also widely believed that he received his mission in Ramaḍān, as has been stated by ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, Muḥammad b. Ishāq and others.

Ibn Ishāq stated this, using as evidence God's statement "the month of Ramaḍān, during which the Qurʾān was revealed as a guidance to mankind" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.185). And it is said that this was on the 10th.

Al-Wāqidi attributed to Jaʿfar al-Bāqir, to whom his chain of authorities extended, the words, "The beginning of the revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred on Monday, the 17th of Ramaḍān; others, however, say it was the 24th."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Saʿīd, a freed-man of the Banū Hāshim, related to him, quoting ʿUmrān Abū al-ʿAwwām, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Maliḥ, from Wāthila b. al-Asqaʿ, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The tablets of Abraham were revealed on the first night of Ramaḍān, the Torah on the 6th of Ramaḍān, and the Bible on the 13th of Ramaḍān, while the Qurʾān was revealed on the 14th of Ramaḍān."

Ibn Mardawayh related much the same in a tradition back to the Prophet

(ṢAAS) that is based on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh.

Therefore, a majority of the Companions and followers of the Prophet (ṢAAS) have concluded that the *laylat al-qadar*, the "night of destiny", was the 24th.

Regarding Gabriel's order "Read!", the reply was, "I don't read." The truth is that this statement, "I don't read", is a negation, that is, it implies, "I am not a man who knows how to read well." Among those who prefer this interpretation are al-Nawawī and, before him, Sheikh Abū Shāma.

Those who interpret this as interrogatory are incorrect, because the prefixed *bā'*, as in *mā anā biqārī*, i.e. "I don't read", is not added if the intent is to affirm.

The first interpretation is substantiated by what Abū Nu'aym related from a *ḥadīth* that comes down through al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān from his father who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, fearful and shaking, "I have never read a document; I don't do that well. I neither read nor write." And so Gabriel seized him and choked him violently. He then released him and told him, "Read!" Muḥammad (ṢAAS) then replied, "I don't see anything to read; and I don't read, or write."

It is also read in the form *fa ghaṭṭanī* or *wa ghaṭṭanī* in the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, or *qad ghaṭṭanī*. These all mean "he choked me". The phrase *ḥattā balagha minnī al-juhd*, "till I could bear it no more", is read either with a *ḍamma* or with a *fatha* on the *j* (i.e. *al-juhd* or *al-jahd*); also with a *fatha* or a *ḍamma* on the third letter, *d*, for either the nominative or the accusative case (i.e. *al-juhdu* or *al-juhda*). He, Gabriel, did this to him three times.

Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī stated, "Gabriel only did that to test his patience and to discipline him so that he would be agreeable to bear the burdens of prophethood placed upon him. Because of these burdens he would be gripped by a feverish condition and have a high temperature, that is, he would breathe hard and sweat profusely."

Others say that Gabriel acted in this way for various reasons. He wanted to awaken him to the gravity of what was being placed upon him by treating him in such a distressing fashion. As God Almighty stated, "We are indeed placing upon you a heavy message" (*sūrat al-Muzzammil*, LXXIII, v.5). This is why, when revelation came to him, his face would turn red and he would breathe heavily and fast, like a young camel, while his forehead would stream with perspiration on an extremely cold day.

Regarding the statement quoted above, "The Messenger (ṢAAS) returned home to Khadīja with this, his heart palpitating", there is a variant reading of *bawādir* for the word *fu'ād*, "heart", that is. Abū 'Ubayda explains this word as referring to the flesh between the shoulder and the neck. Others interpret the word as referring to veins that tremble because of fear.

Some readings substitute the word *ba'diluhu*, singular *bādila* or *bādil*, for

that which palpitates. This would refer to the area between the neck and the collarbone. Others interpret it as the base of the breast, or as the flesh of the breast. There are also other interpretations of the word.

Regarding the phrase, "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!", when his terror had calmed he asked Khadija, "What is wrong with me? What was it appeared to me?" and then related what had happened. He then said, "I was afraid for myself." This was because he had witnessed something he had never experienced or imagined before.

That was why Khadija said to him, "Be of good cheer! Oh no! I swear by God, He would never abuse you." The word for "abuse" here is from *al-khizy* (disgrace); others say the word is from *al-ḥuzn*, meaning sadness, that is, "He would never sadden you."

This statement relates to her knowledge of the fine behaviour characteristics God had instilled in him, and that those endowed with the qualities of goodness would not be abused in this world or the hereafter.

She then made reference to those exemplary traits that made his fine character. She said, "You maintain family ties, you are truthful." The Prophet (ṢAAS) was famous for that among those both who agreed and disagreed with him.

The words *wa taḥmilu al-kalla*, i.e., "you carry the burden", that is, you do so for others imply "you provide for those in need what will alleviate their burden of supporting their family".

The phrase *wa taksibu al-ma'dūma*, translated here as "you provide for the poor", means that you hurry to do good by giving to the poor before others do so. The poor are called by the term *al-ma'dūm* because they are lacking in their lives, their existence or "non-existence" (a meaning also of this word) being the same. As a certain poet said,

"He who is relieved by death did not die; there are those who are dead though they are still living."

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tihāmī said, as was reported from him by *al-qāḍī*, the judge, 'Iyād, in the exegesis of Muslim,

"The poor can be considered dead, their clothing a threadbare winding-sheet, their shelter the grave."

Al-Khaṭṭābī stated, "The correct text is *taksib al-mu'dim*, meaning 'you give generously to them' or that you provide earnings for the poor by giving them money by which they can live."

Our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, preferred to interpret "al-ma'dūm" here as referring to the money being given, that is he gave money to those without it.

Some interpret this phrase to mean, "you earn by doing business with goods that are *ma'dūm*", meaning unavailable, or valuable and scarce. But this is far-fetched and contentious and contrived without basis. Such interpretations are

rarely found laudable and 'Iyād and al-Nawawī and others find these interpretations weak. But God knows best!

The words *wa taqrī al-ḥayf* translated above as "you are hospitable to guests", mean that you honour them by offering them food and good accommodation.

The phrase *tu'īnu 'alā nawā'ib al-ḥaqq* (the final word here being also given as *al-khayr*) translated above as "and help them out when tragedy strikes", means that if someone is struck by misfortune, you assist them; that is, you stand by them till they find some means of livelihood.

Regarding the words, "Khadija then hurried off with him to Waraqa b. Nawfal . . . he was an old man by then, and blind."

We gave some information concerning Waraqa in material above relating to Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, God have mercy on him. We told how he had become a Christian before the coming of Islam and how he had left and travelled to Syria accompanied by Zayd b. 'Amr, 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith and 'Ubayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. All of these became Christians because they found Christianity to be at that time the religion closest to the truth.

Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, however, considered that there were certain innovations, changes, corruptions and interpretations that had occurred in it that prevented him from embracing it. The rabbis and monks told him, moreover, about a prophet whose time was near.

He therefore returned seeking information about this, while continuing to believe in one God, as he had before. But death cut him down before the mission of Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

Waraqa b. Nufayl did adopt Christianity, and used to try to prognosticate it in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as we have said above, from the way in which Khadija would describe and characterize him. She told Waraqa of the fine, pure qualities he had, and of the signs and indications there were upon him.

Therefore when there occurred as above, she took the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O Cousin, listen to what happened to your nephew." And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) related to him what he had seen, Waraqa replied, "By the All-Glorious God, this was the angel Gabriel who came down to Moses!"

He did not mention Jesus, though he came later, after Moses, because the system of religion of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was to be a completion and fulfilment of that sent to Moses, upon both of whom be peace. The valid opinion of the scholars, in what they say on this point, is that the *sharī'a* complemented, and also abrogated, certain things in the system of Moses. As God said, "And so that I may make permissible to you some of what was forbidden to you" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*, III, v.49).

This comment made by Waraqa is similar to that made by the spirits, namely, "O our people, we have heard a book revealed after Moses verifying what was

before it, guiding to the truth and to the straight path" (*sūrat al-Aḥqāf*, XLVI, v.30).

Waraqa then commented, "How I wish I were a young man again!" This implies, "How I wish I were a lad endowed with faith, useful knowledge, and good work to do."

The phrase: "I hope I am still alive when your people exile you", implies "so that I can leave with you and help you".

To this the Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, "Are they to exile me?" According to al-Suhaylī he said this because to be parted from one's homeland is very painful. To this Waraqa replied, "Yes, no one has ever received what you have received without being treated as an enemy. If I am alive when your time comes, I will give you every help." That is, "I will strive hard to help you always."

The words, "Not long thereafter Waraqa died" mean that his death came shortly after this event; may God have mercy on him and bless him. For what is told of him here constitutes credence in what had occurred, faith in the revelation that had come, and good intent for the future.

The Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, from Ibn Lahīʿa, quoting Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, that Khadija asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Waraqa b. Nawfal. He replied, "I saw him; and on him I saw white clothing. And if he were among those of hell, he would not have on white clothing."

This chain of authorities is good, but al-Zuhri and Hishām related it from ʿUrwa in an incomplete line. So God alone knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā recounted, from Shurayḥ b. Yūnus, from Ismāʿīl, from Mujāhid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about Waraqa b. Nawfal and he replied, "I saw him; and I saw on him white clothing. I observed him in the heart of paradise and he was wearing a silken robe."

He was asked about Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, and he replied, "He will be resurrected on Judgement Day as one nation by himself." He was asked about Abū Ṭālib and he replied, "I drew him forth from a deep pool in hell to a shallow shore of it."

He was asked about Khadija because she died before the rules and ordinances prescribed in the Qurʾān. He said, "I saw her beside a river in paradise in a house made of reeds where there was no noise or hardship."

The chain of authorities for this is good, and there are testimonies corroborating some of it in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Ḥishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Do not revile Waraqa; I have seen a garden or two for him."

Ibn 'Asākir related this similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Sa'īd al-Ashajjī, from Abū Mu'āwiyā', from Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, and this chain of authorities is excellent. And it is also told in a similar way through a chain that is incomplete.

The two *ḥufāz* al-Bayhaqī and Abū Nu'aym related in both their works entitled *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) from a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Yūnus b. 'Amr, from his father, from 'Amr b. Sharaḥbīl, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Khadija, "When I was left to myself, I heard a cry and, by God, I feared that something terrible was going to happen."

She replied, "God forbid! He would never do anything to you! By God, you behave with loyalty, you maintain the ties of kinship, and speak truthfully."

And when Abū Bakr came in, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was no longer there so she recounted it all to him, saying, "Good old friend, go with Muḥammad to Waraqa."

When the Messenger of God came in, Abū Bakr took his hand and said, "Let's go at once to Waraqa." He asked, "Who told you?" "Khadija." And so they went at once to Waraqa and related it to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "When I am all alone I hear a voice behind me saying, 'Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!' So I rush off outside." Waraqa told him, "Don't do that. When it comes, stay right there to hear what it says to you. Then come and tell me." And when he was alone, the voice did call out again, saying, "Muḥammad! O Muḥammad! Say, 'In the name of God the most Merciful, the most Beneficent; praise be to God, Lord of the worlds . . .'" And it continued right on (to the end of the *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*; I) to the words, *wa lā al-ḡālina*, 'nor those who go astray'. It then said, "Say: 'There is no God but God!'"

So he went to Waraqa and told him that. Waraqa replied, "Rejoice, then rejoice again! I bear witness that you are he of whom the son of Mary spoke. What you have is like what came to the angel Gabriel for Moses. You are a Prophet from God. You will be ordered into the struggle some time hereafter. And if I live that long, I will fight along with you!"

When he died the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I saw the priest in heaven wearing silken garments, because he believed in me and believed what I said." He was referring to Waraqa.

This text is from al-Bayhaqī, and its chain of authorities is not fully complete. It is also strange that according to this account it was the *surat al-Fātiḥa* (Qur'ān, I) that was revealed first.

We have given above some of the poetry of Waraqa that shows his concealed faith in him, his confidence in it and his dedication to it. This was when Khadija told him what had happened when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been with the youth Maysara, and how the cloud had been sheltering him in the

extreme heat. Waraqa spoke some verses on that occasion, as we have already given above. These were:

“I persisted, being determined to recall both a matter that often inspired my tears
And a description from Khadija, following (another) account; my waiting has been
long, O Khadija.

In the heart of Mecca, with my hoping because of your words, that I would see
some solution.

From what you related as the words of a priest who was a monk, words I would
hate to be wrong,

That Muḥammad will one day prevail and defeat whomever opposes him
Making a light appear in the land by which he will bring change to all creation.

Those who oppose him will meet defeat, while those who aid him will achieve
success.

Would that I be there to witness, for I'll be the first of them in participating.

Sharing in that which Quraysh will hate, however much they bluster in their
Mecca.

I aspire, through him whom they all hate, to reach the Enthroned One, even if they
descend, aside.

Is it folly to not disbelieve in Him who chooses, He who raised the stars?

If they and I survive, things will happen at which the disbelievers will be sorely
discomfited.”

He also spoke the following verses in another ode:

“By news of veracity you foretold of Muḥammad, telling them about him, an
adviser being absent,

Informing that the son of ‘Abd Allāh, Aḥmad, is sent to all men on earth.

My thought of him is that he will be sent to speak the truth, just as the two slaves
Hūd and Šāliḥ were sent

And Moses and Abraham, so that a brightness will be seen and a clear emanation of
the truth.

And there will follow him the two tribes of Luʿayy b. Ghālib, both the young men
and the lordly greybeards.

And if I survive until his age arrives for man, then I will greet him in joy and love.

If not, then I will certainly, O Khadija please know this, be travelling somewhere
above the broad earth.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, that Waraqa also spoke
the following:

“If it be true, O Khadija, then know that your account to us means that Aḥmad is
sent.

And Gabriel will bring to him, Michael being with them both, from God a
revelation that relieves the heart sent down.

Through him there will succeed those who have success through repentance, and
through him will suffer those in distress, those deceived and led astray.

Two groups of them there will be: one will go to God's gardens, and the other will be kept in pain within the enclosures of hell.

If they call out in woe therein, iron staffs will be inserted in their heads in succession, and be put in flames.

And so, glory be to Him at whose order the winds blow, and Who in all time does as He wishes,

He whose throne is above all the heavens, and He whose decrees made for those He has created may not be changed."

And Waraqa also said,

"O for men and the changes of time and fate, though in whatever God decrees there is no change

Until Khadija calls me to tell her of a matter I see will come to people unawares.

She told me of something of which I had in the past, long, long ago already heard,

That Aḥmad would be visited by Gabriel and told, "You are sent forth to humankind."

And I replied,

"Perhaps what you wish for, God will fulfil for you; so hope for good and be patient!

Send him to us that we may question him about what it is he sees asleep, and when awake."

So when he came to us, he gave a wondrous speech, so as to make the skin creep, and the hair stand tall.

(He said) "I saw God's trusted servant facing me, in a figure made complete from the most magnificent of forms.

Then he continued on, while fear made me panic for what would save me from the anguish I was in."

I said, "I think, and I don't know if what I think will come true, that he will be sent forth to recite chapters to be revealed,

"And it will pain you if you call openly to them to engage in the struggle with neither inducement nor threat."

In his *al-Dalā'il (The Signs)* the ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī gave the text of these verses thus: I have doubts over whether they truly stem from Waraqa. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated that 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Sufyān b. al-'Alā' b. Jāriyya al-Thaqafi related to him – and he had a fine ear and memory – on the authority of a scholar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after God wished to honour him by the beginning of the prophethood, would walk far off to do his business, out of sight of dwellings. As he went off into the pathways of Mecca and deep into its valleys, every rock and tree he passed would greet him, saying, "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!" Hearing this, he would turn all around yet see nothing but the trees and rocks. This situation prevailed, with

him seeing and hearing as long as God wished, until ultimately Gabriel brought God's honour upon him during Ramaḍān in Ḥirā'.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Wahb b. Kaysān, the freed-man of the Zubayr tribe, related to him, that he heard 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr say to 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr b. Qatāda al-Laythi, "Tell me, 'Ubayd, how was the beginning of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Gabriel first came to him?" 'Ubayd replied, in my presence, talking to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the others there with him, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to take up residence in Ḥirā' in seclusion for one month each year. This practice, known as *al-taḥannuth*, i.e. 'pious devotion', was one performed by Quraysh before the coming of Islam.

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was dwelling there for that month of each year, he would feed all the poor who came to him. When the period of that month of devotion was concluded, the first thing he would do was go to the *ka'ba*, circumambulating around it seven times or so before proceeding to his own home.

"This was so until that month came of the year when God honoured him with his mission. That month, it being Ramaḍān, he went off as usual for his devotions at Ḥirā', his family accompanying him. Then came the night when God did honour him with his mission, thereby having mercy on all men. Gabriel came to him then with the command of God Almighty.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'He came to me while I was asleep, carrying a brocade cloth with writing upon it. He told me, "Read!" "Read what?" I asked. He then choked me so hard I thought I would die, but he released me and said, "Read!" "Read what?" I asked, so he choked me so hard I thought I would die. He then released me and said, "Read!" I asked, "What should I read?" I only said this to spare myself his doing the same to me again.

"Then he said, "Read; in the name of your Lord who created. He created man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know."

"So I recited this, and then he had finished with me and left me. I awoke from my sleep, and it was as though a document had been inscribed into my heart.'

"He went on: 'I then went off into the mountains where I heard a voice from the sky saying, "O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God, and I am Gabriell!"

"I raised my head up to the sky to look, and there was Gabriel in the image of a man, with his feet placed evenly across the horizons of the sky. He was saying, "O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God, and I am Gabriel."

"I stood there looking up at him, neither advancing nor retreating, and began turning my head in all directions, but wherever I looked I still saw him.

"I remained standing there thus, neither advancing nor retreating, until Khadija sent her messengers to look for me. And they went all the way to Mecca and returned again to her while I still stood there where I was. Then he (Gabriel) left me.

"I now returned to my family and sat down close beside Khadija. She asked me, "Where were you, O father of al-Qāsim? I swear, I sent my messengers all the way to Mecca and back looking for you."

"I then told her what I had seen, and she said, "Rejoice and be brave; by Him in whose hands Khadija is, I hope you will be the prophet of this nation."

"She then arose, dressed, and went off to Waraqa b. Nawfal to tell him what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reported to her. Waraqa exclaimed, 'Holy of Holies! By Him in whose hands Waraqa is, if you have told me the truth, Khadija, the Archangel Gabriel has come to him just as he did to Moses. He is to be the prophet of this nation! Tell him to be brave!'

"Khadija returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what Waraqa had said.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed his period of secluded devotion, he did as always, going first to the *ka'ba* and circumambulating it. There he met Waraqa b. Nawfal who was also performing the circumambulation, and Waraqa asked him, 'O nephew, tell me what you saw and heard.'

"He did tell him, and Waraqa commented, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hand, you certainly will be the Prophet of this nation. You have been visited by the Archangel who came to Moses. You will certainly be called a liar, reviled, sent into exile and fought. If I live till that time, I will give God my help, and He will know it.' Waraqa then brought his head down over him, and kissed him on the top of his head. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereupon went off home."

This is the account given by Ubayd b. Umayr, just as we have told it. It serves as a prelude to the awakening that followed it, and introduces the statement of Khadija, God bless her, who said, "Whenever he saw visions they came to him as the breaking of dawn."

It is probable that this dream came after what he had seen while awake on the morning following that same night. It is also possible it came some time after that. God knows best.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, as follows, "From what we have been told, the first thing he saw – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – were visions God revealed to him while he was asleep. These greatly disturbed him and he told his wife Khadija of them. God protected her from scepticism about them, opening her heart to belief. And so she said, 'Rejoice! For God has never done anything but good.'

"Thereafter he went off, but returned later to tell her how he had seen his stomach split open, and it had been washed and cleaned and all restored as before. To this she said, 'By God, I swear that this is good; so rejoice!'

"Then Gabriel appeared before him while he was on the heights above Mecca, sitting him down on a wonderful seat of honour. The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to say, 'He sat me down on a rug of *durnūk*, velvet, that was decorated with pearls and precious stones.' Gabriel then announced to him the mission from God the Almighty and Glorious, and put the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at ease. Gabriel then said to him, 'Read!' He replied, 'How shall I read?' Gabriel answered, 'Read: in the name of your Lord who created. He created man from a clot. Read! your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know.'"

He went on, "And people claim that 'O you who are all wrapped up!' is the first *sūrat* revealed to him. But God knows best."

He went on, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted the mission from his Lord, and obeyed the commandment Gabriel had brought him from God.

"And when he was returning back home, every tree and rock he passed greeted him. And so he went back to his family in good spirits, convinced that he had seen something stupendous. When he went in to see Khadija, he said, 'You remember what I told you I saw in a vision? Well, Gabriel has now appeared plainly before me. My Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, sent him to me.' He then told her what Gabriel had told him to do and what he had heard him say. She responded, 'Rejoice! For God will never bring you anything but good. And so accept the order that has come to you from God, for it is the truth. And rejoice, for you are in truth the Messenger of God.'

"She then left her home and set off to visit a youth who belonged to 'Utba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams, a Christian originally from Nineveh, who was called 'Addās. She said to him, 'I adjure you by God to tell me, do you have any knowledge about Gabriel?' He replied, 'Holy! Holy! How is it that mention is made of Gabriel in this land, all of whose people are idol worshippers?' She replied, 'Tell me what you know of him!' 'Gabriel', he replied, 'is God's trusty servant, God's intercessor between Himself and the prophets. He it was who accompanied Moses and Jesus, upon both of whom be peace.'

"Khadija then came back from visiting him and went to see Waraqa b. Nawfal. She told him of what had happened to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and what Gabriel had commanded to him. Waraqa said to her, 'O fond daughter of my brother, I just don't know. Perhaps your companion is the prophet who is awaited by the People of the Book (i.e. Scriptures), about whom they find it written in their Torah and Bible. But I swear by God, that if this is he and he openly proclaims his mission while I am still live, I will express my dedication to

God by obedience to His Messenger and by giving him every assistance in maintaining fortitude and in achieving victory.'

"Thereafter Waraqa, God have mercy on him, died."

Al-Zuhri stated, "Khadija was the first person to believe in God and to give credence to His Messenger (SAAS)."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, after having given the account we have reported above, "The reference here to his stomach being split open probably refers to his relating what was done to him when he was a boy, that is, its being opened while he was with Ḥalima. It is also possible that it was split open a second time, and then again a third, when he was transported up to heaven. But God knows best."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir related in his biography of Waraqa, with a chain of authority back to Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī, as follows, "We have heard that God Almighty sent Muḥammad as a Prophet at the start of the 50th year after the rebuilding of the *ka'ba*.

"The first aspect of God's making him a Prophet and honouring him, was a vision he saw. He related that to his wife Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, and she told him, 'Rejoice! For, I swear by God, He will never do you anything but good.'

"One day when he was in the cave Ḥirā', where he would seclude himself from his people, Gabriel came down to him. As he approached, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was mightily afraid, so Gabriel placed one hand on his chest and the other on his back between his shoulders and said, 'O God, unburden him, and give him relief! Cleanse his heart! O Muḥammad, rejoice! For you are the Prophet of this nation. Read!' The Prophet of God (SAAS) then replied, trembling with fear, 'I have never read any document; I don't read well. I neither write nor read.'

"At this Gabriel took hold of him and choked him hard, then released him and said, 'Read!' And the same happened as before. Then Gabriel seated him upon a soft rug of the *durnūk* type of such richness and splendour as to remind him of pearls and precious stones. Gabriel then told him, 'Read: in the name of your Lord who created . . .' and so on to the end of the verses. He then said to him, 'O Muḥammad, do not be afraid. You are the Messenger of God!'

"Then he left. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was overcome by anxiety and he asked himself, 'What am I to do? And what can I say to my people?'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose afraid, but Gabriel appeared before him in all his splendour. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw a sight that filled him with wonder, and Gabriel told him, 'O Muḥammad, be you not afraid! Gabriel is God's messenger. Gabriel is God's messenger to His prophets and His messengers. Be secure in God's nobility. You are the Messenger of God.'

"As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went home every tree and rock bowed down before him, saying, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!' And so his soul was calmed, and he was sure of God's having honoured him. When he reached his wife Khadija, she saw from his face that something had happened, and that scared her. She arose to him and, when close, began wiping his face and saying, 'You've probably been seeing and hearing things like those before today.'

"He replied, 'O Khadija, you know what I've been seeing in my sleep and the voice I've been hearing while awake and that so disturbed me? It was Gabriel! He has appeared plainly before me, spoken to me and made me read some words that gave me fear. He then came back to me and told me that I am the prophet of this nation. So I came back home and on my way trees and rocks turned to me and said, "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!"'

"Khadija said, 'Rejoice! For, by God, I well know that God will not do you anything but good. I bear witness that you are the prophet of this nation whom the Jews await. My servant Nāsiḥ and the monk Baḥīrā both told me this and advised me more than 20 years ago to marry you.' And she stayed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he had eaten, drunk, and laughed.

"She then went off to see the monk, who lived close by to Mecca. When she drew near and he recognized her, he said, 'What is wrong, O mistress of all the women of Quraysh?' She replied, 'I have come to you for you to tell me about Gabriel.'

"He replied, 'Glory be to God, our most holy Lord! How is it that Gabriel is mentioned here, in this land whose people worship idols? Gabriel is the trusted servant of God, and his envoy to His prophets and to His messengers. It is he who was the companion of Moses and Jesus.'

"And so she knew how much God was honouring Muḥammad.

"Then she went to a slave of 'Utba b. Rabī'a called 'Addās, and questioned him. He told her the same as the monk had, and more besides. He said, 'Gabriel was with Moses when God drowned Pharaoh and his men. He was also there when God spoke to Moses on Mt. al-Ṭūr. And he it was who accompanied Jesus, son of Mary, and he through whom God aided Jesus.'

"She then left 'Addās and went to Waraqa b. Nawfal whom she asked about Gabriel. He told her the same. He then asked her what was the matter, and she made him swear not to divulge what she would tell him. He so swore, and she told him, 'The son of 'Abd Allāh related to me – and he is truthful and never, I swear it, either told a lie or was accused of lying – that Gabriel came down to him in Ḥirā', told him he was the prophet of this nation, and made him recite some verses he had been sent with.'

"Waraqa was dumbfounded at this, and said, 'If Gabriel has actually placed his feet upon earth, he has done so for the best of people thereupon. And he never came down for anyone except a prophet. For he is the companion of all the

prophets and messengers, the one whom God sends down to them. I believe what you tell me of him. Send for 'Abd Allāh's son, so that I may question him, hear what he says and talk to him. I am afraid it may be someone other than Gabriel, for certain devils imitate him and by so doing can mislead and corrupt some men. This can result in a man becoming confused and even crazy whereas before he had been of sound mind.'

"Khadija arose and left him, confident that God would never do anything but good to her husband. So she returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what Waraqa had said. God Almighty then sent down the words: '*Nūn*. By the pen, and what they write! You are not, by grace of God, mad!' and so on to the end of these verses (*sūrat al-Qalam*, LXIII, v.1). He then told her, 'Absolutely not, by God! It was Gabriel!' She told him, 'I'd like you to go to him and inform him, so that God might give him guidance.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did go to Waraqa who asked him, 'Did he who came to you appear in lightness or in the dark?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) described Gabriel to him and his majesty, and what he had revealed to him.

"Waraqa then said, 'I bear witness that that was Gabriel, and that these were words spoken by God. He has ordered you to convey certain things to your people. It is a matter of prophethood, and if I live on into your era, I will follow you.' He then said, 'Rejoice, O son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib!'

The account went on, "And Waraqa's words became widely known, along with the fact that he had given credence to the Messenger of God. This fact distressed most of his people.

"And thereafter the revelation faltered. So people said, 'If he had come from God, he would have continued. But God is displeased with him.' And so God sent down the *sūras* of *al-Ḍuḥā* (XCIII) and *A Lam Nashrah* (*al-Inshirāh*, XCIV) in all their entirety."

Al Bayhaqī stated that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū al-Abbās, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq and Ismā'īl b. Abū Ḥakīm, the freed-man of the Zubayr family, who related to him that Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, said once to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) regarding his explanation of how God honoured him with his prophethood, "O cousin, can you tell me about this companion who comes to you when he actually does come?" "Yes," he replied. "Then do tell me when he comes," she asked.

And while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with her, he was visited by Gabriel. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he said, "Khadija, this is Gabriel." "Do you see him now?" she asked. "Yes, I do," he replied. "Now come over and sit by my right side." He changed his position and sat. She asked,

"Do you see him now?" "Yes," he replied. "Now change your position and sit in my lap." When he did this, she asked, "Well, do you see him now?" "Yes," he replied. She then exposed her head and removed her veil, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) still sat there in her lap. Then she asked, "Do you see him now?" "No," he answered. "This is no devil then, cousin; this is an angel! Take heart and rejoice!" She then believed in him and gave witness that it was the truth he brought.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "I told 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan this story and he commented, 'I heard my mother Fāṭima relate this account from Khadija, except that I heard her say, 'She took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) inside her shift, and it was then that Gabriel, upon whom be peace, went away.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This was something that Khadija did to settle the matter, to preserve her faith and affirm her credence."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) was secure in what Gabriel had said to him, in the verses he had revealed to him which we have recounted several times, and in the fact of the trees and rocks having made salutation to him.

Muslim stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, and Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Jābir b. Samura, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I know one rock in Mecca that used to greet me even before I received my mission; I still know it now."

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisi stated that Sulaymān b. Mu'adh related to him, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Jābir b. Samura, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "There is in Mecca a rock that used to greet me on the nights when I was receiving my mission; I recognize it when I pass by it."

Al-Bayhaqī related, from a tradition of Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī al-Kabīr, from 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God in Mecca, walking in various parts of the town, and no tree nor mountain received him without saying, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God.'"

And in another account he said, "When I entered the valley in his company, he would not pass by a single rock or tree without its saying, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God'; I heard this."

DIVISION

Al-Bukhārī stated in his account given above, "then the revelation waned, so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was so depressed, as we have been told, that he would often feel like throwing himself down from the summits of high mountains. Whenever he reached the top of a mountain to throw himself down, Gabriel would appear to him and say, 'O Muḥammad, you are in truth the Messenger of

God.' This would relieve his distress and he would return down. And if the revelation was again long in coming, he would feel and do the same. When he would reach the mountain summit, Gabriel would appear and speak to him as before."

In both the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a tradition from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, who said that he heard Abū Salama 'Abd al-Raḥmān relate from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) talking about the intermission in the revelation, say, "While I walked, I heard a voice from heaven. I raised my sight towards the sky and there I saw the angel who came to me in Ḥirā', seated upon a throne amidst the sky. I knelt down before him in fear, right down to the ground, then went to my family and said, 'Wrap me up! Wrap me up!' And so God sent down, 'O you who are wrapped up! Arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord! Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!' (*sūrat al-Mudaththir*, LXXIV, v.1-5).

"He went on, 'And then the revelation became stronger and continued uninterrupted.'"

The above verse was the first of the Qur'ān sent down after the intermission in revelation, though not the very first of all, which was the verse, "Read: in the name of your Lord who created" (*sūrat al-'Alaq*, XCVI, v.1).

It is established on the authority of Jābir that the first verse to be revealed was, "O you who are wrapped up." It is perhaps appropriate to interpret his words as we have suggested, for in the sequence of what he states, there is evidence for the angel having come down earlier, as he recognized him from earlier. Moreover, in Jābir's words making reference to the "intermission in the revelation", there is a proof that revelation did precede this instance. But God knows best.

It is established in both the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from an account of 'Alī b. al-Mubārak, as well as in the works of Muslim and al-Awzā'i, both of whom also quote Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr as having said, "I asked Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Which part of the Qur'ān was revealed before?' He replied, 'The verse, "O you who are wrapped up.'"

"I asked, 'And the verse, "Read in the name of your Lord who created?" He replied, 'I asked Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh which verse of the Qur'ān came earliest, and he replied, "It was 'O you who are wrapped up.' So I asked him, 'What about "Read in the name of your Lord who created?"' and he answered, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I spent a month in seclusion in Ḥirā' and when it was over I went down into the heart of the valley. I heard a voice calling out to me and I looked ahead, behind me and to left and right, but I saw nothing. Then I looked up at the sky and there he was, on a throne in the air. I was seized by a trembling" – or he used the word "anxiety" instead of the word "a trembling" – and went on to Khadija. She ordered them and they wrapped me

up. And then God revealed the verse, 'O you who are wrapped up . . .' and so on till the verse, 'and purify your garments.'""

According to a variant account he used the words, "And there was the angel who had come to me in Ḥirā' seated on a throne between the heavens and the earth, and I knelt down before him."

This is a plain reference to his prior coming to him and to his having made revelation from God to him, as we have stated. But God knows best.

There are some who claim that the first revelation that came after the intermission was the *sūrat* beginning, "By the morning hours and by the night when it darkens, your Lord has not forsaken you, nor is He displeased" (*sūrat al-Duḥā*, XCIII, v.1-3) and so on to the end of the *sūrat*. This is what Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated.

Some Qur'ān reciters state that this is why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the words "*Allāhu Akbar*" ("God is most Great!") when he received the first part of it, out of joy.

This statement is suspect, since it is refuted by the previous account of the two authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, to the effect that the first to be revealed of the Qur'ān after the intermission was, "O you who are wrapped up" but that the *sūrat* beginning "by the morning hours" came after another intermission of a few nights.

This is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere, as well as from the account of al-Aswad b. Qays, from Jandab b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajālī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was indisposed and did not get up for one, two or several nights. A woman commented, 'So your spirit soon abandoned you, then!' And so God revealed the verses, 'By the dawn and by the night when it darkens, your Lord has not forsaken you, nor is He displeased.'"

And it was thereby that the revelation transpired for mankind, whereas it was by the former circumstances that the prophethood came about.

Some authorities state that the intermission lasted for approximately two years, or two years and a half.

What is apparent – though God alone knows best – is that it was a period comparable to that related to Mikā'il; al-Sha'bī and others made this observation.

This does not refute that Gabriel first brought him revelation, in the verses, "Read in the name of your Lord who created."

Thereafter Gabriel became associated with him, following the revelation of "O you who are wrapped up, arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord. Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!"

Thereafter the revelation intensified and continued; that is, it came uninterrupted, little by little.

At this time the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began devoting himself totally to

the mission, with energy and determination. He summoned all to God, both near and far, slaves and free men alike. And all of intelligence, excellence, and good favour believed in him, while all who were stubborn and intransigent continued to oppose and disobey him.

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq, "the trusting", was the first free man to believe in him, while 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalib was the first youth to do so.

The first woman to believe was Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid, his wife.

Of the freed men, the *mawālī*, his own *mawlā* Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī was the first. May God be pleased with all the above.

We have previously written about the faith of Waraqa b. Nawfal, and how he reacted to the revelation and died during the intermission period. May God be pleased with him.

Section: On preventing the demons and evil spirits from eavesdropping when the Qur'ān was revealed, so that none of them would acquire any of it, even so much as a syllable, and deliver it through the speech of his human associates, which would have led to complications and a confusion of the truth.

It was God's mercy, grace and kindness to His creation that He excluded them from heaven. God Almighty spoke of them in His words, "and that we tried heaven, but found it filled with a strong guard and shooting stars. We used to sit in seats there to listen, but now any of us who eavesdrops finds a shooting star in wait. And we do not know whether harm is meant for those on earth, or whether their Lord intends guidance for them" (*sūrat al-Jinn*, LXXII, v.8–10).

The Almighty said, "And the devils have not brought it down. This would not be right for them; and they could not. They are kept away from hearing it" (*sūrat al-Shu'arā*, XXVI, v.210–12).

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym stated that Sulaymān b. Aḥmad – he being al-Ṭabarānī – related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Abū Maryam, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī, quoting Isrā'īl, on the authority of Abū Ishāq, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The devils would ascend to heaven to listen to the revelation. Having memorized the statement, they would then make nine additions to it. The statement itself would be true, but their additions thereto would be false.

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was given his mission, their seats were denied them. They complained of this to Satan. And prior to that they did not have shooting stars fired at them. Satan told them, 'This is due to some event on earth.'

"He therefore sent his forces down and they found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing between two mountains and praying. They went back to him (Satan) and told him. He then said, 'That is what has occurred on earth.'"

Abū 'Uwāna gave an account from Abū Bishr, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn

‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left with others on a trip to the market of ‘Ukāz. At this time the devils were being denied access to information from heaven and shooting stars had been sent against them. The devils had returned to their own people who asked them what was wrong. They replied, ‘We’ve been denied access to information from heaven, and shooting stars have been fired at us.’ Their people told them, ‘This has to be because something has happened. So go and search the ends of the earth!’

“One group set off towards Tihāma and passed over a date plantation where he was, while on their way to ‘Ukāz. He was with his Companions there performing the dawn prayer. When the devils overheard the Qur’ān, they listened to it and said, ‘It is this that has denied us access to information from heaven.’

“So they returned home and told the rest: ‘O our people, we have heard a wonderful Qur’ān that leads to right guidance; we believe in it, and will never associate another deity with our Lord’ (*sūrat al-Jinn*, LXXII, v.1–2). And so God revealed to His Prophet (ṢAAS) the words: ‘Say: “It was revealed to me that a group of *jinn* listened and said, ‘We have heard a wonderful Qur’ān”’ (*sūrat al-Jinn*, LXXII, v.1).”

This account was included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated that Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl related to him, from ‘Aṭā’ b. al-Sā’ib, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “Every single tribe of *jinn* had places where they would sit and listen. When revelation began the angels would hear a sound like that of metal being cast against stone.

“When the angels heard this, they would fall down prostrate and not raise their heads until revelation had come. When it had, they would ask one another, ‘What was it your Lord said?’ And if it related to matters in heaven, they would say, ‘He spoke the truth; and He is the All-High, the Almighty.’ But if it related to matters on earth, dealing with the future, with death or other worldly affairs, they would talk about it and say, ‘It would be so, and such.’ The devils would listen to this and transmit it down to their human companions.

“Now when the Prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS) received his mission, they were chased away with shooting stars. The first to learn of this were the tribe of Thaḳīf. Those with livestock began making sacrifice. Those with sheep would slaughter one each day, those with camels would slaughter one similarly. They made haste to their flocks to do this. But some said, ‘No, don’t do this. If it is the stars people use to find their way, (then it is right to make sacrifice) but otherwise it is just happening because of some specific event.’ When they looked, they found that nothing had happened to the stars used for navigation. And so they ceased making sacrifice.

“And God sent the *jinn* into motion, and they heard the Qur’ān. When they were there present, they said, ‘Listen carefully!’

"The devils would go off to Iblis (Satan) and inform him. He told them, 'This is some event that has occurred on earth. Therefore bring me some dust from every part of it.' And when they brought him some from Tihāma, he said, 'This is the site of the event.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this tradition, quoting al-Ḥakīm, through Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Usāma b. Zayd b. Aslam related to him, from 'Umar b. 'Abdān al-'Absī, from Ka'b, who said, "No stars had been cast since the ascension of Jesus until the time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a prophet. Quraysh then saw sights they never before witnessed. And so they began releasing their flocks and freeing their slaves, thinking that it meant the end of the world. News of these actions of theirs reached the people of al-Ṭā'if, and Thaḳīf did the same (as Quraysh).

"What Thaḳīf had done became known to the slave of Yālayl b. 'Amr, and he asked them, 'Why have you done what I see?' They replied, 'There have been shooting stars, and we have seen them falling from the sky.' He observed, 'But it's hard to replace properties once they have gone; don't be in a hurry and observe. If they are stars that are recognized, then it does mean destruction for us. But if they are stars that were unknown stars, then it's all because of some event that has occurred.'

"So they made observations, found they were unknown stars and told him of this. He commented, 'Well, there's still some time left then. This is because of the appearance of a prophet.'

"Soon thereafter Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb came for his animals and 'Abd Yālayl went to him and told him about the stars. Abū Sufyān then commented, 'Muḥammad son of 'Abd Allāh has come forth and made a claim that he is a prophet who has been sent.' 'Abd Yālayl then said, 'Well, that's why there have been shooting stars.'"

Sa'īd b. Manṣūr stated, from Khālid b. Ḥusayn, from 'Āmir al-Sha'bī, who said, "The stars were not cast until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission. People then released their flocks and set free their slaves. So 'Abd Yālayl said, 'Observe; and if it is stars that are known, it means the end of mankind is near. But if they are not known, then it is happening because of some event that has occurred.' And so they did make observations and found them to be unknown. They therefore ceased what they had been doing and soon thereafter news came to them of the emergence of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥakīm gave the wording of this account through al-'Awfi from Ibn 'Abbās, he having said: "The world's heavens had not been guarded over throughout the period between Jesus and Muḥammad (ṢAAS)."

Perhaps what is meant by this negative statement is that the heavens had not

been under strict guard. This must be held more likely, because of what is well established in a *ḥadīth* through ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ibn ‘Abbās, God be pleased with him, who said, “On one occasion when the Messenger of God was sitting down, a shooting star occurred and it became light. He then asked, ‘What was it you used to say when shooting stars were going on?’ They replied, ‘We would say: “A great man has died; a great man is born.”’ He commented, ‘No, but . . .’ He then made the statement we reported elsewhere (in part one of the work *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* (*The Beginning and The End*), relating to the creation of the heavens and the stars therein at the first Creation. And all praise be to God.

Ibn Ishāq related the story of the shooting stars in his biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Of the leader of Thaḳīf, he said that he used the words, regarding observation of the stars, “(to see) whether they are the most prominent stars of the skies, or other ones”. But Ibn Ishāq named this man as ‘Amr b. Umayya. God knows best.

Al-Suddi stated, “The heavens were only guarded when there was a prophet on earth, or when a religion of God was appearing. The devils, prior to Muḥammad (ṢAAS), used to take seats in the skies above the world and overhear what was going on in heaven.

“When God sent Muḥammad (ṢAAS) as a prophet, one night they had stars shot at them. This terrified the people of al-Ṭāʾif, and they told one another that the people of heaven had been destroyed! This was because of the violence of the fires in the sky and the great variety of the shooting stars. So they began setting their slaves free and releasing their livestock. At this ‘Abd Yālayl b. ‘Amr b. ‘Umayr told them, ‘Woe upon you, O people of Ṭāʾif! Secure your property and observe the most prominent stars. If you see them to be still set in their places, then the people of heaven are not destroyed, but it’s all because of the son of Abū Kabsha.⁷⁴ But if you don’t see them there, then the people of heaven have perished.’

“And when they looked, they did still see them and so they secured their property.

“That night the devils were terrified and went to Satan and he told them, ‘Bring me a handful of earth from every place.’ When they did so, he sniffed it and said, ‘Your man is in Mecca.’

“He then dispatched seven of the spirits of Naṣībīn and they came to Mecca and found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the Harām (Holy) Mosque reciting the Qurʾān. They approached him so eager to hear it that their bodies almost touched him. They then accepted Islam, and God sent down revelation to his Prophet (ṢAAS) about them.”

74. The unbelievers of Mecca used to refer to the Prophet as “the son of Abū Kabsha”.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from the son of Abū Ḥakīm – by whom he meant Ishāq – from 'Aṭā' b. Yasār, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission, all the idols were overturned. So the evil spirits went and told him (Satan), 'Every single idol on earth has been overturned.' He responded, 'This is due to a Prophet who has been given a mission. Look for him in villages in the countryside.' They did so, but reported to him that they could not find him. He then said, 'I'll do it.' And so he went off and looked for him. A voice called out to him, 'Go to *Janbat al-Bāb*' – the 'gate quarter' – meaning Mecca. He looked for him there and found him at *Qarn al-Tha'ālib*. Satan then went off to the devils and told them, 'I found him, and Gabriel was with him. What's your opinion?' They answered, 'We'll make earthly pleasures delightful in people's eyes and so make them covet them.' 'So no problem then,' he commented."

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ṭalḥa b. 'Amr related to him, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, who said, "When the day came when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a Prophet, the devils were denied access to heaven and shooting stars were fired at them. So they went to Satan and when they told him this he commented, 'Some event has occurred. This is a Prophet who has come forth to them in the Holy Land, the place where the tribe of Israel came from.'

"So the devils went off to Syria, then returned and told him, 'There's no one there.' Satan responded, 'I'll do it.'

"Then he went off to look for him in Mecca. And there was the Messenger of God in Ḥirā', and Gabriel was there with him. Satan returned to his evil spirits and told them, 'Aḥmad has received his mission and Gabriel is with him. What is your opinion?' They replied, 'Earthly delights; we'll make them attractive to people.' He replied, 'That will do it.'"

Al-Wāqidi said that Ṭalḥa b. 'Amr related to him, from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The devils used to listen to the revelation. And when Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was assigned to his mission, they were prevented from doing so. They complained about this to Satan, and he responded, 'Some event has occurred.' He then went on up above Abū Qubays, the very first mountain placed on the face of the earth, and saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at prayer behind the shrine. He told himself, 'I'll go on down and break his neck!' So he strutted off towards him. But Gabriel was there with him, and charged out at Satan sending him flying in all directions. So the devil took to his heels."

Both al-Wāqidi and Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī also related this, from Rabbāḥ b. Abū Ma'rūf, from Qays b. Sa'd, from Mujāhid. Their account was similar, with the variation, "Gabriel kicked the devil and threw him down to Aden."

Section: On the manner in which the revelation came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

It has previously been related how Gabriel came to him on both the first and second occasions.

Mālik stated, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, that al-Ḥārith b. Hishām asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) “O Messenger of God, how does revelation come to you?”

He replied, “Sometimes it comes like the ringing of a bell, it being then most painful. When it leaves me I remain conscious of what he spoke. Sometimes the angel appears before me as a man who addresses me, and I am fully aware of what he is saying.”

ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, stated, “I saw him (ṢAAS) when revelation came to him on the extremely cold day. Then it left him, and his forehead was bathed in perspiration.”

The authors of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections derived this *ḥadīth* from the account of Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad related it from ʿĀmir b. Ṣāliḥ, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa in a similar manner.

ʿAbda b. Sulaymān and Anas b. ʿIyyād related it similarly from Hishām b. ʿUrwa.

Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī related it from Hishām, from his father, from al-Ḥārith b. Hishām who said, “I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘How does revelation come to you?’” He related the same *ḥadīth* as above, but made no reference to ʿĀʾisha.

In the *ḥadīth al-ḍifk*⁷⁵ she stated, “By God, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not get up, nor did any member of the family leave, until revelation came down to him. He underwent the agony that used to seize him (on such occasions) with sweat emerging like pearls from him, even though it was a winter’s day, because of the heavy burden of the revelation that came down upon him.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Yūnus b. Ṣalīm, who said that Yūnus b. Yazīd dictated to him, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qārī, who said, “I heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, ‘When revelation came down to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), it would be heard like the buzzing of a bee near his face.’”

The tradition in its entirety was recounted in the section⁷⁶ on the revelation of the Qurʾānic verse, “and the believers have succeeded” (*sūrat al-Muʾminūn*, XXIII, v.1).

75. ʿĀʾisha’s account relating to certain slanderous charges made against her, see Volume III.

76. See Ibn Kathīr: *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm* (*The Exegesis of the Glorious Qurʾān*), Vol 3, p.237.

Al-Tirmidhī related this, quoting al-Nasā'ī from 'Abd al-Razzāq.

After giving it, al-Nasā'ī commented, "It is objectionable; we know of only Yūnus b. Salīm as having related it, and him we do not recognize."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim and others, it is recounted by al-Ḥasan, from Ḥiṭṭān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Raqāshī, from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would become in pain when revelation came to him, and his face would look very serious." According to one account, this wording should be "and his eyes would close; we recognized that in him."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is the account of Zayd b. Thābit that relates to the circumstance when the verse "Those of the believers who sit still are not on equality with . . ." (*sūrat al-Nisā'*, VI, v.95) was revealed; and when the son of Umm Maktūm complained of his disabilities, the next verse came down: "except for those with disabilities".

His account states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated with his thigh right next to mine while I was writing. When revelation came, his leg almost crushed mine."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, there is an account by Ḥammām b. Yahyā, from 'Aṭā', from Ya'fā b. Umayya, who is quoted as saying, "Umar said to me, 'Would you like to look at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while revelation is coming to him?' He raised the edge of his robe from his face while he was receiving revelation at al-Jī'rāna, and he was all flushed. And he would moan like a newborn calf."

It was established in the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ā'isha relating to when revelation came concerning the *ḥijāb* (the wearing of the veil) that Sawda went out thereafter to the privies, by night. 'Umar spoke to her, saying, "We can recognize you, O Sawda!" She then went back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and questioned him, while he was sitting having supper and holding his milk (mug) in his hand. God then sent down revelation to him, while the milk was in his hand. He then raised his head and said, "You women have been given permission to go out and attend to your needs."

This shows that revelation did not fully absent his feelings from him. This is proven by his being seated; and the milk, moreover, did not drop from his hand (ṢAAS)!

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that 'Abbād b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When revelation came down, the body and face of the Messenger of God would become pale; he would ignore those with him, and none of them would address him."

In the collection of traditions made by Aḥmad and others, there is an account of Ibn Lahī'a in which he states, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from 'Amr b. al-Walid, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, who said, 'I asked, "O Messenger of God, can you feel revelation coming?" He replied, "Yes; I hear ringing sounds. Then

I recover. And never once did I receive revelation without thinking that my soul was being seized by it.”””

Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb, quoting his father, from his uncle al-ʿIlyān b. ʿĀṣim, who said, “We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when revelation came to him. When this happened, he could still see and his eyes remained open, while his hearing and his heart were made empty for what would come to him from God, Almighty and Glorious is He.”

Abū Nuʿaym related, from a tradition of Qutayba that ʿAlī b. Ghurāb related to him, from al-Aḥwaṣ b. Ḥakīm, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “When revelation came down to the Messenger of God, he would get a headache and would cover his head with the henna plant.”

This is a very strange *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Abū Muʿāwiya Sinān, from Layth, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Asmāʾ, daughter of Yazīd, who said: “I was holding the reins of al-ʿAḍbāʾ, the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when the whole text of the *sūrat al-Māʾida* (Qurʾān, V) was revealed to him. The camel’s back almost gave way beneath the weight of it.”

Abū Nuʿaym related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from Layth b. Abū Salīm.

Imām Aḥmad also stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting Ibn Lahīʿa, quoting Jabr b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubālī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, “The *sūrat al-Māʾida* was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was riding on his camel. It could not carry him, so he dismounted.”

Ibn Mardawayh related, from a *ḥadīth* of Ṣabāḥ b. Sahl, from ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal, who said, “Umm ʿAmr related to me, from her uncle, that he was on a journey with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when the *sūrat al-Māʾida* was revealed to him. The camel’s neck was broken because of the weight of it.”

The implications of this are strange.

It is established, moreover, in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the *sūrat al-Faṭḥ* (Qurʾān, XLVII) was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was returning from al-Ḥudaybiyya, riding on his camel. It came at various times, according to the circumstances. But God knows best.

We have earlier given an account of the kinds of revelation that came to him (ṢAAS) in the early part of our exegesis of al-Bukhārī’s work, along with the comments of al-Ḥalīmī and other Imāms, God be pleased with them all.

DIVISION

God Almighty stated, “Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together, and to recite it. So when We do recite it, follow its recitation. And then, it is up to Us to explain it” (*sūrat al-Qiyāma*, LXXV, v.16–19).

And the Almighty said, "And do not make haste with the recitation, before its revelation to you has been completed. And say, 'O God, increase me in knowledge!'" (*sūrat Ṭāhā*, XX, v.114).

This was in the beginning. Due to his eagerness to receive from the angel what God the Almighty and Glorious had revealed to him, he used to join him through recitation. God Almighty therefore ordered him to listen on until the revelation was completed. He assured him He would store it in his chest and enable him to recite and announce it. God also said He would clarify and explain it and enable him to understand it.

For this reason He stated, "And do not make haste with the recitation, before its revelation to you has been completed. And say, 'O God, increase me in knowledge!'"

And He said, "Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together" – in your chest, that is – "and to recite it." That is, and you shall recite it. "So when We do recite it" – that is, when the angel recites it to you – "follow its recitation." That is, listen to it and consider it. And then, "it is up to Us to explain it." This is equivalent to saying, "O God, increase me in knowledge!"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a tradition of Mūsā b. Abū 'Ā'isha, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God would suffer great strain from revelation. He would move his lips and so God sent down to him, 'Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together, and to recite it.' He said 'to put it together' in your breast and then you will recite it. 'And so when We do recite it, follow its recitation.' And hear it, and listen to it. 'And then, it is up to Us to explain it.'"

He went on, "And when Gabriel came to him he would bow his head; and when he left he would recite it just as God the Almighty and Glorious had promised him."

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Thereafter revelation came frequently to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he fully believed in what he was receiving from God. He accepted it willingly and because of it received both the approbation and blame of other men.

"Prophethood brings burdens and troubles that can only be borne by messengers who are strong and determined through the power and aid of God. Their burdens arise from the reactions of men to them that result from what it is that God the Almighty and Glorious has brought them.

"The Messenger of God did continue to fulfil God's orders despite the opposition and harm he met from his people."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "And Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, believed in him and God's messages to him, and helped him.

"She was the first person to believe in God and His Messenger, and to believe in God's message to him.

"In this God alleviated His Messenger's burdens; whenever he suffered some unpleasant reaction or painful rejection, God would comfort him through her. When he came back to her she would give him strength and alleviate his pain. She would express her belief in him and make light of the opposition to him; may God bless and comfort her!"

Ibn Ishāq continued to say that Hishām b. 'Urwa related to him, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "I was commanded to tell Khadija the glad tidings of a house made of *qaṣab*, one where there would be no rancour and no trouble."

In the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections this *ḥadīth* is derived from an account of Hishām.

Ibn Hishām explained that the word *qaṣab* in this *ḥadīth* means hollowed-out pearls.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began, in secret, to inform all of his people whom he could trust about all that prophethood with which God had honoured him and His servants."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri, "Khadija was the first person to believe in God and in His Messenger; and this was even before prayer was made obligatory."

I make the comment that by this is meant the five daily prayers (that were enjoined) on the occasion of the *laylat al-isrā'*, the "night journey". As for the origin of prayer, it was (already) made necessary during the lifetime of Khadija, God bless her, as we will explain.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Khadija was the first person to believe in God, His Messenger, and the mission he brought.

"Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when prayer was made incumbent upon him; he made a mark with his heel on the side of the valley and a spring of water from *zamzam* gushed forth. Then Gabriel performed the ablution, along with Muḥammad, peace be upon them both. He then bowed in prayer twice and made four prostrations. Thereafter the Prophet (ṢAAS) went home, God having much comforted him and brought him what he wanted. He took Khadija's hand and led her to the well and there performed the ablution as Gabriel had done. He then made two bows in prayer and four prostrations. Thereafter Khadija and he would perform the prayer in secret."

I wish to comment that Gabriel's prayer on this occasion was different from the prayers he performed twice at the *ka'ba*. Then he explained the five times for prayer to him, from first to last. This came after they had been made obligatory following the *laylat al-isrā'*.

Explanation of this will come later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust, all reliance.

Section: Concerning the first persons to accept Islam; also reference to those of the Companions and others who were early in becoming Muslims.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And then 'Alī son of Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, came the following day while they were both praying. 'Alī asked, 'O Muḥammad, what are you doing?' He replied, 'It is God's religion that he has chosen for Himself and sent forth to His messengers. And so I summon you to God alone, He who has no partner, and to pray to Him, and to renounce al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā.'

"'Alī replied, 'This is something I never heard before today. I'm not going to decide anything before I tell Abū Ṭālib about it.'

"The Messenger of God was reluctant to have him expose his secret before he himself made it public. So he told him, 'O 'Alī, even if you don't accept Islam, do keep the matter secret.' 'Alī therefore did nothing that night. Then God placed Islam in the heart of 'Alī, and he went next morning to the Messenger of God and asked him, 'What was it you proposed to me, O Muḥammad?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Bear witness that there is no God but God alone; He has no partner. And renounce al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā, and disavow any peers.'

"'Alī did this and accepted Islam; but he was afraid of Abū Ṭālib's displeasure whenever he went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and so he kept his acceptance of Islam a secret he did not divulge.

"Ibn Hāritha, Zayd that is, then became a Muslim and they went on thus (in secret) for approximately one month, during which 'Alī frequently visited the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). A favour God had previously granted 'Alī was his having been brought up in the care of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before the coming of Islam."

Ibn Ishāq stated that Ibn Abū Nājīḥ related to him, from Mujāhid, who said, "One matter in which God favoured 'Alī was that Quraysh had a period of great crisis. Abū Ṭālib had a large family and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his uncle, al-'Abbās, a man who was among the wealthiest of the Banū Hāshim, 'O 'Abbās, your brother Abū Ṭālib has a large family, and you know how this crisis has affected everyone. So let us go and relieve him of the burden of some of his family.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took 'Alī and added him to his own family. And he was still living with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when God sent him his prophethood. And so it was that 'Alī followed him, and believed in him and his message."

Yūnus b. Bukayr related, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that Yahyā b. Abū al-Ash'ath al-Kindī, a scholar from al-Kūfa, related to him, quoting Ismā'īl

b. Abū Iyās b. ‘Afif, from his father, from his grandfather ‘Afif, this ‘Afif being the brother of al-Ash‘ath b. Qays on his mother’s side, who said, “I was a businessman and went to Minā during the pilgrimage season. Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was also a merchant, and I went to him to buy and sell from him.

“While we were engaged in this, a man came out of a tent and began praying towards the *ka‘ba*. And then a woman came out and also began to pray, then a boy emerged and prayed along with the man. I asked, ‘O Ibn ‘Abbās, what is this religion? We don’t know what religion this is.’

“He replied, ‘This is Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh. He claims that God has sent him and that the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar will be opened up for him. That is his wife, Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, and the boy is his nephew ‘Alī, son of Abū Ṭālib, and he believes in him.’

“‘Afif then commented, ‘O how I wish I had then believed in him; I would then have been the second!’”

Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d gave a similar account, from Ibn Ishāq, which gives the wording, “when a man came out of a tent near by. He looked up at the sky and when he saw the sun declining to set, he began to pray.” He then recounted how Khadija stood there behind him.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd al-Muḥārībī related to him, quoting Sa‘id b. Khuthaym, from Asad b. ‘Abda al-Bajālī, from Yahyā b. ‘Afif, who said, “I went to Mecca before the coming of Islam and stayed with al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. When the sun rose and hung high in the sky as I was overlooking the *ka‘ba*, a young man approached. He looked up at the sky then went to the *ka‘ba* and stood there facing it. A boy soon arrived and stood there to his right, and shortly thereafter a woman came and stood behind them. The man bowed down and so did the boy and the woman. Then the man stood up straight and so did the boy and the woman. Next the man made a prostration and they both did, along with him.

“I said, ‘O ‘Abbās, this is a strange business!’

“‘It is,’ he agreed. ‘Do you know who that is?’ ‘No,’ I replied. ‘That is Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh, grandson of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, my brother’s son. Do you know who the boy is?’ ‘No,’ I answered. ‘That is ‘Alī son of Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him. Do you know who the woman is standing behind them?’ ‘No,’ I replied. ‘That is Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, my nephew’s wife.’

“This man told me that your Lord, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, ordered him to do what you see them performing. By God, I know of no other on the face of the whole earth who engages in this religion except for these three!”

Ibn Jarīr stated that Ibn Ḥumayd related to him, quoting ‘Isā b. Sawāda b. Abū al-Ju‘d, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadar and Rabi‘a b. Abū ‘Abd

al-Raḥmān, and Abū Ḥāzim and al-Kalbī, all of whom said, "‘Alī is the first man to accept Islam."

Al-Kalbī stated, "He accepted Islam at the age of nine."

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us, quoting Salama, from Ibn Ishāq, who said, "The first male who believed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and prayed with him was ‘Alī, son of Abū Ṭālib. At the time he was ten years of age and he had been under the care of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before the coming of Islam."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibrāhīm related to him, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn Abū Nājiḥ, from Mujāhid, who said, "‘Alī accepted Islam when he was ten."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Our companions were in agreement that ‘Alī accepted Islam one year after the Messenger of God became a prophet."

Muḥammad b. Ka‘b stated, "The first of this nation to accept Islam was Khadija. The first two men to do so were Abū Bakr and ‘Alī, ‘Alī having done so before Abū Bakr. ‘Alī hid his faith because of his fear of his father, until his father joined him and asked, 'Have you accepted Islam?' ‘Alī replied, 'Yes.' 'Then give your cousin all help and aid,' he told him."

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, "the trusting", was the first man to openly declare his acceptance of Islam.

Ibn Jarīr related in his work of history, from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba, from Abū Balj, from ‘Amr b. Maymūn, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, "The first person to pray was ‘Alī."

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā related to us, quoting Shurayk, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uqayl, from Jābir, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission on a Monday and ‘Alī prayed on Tuesday." And he related, from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba from ‘Amr b. Murra, from Abū Ḥamza – a supporter from Medina – who said he heard Zayd b. Arqam say, "The first man to accept Islam along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ‘Alī son of Abū Ṭālib."

He went on, "I mentioned this to al-Nakh‘ī, but he refuted it and said, 'It was Abū Bakr who first accepted Islam.'"

He then said that ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, quoting al-‘Alā‘, from al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr, from ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh, who said, "I heard ‘Alī say, 'I am the slave of God and the brother of His Messenger. And I am the grand *ṣiddīq*, "trusting one". No one can say this after me without being a liar and a fabricator. I prayed seven years before the people did.'"

Ibn Māja recounted this similarly, from Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Rāzī, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Fahmī – who was a *shī‘ī* and a man accepted as a fully reliable source for traditions – from al-‘Alā‘ b. Ṣāliḥ al-Azdī of Kūfa, a man also considered reliable. However, Abū Ḥātim said of him that he was from the old aristocracy of the *shī‘a*. And ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī stated, "al-‘Alā‘ related objectionable accounts. Al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr is trustworthy, while his teacher, Sheikh ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh – of the Asad tribe and from Kufa – is weak." Moreover

al-Bukhārī stated, "There is some question about him." Ibn Ḥabbān referred to him as trustworthy.

This tradition is objectionable in any case. 'Alī, God be pleased with him, would not have said this. How could he have prayed seven years before the people? This is simply unimaginable. But God knows best.

Others said that the first man of this nation to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, "the trusting".

Combining these various accounts we see that Khadija was the first woman to accept Islam, the leader of the pack, as it were, and also she preceded the men. Among slaves, the first to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥāritha. And the first boy to accept Islam was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib; he was young then and had not reached puberty – as generally believed. These were then the family of the Prophet.

The first free man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, "the trusting". His conversion was more beneficial than that of those mentioned before because he was a highly respected leader, an honoured chief of Quraysh and a man of wealth. He became a missionary for Islam and was very much liked and admired for spending money in the service of God and His Messenger. Details of this activity will follow.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "Then Abū Bakr met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him, 'Is it true what Quraysh are saying, Muḥammad? About you abandoning our gods, ridiculing our intellects, and calling our ancestors pagans?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Yes indeed. I am the Messenger of God, and His Prophet. He sent me to deliver his message and to invite you to God by the truth. For, I swear, God is the truth. I call upon you, O Abū Bakr, to believe in God alone, in Him who has no associate. And I call upon you to worship none but Him, and to devote yourself to obeying Him.'

"He then recited the Qur'ān to him. And he neither confirmed nor refused.

"Then he did accept Islam, disavowed the idols, repudiated the other gods, and affirmed the truth of Islam. When Abū Bakr went home he was a believer, a man of the faith."

Ibn Ishāq stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn of Tamīm related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I never called upon any man to embrace Islam without him expressing reluctance, hesitation, and argument except Abū Bakr. He did not *'akam* ("hold back") from Islam when I told him of it, nor did he hesitate at all."

Here *'akam* means *talabbatha*, i.e. "he delayed".

That which Ibn Ishāq stated, that "he neither confirmed nor refused", is objectionable. For Ibn Ishāq and others have told how he (Abū Bakr) was the friend of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before his mission. He was known for his truthfulness, trustworthiness, fine disposition, and excellent qualities. These prevented him from lying to other mortals, so how could he ever have given the lie to God?

Therefore, from the mere fact of his telling him that God had sent him, Abū Bakr promptly believed him, not holding back or delaying at all.

We have recounted the manner of his becoming a Muslim in the book we devoted to his biography in which we emphasized his many qualities. That book we followed with another biography, of 'Umar, the *fārūq* (i.e. he who differentiated truth from falsehood). In these works we recorded the various sayings of each of these men attributed to the Prophet (ṢAAS) along with legal decisions and pronouncements he made. These writings total three volumes; all praise and credit be to God for these.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a *ḥadīth* from Abū al-Dardā' relating to the feud that existed between Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with them both. In it he states that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God sent me to you and you all said, 'You lie!' But Abū Bakr said, 'He spoke the truth.' And he dedicated himself and his fortune to me. Will you then leave this friend of mine to me?" He said this twice. And afterwards he was done no harm.

This is a direct text that he was the first to accept Islam. God be pleased with him!

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Hibbān recounted, from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Sa'īd al-Jarīrī, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa'īd, who said that Abū Bakr, "the trusting", may God be pleased with him, said, "Am I not the most worthy of people for it? Am I not the first person to accept Islam? Is that not my distinction?"

Ibn 'Asākir recounted, through Bahlūl b. 'Ubayd, that Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī related to him, from al-Ḥārith, who said that he heard 'Alī say, "The first man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, 'the trusting'. The first man to pray with the Prophet (ṢAAS) was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Shu'ba stated, from 'Amr b. Murra, from Abū Ḥamza, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, "The first man to pray with the Prophet (ṢAAS) was Abū Bakr, 'the trusting'."

Aḥmad related this, quoting al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba. And al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is a good and reliable *ḥadīth*."

We previously gave Ibn Jarīr's quotation of this *ḥadīth* through Shu'ba, from 'Amr b. Murra, from Abū Ḥamza, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, "The first to accept Islam was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib."

'Amr b. Murra stated, "I mentioned this to Ibrāhīm al-Nakh'ī, but he denied it. He said, 'The first to accept Islam was Abū Bakr.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, giving chains of authority from Abū Arwā al-Dawṣī and Abū Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, along with a group of authorities, to the effect that the first to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, "the trusting".

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated that Abū Bakr al-Ḥumaydī related to us, quoting Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from Mālik b. Mighwal, from a man, who said, "Ibn 'Abbās

was asked, 'Who was it who first believed?' He replied, 'It was Abū Bakr, "the trusting". Have you not heard the lines of Ḥassān (b. Thābit):

'When talking of grief at loss of a man to be trusted, recall your brother Abū Bakr for what he did.

He was the best of men, the most just and honourable after the Prophet, and the most worthy, for what he bore

The one who came next, the second, praised was sight of him, he the first of the people to believe in the messengers.

He lived fully praised, following God's will at the order of his friend who passed away, without deviation."

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba recounted this. One of our sheikhs related to us, from Mujālid, from 'Āmir, who said, "I asked Ibn 'Abbās – or Ibn 'Abbās was asked – which one of the people was the first to accept Islam? He replied, 'Haven't you heard the verses of Ḥassān b. Thābit?' He then recited them."

Al-Haytham b. 'Adi related this account similarly from Mujālid, from 'Āmir al-Sha'bī who said, "I asked Ibn 'Abbās, and he referred to it."

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī said that Surayj b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Yūsuf b. al-Mājishūn, who said, "Our sheikhs, including Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, Rabī'a b. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān and 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad, concluded without any doubt, that the first of our people to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', God be pleased with him."

My own comment is, that this agreed with the views of Ibrāhīm al-Nakh'ī, Muḥammad b. Ka'b, Muḥammad b. Sīrīn and Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm. That is what is generally accepted by the majority of scholars of orthodox religion.

Ibn 'Asākir recounted of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, that they both agreed that, "He was not the very first to accept Islam, but he was in fact the best of all in faith."

Sa'd said that five persons accepted Islam before he did.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from a *ḥadīth* of Hamām b. al-Ḥārith, from 'Ammār b. Yāsir, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and with him there were only five slaves, two women and Abū Bakr."

The Imām Aḥmad and Ibn Māja recounted from a *ḥadīth* of 'Āṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Zirr, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said, "There were seven persons who were first to openly accept Islam. They were the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Abū Bakr, 'Ammār and his mother Sumayya, Ṣuhayb, Bilāl, and al-Miqdād.

"Now the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was protected by God through his uncle, and Abū Bakr by God through his tribe. But the rest of them were taken away by the idol worshippers who mounted chains on them and roasted them in the sun. All except Bilāl gave way under this treatment; he, however, attached no importance to himself in suffering in God's cause. His people considered him

valueless, so they handed him over to the children who began parading him through the streets of Mecca, while he shouted, 'One! One!'"

Al Thawrī recounted this as such from Maṣṣūr, from Mujaḥid, with an incomplete line of transmission.

Ibn Jarir related that he was informed by Ibn Ḥumayd that Kināna b. Jabala related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from Ḥajjāj, from Qatāda, from Ṣalīm b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, who said, "I asked my father, 'Was Abū Bakr the first one to accept Islam?' 'No,' he replied. 'More than 50 others accepted Islam before he did. But his Islam was the best of all.'"

This *ḥadīth* is objectionable in both its content and its chain of authorities.

Ibn Jarir said that others stated that the first person to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥāritha. Then he related, moreover, through al-Wāqidi from Ibn Abū Dhīb, who asked al-Zuhri, "Who was the first woman to accept Islam?" "Khadija," he replied. "And the first man?" "Zayd b. Ḥāritha," was his answer.

Urwa, Sulaymān b. Yasār and others said the same, that the first man to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

Abū Ḥanīfa, God be pleased with him, responded by combining these statements and concluding that the first free man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, that Khadija was the first woman, Zayd b. Ḥāritha the first slave, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalib the first boy. God be pleased with them all.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "When Abū Bakr accepted Islam and announced this fact, he prayed to God the Almighty and Glorious. Abū Bakr was a man admired by his people, a well-liked and easy-going man. He knew more than anyone about the genealogy of Quraysh and of the good and bad in their history. He was a business man of fine character and charity.

"His people would come and consult with him on all kinds of matters because of his knowledge, his business experience and the pleasantness of his company.

"He soon began inviting those he trusted of his friends and associates to join him in accepting Islam.

"I have been told that those who accepted Islam through him were: al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, God be pleased with them.

"They all went, accompanied by Abū Bakr, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who explained Islam and its correctness to them and recited to them from the Qur'ān; they then believed.

"These eight men were the earliest to accept Islam. They prayed and believed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and in the mission he had received from God."

Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi stated that Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān related to him, from Makrama b. Sulaymān al-Wālibi, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abū Ṭalḥa, who said that Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh said, "I attended the trade fair

at Buṣrā and there, in his cell, was a monk who called out, 'Ask the Meccans at the fair whether any man of them is from the holy quarter.'"

Ṭalḥa stated, "I replied, 'Yes; I am.' The monk then asked, 'Has Aḥmad come forth yet?' I asked, 'Who is Aḥmad?' He responded, 'He is the son of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; this is the month during which he will appear. He is the last of the prophets. He will come forth from the holy quarter and go into exile to a place of date-palms, stony tracts, and salty earth. Be sure not to let anyone precede you to him.'"

Ṭalḥa went on, "His words deeply impressed me. So I left quickly for Mecca. There I asked, 'Is there any news?' People replied, 'Yes indeed; Muḥammad son of 'Abd Allāh, "the trustworthy", has declared himself a prophet. And he has Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa as a follower.'"

Ṭalḥa continued, "So I went off to Abū Bakr and asked him, 'Have you really become a follower of this man?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'And you should go off to him, see him and follow him. He is calling to the truth.'"

Then Ṭalḥa told him what the monk had said.

Abū Bakr then took Ṭalḥa with him and they went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ṭalḥa then accepted Islam and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what the monk had said; he was delighted to hear this.

When Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa had accepted Islam they were seized by Nawfal b. Khuwaylid b. al-ʿAdawī, who was known as "the lion of Quraysh". He tied both men together with one rope; and Banū Taym did nothing to protect them. For this reason Abū Bakr and Ṭalḥa were known as "the bondsmen". And the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "O God, save us from the evil of al-ʿAdawī's son." It was al-Bayhaqī who recounted this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan Khaythama b. Sulaymān al-Aṭrabulṣī stated that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUmarī, the *qāḍī*, judge, of al-Miṣṣīṣa, related to him, quoting Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. 'Umrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, quoting Abū 'Ubayd Allāh, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, who said that his father Muḥammad b. 'Umrān related to him, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, on the authority of 'Ā'isha, God be pleased with her, who said, "Abū Bakr went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he had been his friend before the coming of Islam. On meeting him, Abū Bakr said, 'O Abū al-Qāsim, you have been missed from your tribe's councils; and people are charging you with disloyalty to your forebears.'"

"The Messenger of God replied, 'I am the Messenger of God and I summon you to God!' When he had finished speaking Abū Bakr accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left him, and there was no man between Mecca's two mountains happier than he was at Abū Bakr accepting Islam.

"Abū Bakr went thereafter to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, and they all accepted Islam.

"Next day he brought 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Abū Salama b. Abd al-Asad, and al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam, and they all accepted Islam. God be pleased with them!"

'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad stated that his father Muḥammad b. 'Umrān related to him, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), 38 men in number, met, Abū Bakr urged the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to proclaim Islam openly, but he replied, 'O Abū Bakr, we are only few in number.'

"However, Abū Bakr kept urging until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did appear openly (as a Muslim). Then the Muslims separated off into different areas of the mosque, each man in his own tribe, and Abū Bakr arose to address the assembly, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained seated. He was the first man to make a speech calling people to God and to His Messenger (ṢAAS). The polytheists were very angry at Abū Bakr and the Muslims and caused violent fights all over the mosque. Abū Bakr was trampled underfoot and severely beaten. The sinner 'Utba b. Rabi'a went over to him and began beating him with a pair of old sandals with which he cut up his face and then so trampled Abū Bakr's body that he was badly injured.

"After this Banū Taym arrived and engaged in the fight and the idolaters withdrew from Abū Bakr. Men of Banū Taym then carried Abū Bakr away in a cloth to his house, convinced that he was dying. After that they went back into the mosque and said, 'By God, if Abū Bakr dies we are going to kill 'Utba b. Rabi'a!'

"They then returned to Abū Bakr. Thereafter Abū Qaḥāfa, and the Taym tribesmen kept talking to Abū Bakr until, late in the day, he spoke back. He said, 'How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' But they upbraided and attacked him verbally and rose to leave, telling his mother Umm al-Khayr, 'Be sure to give him something to eat or drink.' When she was alone with him she fretted over him, but he began saying, 'How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' She replied, 'I swear, I don't know anything about your friend.' He asked, 'Please go to Umm Jamil, al-Khaṭṭāb's daughter, and ask her about him.'

"She went out to visit Umm Jamil and said to her, 'Abū Bakr asks you about Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh.' She replied, 'I don't know Abū Bakr nor Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. But if you like I will go with you to your son.' She agreed and took her to where Abū Bakr lay stretched out near death. Umm Jamil went over to him and let out a scream, shouting, 'By God, they've done this to you for the sake of a crowd of sinners and disbelievers! I just hope God takes vengeance for you on them!'

"He asked, 'How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' She replied, 'This is your mother, here listening.' He insisted, 'You need fear nothing from her.' She then said, 'He is safe and sound.' 'Where is he?' Abū Bakr asked. 'In the house of Ibn al-Arqam,' she told him.

"He commented, 'God has made it incumbent on me not to taste food or to drink until I go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"They did nothing until things had quietened down and people were calm again. They then helped him outside, he leaning upon them, and took him in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who greeted him with embraces and kisses, as did the other Muslims. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was extremely moved by his state. Abū Bakr commented, 'I swear by my mother and father, O Messenger of God, I'm not in bad shape, except for what that sinner did to my face. But here is my mother, who is always so kind to her son. You are blessed by God; please invite her to come to God, and pray to Him for her, to save her, through yourself, from hell-fire.'

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed for her and invited her to God, and so she did accept Islam.

"They stayed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there in that house for a month, all 39 men of them.

"Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had accepted Islam the day when Abū Bakr was beaten.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said a prayer for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb – or for Abū Jahl b. Hishām. 'Umar awoke next morning – the prayer having been made on Wednesday – and that day, Thursday, accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shouted out, along with all the household, the words *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is most Great', so loudly at this that they could be heard in the very heights of Mecca.

"Abū al-Arqam, a man who was blind and a disbeliever, then came out saying, 'O God, forgive my young son 'Ubayd al-Arqam, for he has apostacized.'

"'Umar arose and asked, 'O Messenger of God, why do we conceal our faith though we follow the truth, while their religion is displayed openly even though they follow falsehood?' He replied, 'O 'Umar, we are but few, and you saw what happened to us.' 'Umar responded, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, I'll never attend a meeting with disbelievers without declaring my faith there.'

"He then left, and circumambulated the *ka'ba*, passing by some Quraysh men who were waiting for him. Abū Jahl b. Hishām asked, 'So-and-so claims you've turned heretic.' 'Umar responded, 'I bear witness that there is no God but God alone, who has no associate, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger!'

"The polytheists charged at him and he attacked 'Utba, getting him down and beating him. He poked his fingers into the eye of 'Utba, who began to scream. The attackers withdrew at this and 'Umar got up. Whenever anyone came near him he would grab some nearby old chief until the people gave up attacking him. He then attended those meetings he used to frequent, and there gave expression to his faith.

"Thereafter he went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), having vanquished them, and said, 'Do not worry, by my father and mother! By God, I swear I've been to every meeting I used to attend as a polytheist and at every one I've expressed my faith without fear or reservation!'

"So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went outside, 'Umar leading the way, along with Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and circumambulated the *ka'ba* and performed the noon prayer as a believer. He then went back to the house of al-Arqam, 'Umar accompanying him. After that 'Umar went off alone and thereafter the Prophet (ṢAAS) left too."

But the truth is that 'Umar only accepted Islam after those who migrated for Abyssinia had left, an event that occurred in the sixth year of the mission. Reference to this will be made in the proper place, if God wills it.

We have examined the manner in which Abū Bakr and 'Umar accepted Islam, God be pleased with them both, in the volume devoted solely to their biography. There we dealt with the subject fully; all praise be to God.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from a tradition of Abū Amāma, from 'Amr b. 'Abasa al-Sulāmi, God be pleased with him, who said, "I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the beginning of his mission, while he was in Mecca; he was in hiding at the time. I asked him, 'What are you?' He replied, 'I am a prophet.' 'But what is a prophet?' I asked. 'God's Messenger,' he replied. I asked, 'Was it God who sent you?' 'Yes,' he answered. 'With what did he send you?' I then asked. He replied, 'With the command: Worship God alone; He has no associate. Destroy the idols. And make firm ties of kinship.' I commented, 'Well, that's fine what he sent you with. Who are your followers in this?' He replied, 'A free man and a slave.'"

By this he meant Abū Bakr and Bilāl. He went on, "'Amr used to say, 'I thought myself one quarter of Islam.'

"And so I did accept Islam and said, 'Shall I follow you then, O Messenger of God?' He replied, 'No; join your own people. When you are informed I have gone public, then follow me.'"

It is said that the statement of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "a free man and a slave", has a generic meaning. To interpret it by reference to Abū Bakr and to Bilāl alone would be doubtful, for a group of men had accepted Islam before 'Amr b. 'Absa. And Zayd b. Ḥāritha had accepted Islam before Bilāl. Perhaps he referred to being "one fourth of Islam" by his own knowledge alone, because the believers

were concealing their Islam at this time, few of their close relatives being aware of it, let alone strangers and bedouins from the desert. But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, through Abū Usāma, from Hāshim b. Hāshim, there is a *ḥadīth* from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "I heard Abū Ishāq Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ say, 'No one accepted Islam that same day I did. For seven days I remained one third of Islam.'"

His statement "no one accepted Islam the same day I did" presents only a simple issue. It was recounted by some to read: "except on the day I accepted Islam". This would be problematic, for it suggests that no one preceded him in accepting Islam. And it is well known that Abū Bakr, ʿAlī, Khadija, and Zayd b. Hāritha accepted Islam before he did. Similarly, more than one authority, including Ibn al-Athīr, have reached a consensus that these people did precede in accepting Islam. Abū Ḥanīfa, God be pleased with him, gives textual evidence that each of these did accept Islam before those of his kind. But God knows best.

As for the above statement, "For seven days I remained one-third of Islam", this is problematic. I do not know how to explain it, except for his having made the statement based on his knowledge alone. But God knows best.

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayyālīsī stated that Ḥammād b. Salama related to him, from ʿĀṣim, from Zarr, from ʿAbd Allāh, who is Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "When I was a youth I used to tend flocks for ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿīṭ in Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr came out and joined me, having escaped from the polytheists. He said – or they both said – 'Do you have any milk you could give us to drink, lad?' I replied, 'But I'm entrusted with it; I can't give it to you to drink.' He then asked, 'Do you have a young ewe that hasn't yet been served by a ram?' 'Yes, I do', I replied.

"I brought the ewe over to them and Abū Bakr tethered it. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of its udder and said a prayer. The udder filled and Abū Bakr brought a hollowed stone and the Prophet (ṢAAS) poured milk into it. He then drank, quoting Abū Bakr, and poured some for me too. He now spoke to the udder and told it to contract, which it did.

"Later I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Teach me some of this good speech,' meaning the Qurʾān. He replied, 'Consider yourself a well-taught young man.' I then took from his mouth 70 *suras* regarding which no one can challenge me."

This is how Imām Aḥmad related this anecdote, from ʿAffān, from an account of it by Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa also recounted it, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿĀṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Baṭṭa al-Aṣbahānī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. al-Jahm, quoting

al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Umar, quoting Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. al-Zubayr, from his father – or from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān – who said, "The acceptance of Islam by Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ was early; he was the first one of his brothers to accept Islam.

"The beginnings of his becoming Muslim was that he saw himself in a dream placed on the brink of a fire, the size of which was so great as only God could have known. In his sleep he had a vision as though someone were pushing him towards it. Then he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grip him by his waist-wrappers (so that) he would not fall. He awoke in a fright from his sleep and said, 'I swear by God that this was a vision of the truth.'

"When he met Abū Bakr b. Abū Qaḥāfa, he told him of this and Abū Bakr replied, 'This was indeed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): follow him. You will follow him and enter into Islam with him. Islam will prevent you from falling into it (the fire) though your father will do so.'

"And so he joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was at Ajjad, and asked him, 'O Messenger of God, O Muḥammad, to what do you call (people)?' He answered, 'I invite you to come to God, the One, He who has no associate, and (to bear witness) that Muḥammad is His slave and His Messenger, and for you to abandon your practice of worshipping rocks that cannot hear, nor harm, nor see, nor benefit, nor know who it is who worship them and who do not.'

"Khālīd said, 'I do bear witness that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was delighted at his accepting Islam.

"Khālīd then went away and his father learned of his accepting Islam. So he sent after him and had him brought back. His father reprimanded him and beat him with a club he held in his hand so hard that he broke it upon his head. He swore, 'By God, I'll prevent you from getting food!' Khālīd responded, 'If you do so, God will provide me what I shall live by.'

"He then went off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whom he served and stayed with."

An Account of how Ḥamza, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, God be pleased with him, the uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS), accepted Islam.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as saying that a man of the Aslam tribe – a man with a fine memory – related to him that Abū Jahl blocked the path of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ṣafā, and reviled and cursed him, inflicting insults on his religion. This was reported to Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who then went up to Abū Jahl and, standing right there over him, gave him a terrible beating with his bow on the head that fractured his skull.

Quraysh men of Banū Makhzūm tribe approached Ḥamza to give Abū Jahl help against him. They said to Ḥamza, "So, we see you're turning heretic then!"

"And who's going to prevent me?" demanded Ḥamza, "when I now see clearly and can testify that he is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that what he says is the truth. I'll not retract, so you just go on and stand in my way, if you're serious!"

Abū Jahl then spoke up, "Leave Abū 'Umara alone; I swear, I really did badly insult his nephew."

When Ḥamza accepted Islam Quraysh knew that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gained strength and was protected, and so they refrained from some of their previous treatment of him. Ḥamza spoke some verses on this subject.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Then Ḥamza went home where Satan came to him and said, 'You, a Quraysh chief, have followed this heretic and abandoned the religion of your forefathers! Death is best for you for what you've done!'

"Ḥamza then addressed his inner self, saying, 'O God, if what I've done was right, then make me believe it in my own heart! Or else find me some way out of my predicament!'

"He then spent a night worse than he ever had before due to the whisperings of the devil.

"Next morning he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said to him, 'O nephew, I've fallen into a trap from which I don't know how to escape. I don't know whether continuing as I am is wiser for me, or whether it's a terrible mistake. Please talk to me. I really need you to talk to me, nephew.'

"And so the Messenger of God went over to him and talked and preached to him, telling him both what frightened and cheered him. God placed in his heart faith at what he was told by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Ḥamza therefore said, 'I do truly bear witness that you are telling the truth. Make your faith public, O nephew; for, by God, I would not like to own what is under the sky while keeping to my former religion.'"

So Ḥamza was one of those through whom God fortified the faith.

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from an account given by Yūnus b. Bukayr.

An Account of how Abū Dharr, God be pleased with him, came to accept Islam.

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī stated that the ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, also a ḥāfiẓ, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Rūmī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad, quoting 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, from Abū Zumayl Simāk b. al-Walīd,

from Mālik b. Marthad, from his father, from Abū Dharr, who said, "I was a quarter of Islam. Three persons accepted Islam before myself, and I was the fourth. I went to the Messenger of God and said, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God. I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.' I then saw the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) radiate with pleasure."

This is an abbreviated account.

Al-Bukhārī stated, regarding the acceptance of Islam by Abū Dharr, that 'Amr b. 'Abbās related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, from al-Muthannā, from Abū Jamra, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that when news of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Abū Dharr, he said to his brother, "Ride off into that valley and bring me information about this man who claims that he is a prophet to whom information comes from heaven. Listen to what he says, then come back to me."

The brother then left, came to the Prophet (ṢAAS), heard his words, then returned to Abū Dharr. He told him, "I saw him advocating ethical behaviour, and delivering speech that was not poetry."

Abū Dharr told him, "You've not solved my problem."

He then equipped himself for a journey, carrying a large, full waterskin, and left for Mecca. There he went to the mosque and looked for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) but did not know how to recognize him and he was reluctant to ask after him. When night came and he lay down to rest, 'Alī saw him and realized he was a stranger. Abū Dharr followed him without either man asking the other any questions. Next morning when he arose, Abū Dharr carried off his waterskin and provisions to the mosque, where he remained all day without the Prophet (ṢAAS) seeing him. When night came, he set out his bedding. 'Alī passed by and exclaimed, "Isn't it high time the man knew his house!" He then helped him up and took him home, neither man asking the other any questions.

The third day the same thing happened and again 'Alī accommodated him. But this time 'Alī asked him, "Won't you tell me what brought you here?" Abū Dharr replied, "I will if you'll promise faithfully to guide me." 'Alī agreed and so Abū Dharr explained. 'Alī then told him, "He is truth; he is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Tomorrow morning follow me and if I see anything that makes me fearful for you, I will get up as if I need to urinate. If I leave, follow me and go where I do."

'Alī did this and Abū Dharr followed on behind him and accompanied him when he went in to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū Dharr heard him speak and he accepted Islam then and there.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then told him, "Go back to your people and tell them; then wait till you hear from me."

But Abū Dharr replied, "No, by Him who sent you with the truth, I'll shout it out in full public!"

He then left and went to the mosque, where he shouted at the top of his voice, "I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God!" At that everyone there set about beating him till they laid him low.

Then al-ʿAbbās came and, bending over him, exclaimed, "Woe unto you! Don't you realize that he is from Ghifār, and that your trade route is to Syria?" He then rescued Abū Dharr from them. But the next day Abū Dharr did the same and was again attacked and then saved by al-ʿAbbās.

This is the story as told by al-Bukhārī.

Abū Dharr's acceptance of Islam is elaborated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of Muslim and elsewhere.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣāmit, who quoted Abū Dharr as saying, "We – that is I, my brother Anīs, and our mother – left our tribe of Ghifār because they used to disregard the restrictions of the holy month.

"We took up residence with an uncle of ours who was a man of wealth and status; he honoured us and treated us extremely well. But his family envied us and told him, 'If you were to go away from your people, Anīs would take your place over them.'

"Our uncle then came to us and reported what he had been told. I then said to him, 'You've cancelled out all your prior generosity to us. We'll have no communion with you henceforth.'

"So we assembled our herd of camels and set off with them, while our uncle covered himself up in his robe and began to weep.

"We rode on until we made camp on the outskirts of Mecca. My brother Anīs then made a wager, betting our flock of camels and an additional number equal to our herd. He (and his competitor) then went to a diviner who decided in favour of Anīs. Anīs returned to us with our herd and a like one."

Abū Dharr continued, "Now, my nephew, I had been praying for three years prior to meeting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." I asked, "To whom?" "To God." "In which direction?" "Wherever God directed me. And I would pray each evening till deep into the night, when I find myself under my blanket, until the sun would rise."

"Well any way," Anīs said, "I have business in Mecca; await me until I return." He left and was away for what seemed a long time, then he came back. I asked him, "What kept you?" He said, "I met a man who claimed that God had sent him with your religion." "And what do people say of him?" I asked. "They say that he is a poet and a soothsayer." Anīs was himself a poet.

He went on, "Anīs commented, 'I've heard soothsayers and he does not speak like them. And I've checked his utterances against the measures of poetry and, by God, it doesn't fit anyone's tongue as poetry. And, I swear, he is truthful, whereas the rest are liars.'

"I asked him, 'Could you stand in for me while I leave?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'but watch out for the Meccans. They have pilloried and berated him.'

"So I left and went to Mecca, where I asked a weak-looking man, 'Where is the one people refer to as the heretic?' But he pointed at me and the people of that valley pelted me with clods of earth and bones until I was injured with wounds and fainted. When I got up later, I was like a red pole. I made my way to *zamzam*, drank its water and washed the blood off myself. I then positioned myself between the *ka'ba* and its hangings. And there I stayed, O nephew, for 30 days and nights without sustenance except for water from *zamzam*. But I gained weight and developed folds of fat on my belly, finding no evidence on my body of the emaciation of starvation.

"One night when the moon was very bright and the Meccans were fast asleep, there were only two women circumambulating the *ka'ba*. As they came past me they were saying prayers to the gods Isāf and Nā'ila. I commented, 'Make one of them have intercourse with the other!' This did not deter them, so I then said, 'They're just like bits of wood, but I'd not lean on them!'

"At this they scurried away, wailing, 'If only one of our menfolk were here!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr, on their way down from the mountain, met these women and asked them what was the matter. 'It's that heretic between the *ka'ba* and its hangings.' They asked them what I had said, and the women replied, 'He said a real mouthful to us!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companion then came along, kissed the stone, circumambulated the *ka'ba*, then prayed. I went over to him and was the first person to address him with the greeting of the community of Islam. He replied, 'Peace be upon you, and God's mercy. Who are you?' I told him I was from the Ghifār tribe. He brought his hand to his forehead in a gesture of surprise and I told myself, 'He dislikes my being from Ghifār!'

"I made as if to take him by the hand, but his Companion pushed me away, knowing him better than I did.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked, 'How long have you been here?' 'I've been here for 30 days and nights,' I answered.

"And who has been feeding you?' he asked.

"There's been nothing except *zamzam* water, but I've gained so much weight that I developed folds of fat on my belly. And I feel no emaciation from hunger.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'It's blessed! Wonder food!'

"Abū Bakr then asked, 'Please, O Messenger of God, permit me to give him some food tonight.' And he agreed.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then left and I went with them. Abū Bakr opened a gate and began picking some grapes from Ṭā'if for us. And that was the first food I ate there. I stayed some time in Mecca.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'I have been directed to go to a land of palm trees, none other than Yathrib, I believe. Will you go and inform your people about me? Perhaps God will benefit them through you, and give you reward among them too.'

"So I left and rejoined my brother Anīs. He asked me, 'What did you do?' 'What I did was, I accepted Islam and believed.'

"He commented, 'I've nothing against your religion. I too accept Islam and believe.'

"We then went to our mother and she said, 'Well, I've nothing against your religion. I accept Islam and believe.' We then packed up and rejoined our tribe of Ghifār, and some of them accepted Islam before the Messenger of God migrated to Medina. Khufāf b. Aymāḥ b. Rakhṣa the Ghifārī led them as he was their chief at that time. The remainder of them said, 'If the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) comes, we will accept Islam.'

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did come and the remainder of them did accept Islam. Then the Aslam tribe arrived and said, 'O Messenger of God, we'll accept Islam just as our Ghifār brothers did.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'God has *ghafara*, "forgiven", Ghafar, and God has *salama*, "made peace with", Aslam!'"

Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khālīd from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra in much the same words. The story of Abū Dharr's acceptance of Islam is also told in another way, along with strange additions. But God knows best.

The account of the acceptance of Islam by Salmān al-Fārisī has been given previously in the book recounting the miraculous signs of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

An Account of the acceptance of Islam by Ḍimād.

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related a *ḥadīth* of Dāwūd b. Abū Hind, from 'Amr b. Sa'īd, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that Ḍimād came to Mecca, he being a man of the Azd tribe from Shanū'a. He used to say incantations to protect people from those winds. He overheard some Meccan fools saying, "Muḥammad is crazy." He asked them, "Where is this man? Perhaps God will cure him at my hands."

He recounted, "I met Muḥammad and said, 'I use incantations against these winds. And God cures at my hands whomever He wishes. Do come along.'

"Muḥammad (SAAS) replied, 'Praise be to God! We praise Him and seek His help. Whomever God leads aright, no one can lead astray. Whomever God leads astray, no one can lead aright. I bear testimony that there is no God but God alone who has no associates.' He repeated this three times."

Ḍimād said, "I swear, I have heard the speech of soothsayers, sorcerers, and poets, but I never heard the like of these words. Give me your hand and I'll pledge you my allegiance in Islam."

The Messenger of God accepted his pledge and asked him, "For your tribe too?" "Yes, for my tribe too," he agreed.

The Prophet (SAAS) dispatched an army that passed by the people of Ḍimād. The army commander asked his troops, "Have you seized anything from these people?" One of the men replied, "I did take one strong-backed camel from them." He ordered the man, "Give it back to them; they are from the tribe of Ḍimād."

In another account Ḍimād said to the Prophet (SAAS), "Repeat these words of yours to me; they are the epitome of oratory."

Abū Nuʿaym devoted a long chapter in his work *al-Dalā'il* (*The Signs*) to accounts of the prominent men who accepted Islam. He gave it in fine detail, may God have mercy on him and reward him.

Ibn Ishāq gave a list of the names of the Companions, God be pleased with them, who accepted Islam early on. He stated, "Then Abū ʿUbayda accepted Islam, as did Abū Salama, al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam, ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith and Saʿīd b. Zayd, along with his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb.

Also there were Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr, and ʿĀ'isha, also daughter of Abū Bakr, when she was young.

As well there were Qudāma b. Mazʿūn, ʿAbd Allāh b. Mazʿūn, Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, ʿUmayr b. Abū Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, Masʿūd b. al-Qārī, Salīṭ b. ʿAmr, ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa, along with his wife Asmāʾ, daughter of Salama b. Mukharriba of the Taym tribe, and Khunays b. Hudhāqa, and ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa.

Then there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, along with his wife Asmāʾ daughter of ʿUmayy.

Others included Ḥaṭīb b. al-Ḥārith and his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Mujallil, and also Ḥaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥārith and his wife Fukayha, daughter of Yasār, Maʿmar b. al-Ḥārith b. Maʿmar al-Jumāḥī, and al-Sāʿib b. ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, al-Muṭṭalib b. Azhar b. ʿAbd Manāf and his wife Ramla, daughter of Abū ʿAwf b. Ṣubayra b. Saʿīd b. Sahm, al-Naḥḥām, whose name was Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Asīd, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, Khālīd b. Saʿīd, Umayna, daughter of Khalaf b. Asʿad b. ʿĀmir b. Bayāḍa, of Khuzāʿa, and

Ḥaṭīb b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Shams, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a, Wāqid b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Arīn b. Tha‘laba of Tamīm, allies to Banū ‘Adī.

Also there were Khālīd b. al-Bukayr, ‘Āmir b. al-Bukayr, ‘Āqil b. al-Bukayr, Iyās b. al-Bukayr b. ‘Abd Yālayl b. Nāshīb b. Ghira, of the tribe of Sa‘d b. Layth. The given name of ‘Āqil (a word meaning “wise”) had originally been Ghāfil (a word meaning “heedless”) and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had renamed him ‘Āqil. These were all allied to the tribe of ‘Adī b. Ka‘b.

Also there were ‘Ammār b. Yāsir and Ṣuhayb b. Sinān.

Thereafter people began accepting Islam in large numbers, men and women both, so that it became a prominent subject of discussion in Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “God then ordered his Messenger (ṢAAS), after three years of his mission, to announce it openly and to remain firm against the evil of the polytheists.

“The Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) would go off along mountain trails when they prayed, to hide this from their people.

“While Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqāṣ was at prayer, along with a small group of others, on a mountain trail, some polytheists came at them. They upbraided them, reviled them for what they were doing, and attacked them.

“Sa‘d struck one man with a camel’s jawbone and cut him open; this was the first blood spilled in Islam.”

Al-Umawī related this incident at length in his *maghāzī* study of the early campaigns, through al-Waqqāṣī, from al-Zuhrī, from ‘Āmir b. Sa‘d, from his father. His account states that the man wounded was ‘Abd Allāh b. Khaṭal, God damn him.

CHAPTER: GOD’S COMMAND TO HIS MESSENGER (ṢAAS) TO ANNOUNCE HIS MISSION PUBLICLY.

This chapter deals with God’s command to his Messenger (ṢAAS) to announce publicly his mission to high and low and how He told him to be patient and stoical, and to oppose those who remain stubborn, mendacious and ignorant even after the evidence had been brought against them and the Messenger had been sent to them. It also mentions the damages they had done to him and to his Companions, may God bless them all.

God Almighty stated, “And warn those of your people closest to you and bring down your wing to protect those believers who follow you. And if they disobey you, say, ‘I am innocent of what you do’. Put your trust in the Almighty and All-Merciful, who sees you when you arise and when you turn about among those prostrating in prayer; He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing” (*sūrat al-Shu‘arā*, XXVI, v.214–20).

And the Almighty stated, "It is surely a message to you and to your people, and you will all be questioned" (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*, XLIII, v.44).

Also He stated, "He who imposed the Qur'ān upon you will bring you back to an after life" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*, XXVIII, v.85). This means, He who has made a demand upon you and has required you to announce the Qur'ān will return you to the hereafter, which is the *ma'ād*, the afterlife, and He will question you about that. As the Almighty stated, "And, by your Lord, we will question them all for what they have done" (*sūrat al-Hijr*, XV, v.92-3).

The verses and statements concerning this are numerous, and we have given these in detail in our *Exegesis*. We addressed this issue at length in commenting on the verse, "And warn those of your people closest to you" in *sūrat al-Shu'arā'*, XXVI, v.214. There we gave many references to that.

On this subject, Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr related, from al-A'mash, from 'Amr b. Murra, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When God sent down, 'And warn those of your people closest to you', the Prophet (ṢAAS), went up on Mt. Ṣafā and called out, 'Ya Ṣabāḥā!'

"People gathered there around him; they consisted of men who had come to him themselves and others who had sent messengers.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed them, saying, 'O tribe of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, O tribe of Fihir, O tribe of Ka'b! If I were to tell you that there were horsemen on the heights of this mountain who planned to attack you, don't you think you would believe me?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then announced, 'Well, I am come to warn you of a terrible punishment.'

"Abū Lahab, God damn him! said, 'Damn you! May you perish all day long! You called us here for this?'

"And so God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed 'Damn the hands of Abū Lahab! Damn him!'" (*sūrat al-Lahab*, CXI, v.1).

Both of the sources gave this *ḥadīth* from an account of al-A'mash in similar form.

Aḥmad stated that Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr related to him, quoting Zā'ida, quoting 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Umayr, from Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, from Abū Hurayra, who said that when this verse, "And warn those of your people closest to you" was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned the people of Quraysh, high and low alike, and told them, "O Quraysh, save yourselves from hell-fire! O tribe of Banū Kalb, save yourselves from hell-fire! O tribe of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, save yourselves from hell-fire! O Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad, save yourself from hell-fire! For I, I swear by God, have nothing to protect you from God, except the fact that you have kinship (to me) for which I shall care."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Umayr, and it was published in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from an account of al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b.

al-Musayyib and Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra. The account has other provenances from Abū Hurayra in the *musnad* collection of Aḥmad and elsewhere.

Aḥmad also stated that Waki' b. Hishām related to him, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, God bless her, who said, "When there was revealed the verse, 'And warn those of your people closest to you' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and said, 'O Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad! O Ṣafiyya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib! O family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib! I have nothing to protect you from God; ask whatever you will from my wealth.'" Muslim also related this.

The *hāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *al-Dalā'il* (*The Signs*) that Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-*hāfiẓ* related to him, quoting Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that someone who concealed his name from him told him that he heard 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal relate from Ibn 'Abbās, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "When there was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the verses, 'And warn those of your people closest to you and bring down your wing to protect those believers who follow you', the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I realized that if I announced it to my people I would see from them what I would hate, and so I kept silent. Then Gabriel, peace be upon him, came to me and said, 'O Muḥammad, if you do not act as your Lord has ordered you, He will punish you with hell-fire.'"'

'Alī continued, "So he called for me and said, 'O 'Alī, God has commanded me to warn my closest relatives. So prepare for us a sheep on a platter of food, along with a large pot of milk, then assemble Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib for me.'

"I did so and they assembled on that day. There were 40 men, more or less; among them there were his uncles Abū Ṭālib, Ḥamza, and al-'Abbās, along with Abū Lahab, the vile polytheist.

"I served the food platter to them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took from it a piece of meat, split it with his teeth and tossed it in all directions, saying, 'Eat, in the name of God!' Everyone ate until satiated, nothing being seen left but the marks of their fingers. No one ate like that ever before! Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Now give them to drink, 'Alī!' So I brought the large pot of milk, and they drank it up till they were full. I swear, no one ever drank that way before!

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the point of addressing them, Abū Lahab, God damn him! forestalled him by saying, 'Well, what a feast your host served to you to eat!' At that they dispersed without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressing them.

"Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Prepare for us the same food and drink as yesterday; that fellow forestalled me by saying what he did before I could address them.'

"I did so, then gathered them for him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did as he had the previous day. They ate till they were full; I swear, none of them ate like that ever before! Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Give them to drink, 'Alī!' So I brought them the pot and they drank of it till they were satiated. I swear, none of them drank like that before!

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to address them, Abū Lahab, God damn him! forestalled him by saying, 'Well, what a feast your host served to you to eat!' So they dispersed without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressing them.

"Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'Alī, prepare food and drink for us as you did yesterday. This fellow forestalled me by saying what you heard before I could address the people.'

"I did so and assembled them again. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted as he had the day before. They ate till they were satiated, and then I served them from the pot until they were full. I swear, I never saw people eat and drink like that!

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke, 'O Family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, I know of no Arab man, by God, who brought his people anything better than I have brought you. I have brought you what deals with this world and the afterlife as well.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this anecdote in this way through Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, from a sheikh of uncertain identity, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith.

Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr related it from Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī, from Salama b. al-Faḍl al-Abrash, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from 'Abd al-Ghaffār Abū Miryam b. al-Qāsim, from al-Minhāl b. 'Amr, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Ibn 'Abbās, from 'Alī. His account is similar but adds after the words, "I have brought forth for you the good of this world and the next", "And God has ordered me to call upon you to come to Him. And whoever of you will aid me in this matter I must consider my brother." And so on.

'Alī continued, "But everyone drew back from that. Since I was the youngest, had the most bleary eyes, the largest stomach and the shortest legs, I called out, 'O Prophet of God, I will be your *mazīr* (i.e. your deputy) in this!'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) took me by the neck and said, 'This is my brother' and so on and so forth, 'so listen to him and obey him!'

'Alī went on, "Everyone began laughing and saying to Abū Ṭālib, 'He has ordered you to listen to your son and to obey him!'"

Abd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim Abū Maryam is the sole authority for this account, and he was a liar and a *shī'ī* whom 'Alī b. al-Madīnī and others accused of inventing the *ḥadīth*; the other scholars consider him a weak source.

But Ibn Abū Ḥātim related, in his work of exegesis of the Qur'ān, from his father, from al-Ḥusayn b. 'Isā b. Maysara al-Ḥārithī, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd

al-Quddūs, from al-Aʿmash, from al-Munhāl b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “‘Alī stated, ‘When the verse “And warn those of your people closest to you” was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me, “Make me a leg of lamb on a platter of food and a beaker of milk, and invite Banū Hāshim for me.” I did invite them and on that occasion they were 40, give or take a man.’”

This account is much the same up to the words, “Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forestalled them in speaking and asked, ‘Which of you will settle my debt for me, and be my successor for my family?’”

ʿAlī went on. “They were all silent. Al-ʿAbbās kept quiet because he feared the issue might involve his money. And I kept quiet because of al-ʿAbbās’s age.

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) repeated his question and al-ʿAbbās kept silent and, witnessing this, I said, ‘I will, O Messenger of God!’ ‘You?’ he replied.

ʿAlī explained, “At that time I was the most homely looking person there. I was bleary eyed, had a large stomach and short legs.”

This wording of the anecdote substantiates the previous one, except that it does not have Ibn ʿAbbās as one of the chain of authorities. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad related in his *musnad* collection from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Asadi and Rabiʿa b. Nājidh from ʿAlī an account approximating to the former, or giving testimony to it. But God knows best.

His statement in this *ḥadīth*, “Which of you will settle my debt for me, and be my successor for my family” carries the implication “if I should die”. It seems that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) feared that if he announced his mission to the Arab polytheists they might kill him. He therefore wanted to establish that whoever came in his place thereafter would be beneficial to his family and fulfil his obligations. But God removed his concern at that with His words, “O Messenger, announce what has been revealed to you from your Lord. If you do not, then you will not have fulfilled your mission. God will protect you from the people” (*sūrat al-Māʾida*, V, v.67).

The outcome was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued to call upon people to believe in God Almighty day and night, secretly and openly, without anyone being able to deter, dissuade, or prevent him. He followed people everywhere, into their celebrations, meetings and gatherings, to the fairs and to the pilgrimage stations. Everyone he met, free man or slave, weak or powerful, rich or poor he urged; as far as he was concerned all were equal and alike.

Violent and powerful Quraysh polytheists inflicted harm both verbal and physical upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and upon those powerless individuals who followed him.

One of the most violent of those opposed to him was his uncle Abū Lahab; his full name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. His wife, Umm Jamīl, was named Arwā, daughter of Ḥarb b. Umayya, the sister of Abū Sufyān.

Another uncle, Abū Ṭalib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was at variance with Abū Lahab, for he favoured the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) above all other men for his fine qualities. He treated him with the utmost compassion and kindness and gave him his support and protection. In doing this he was in opposition to his own people, even though he shared their religion and their friendship. God had, however, put his heart to the test by making him love the Prophet (ṢAAS) by natural disposition rather than for religious reasons.

His persisting in the religion of his people was, in fact, an expression of the wisdom of Almighty God and a factor in the protection He was affording to His Messenger. For if Abū Bakr had accepted Islam, he would have no longer held any weight or leadership among the Quraysh polytheists; they would have held no respect for or fear of him. They would have penalized him and done him verbal and actual harm. For your Lord determines and establishes whatever He wills! And He has divided up His creation into many different types and kinds.

Both these uncles, Abū Ṭalib and Abū Lahab, were infidels. But whereas the former will be at the very surface of the fire, the latter will be deep down in its lowest depths. About him God made revelation in one of the chapters of the Qur'ān to be recited from the pulpit and read in sermons and prayers. It contains information that he will roast in flaming hell-fire, along with his wife, that "firewood hawker".⁷⁷

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibrāhīm b. Abū al-'Abbās related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father who said that a man named Rabī'ā b. 'Abbād of Banū al-Dīl, who had been an idol-worshipper and had accepted Islam, recalled, "I saw the Messenger of God, before the coming of Islam, at the fair of Dhū al-Majāz, and he was saying, 'O you people, say, "There is no God but God", and you will prosper.' There were people gathered all around him, while behind him stood a mean-looking, squint-eyed man wearing two plaits who was saying, 'He's a lying Sabian!' This man followed him wherever he went. I asked who he was and was told it was his uncle, Abū Lahab."

Imām Aḥmad and al-Bayhaqī both also related this anecdote from a *ḥadīth* in similar form from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād.

Al-Bayhaqī also stated that Abū Ṭāhir al-Faqīh related to us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Abū al-Azhar, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Umar, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadar, from Rabī'ā al-Dīlī, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Dhū al-Majāz following people into their dwellings urging them to believe in God, while behind him went a squint-eyed man with scarred cheeks who was saying, 'O people, let not this fellow entice you away from your religion, the religion of your forefathers!'

"I asked, 'Who is he?' And I was told, 'That's Abū Lahab.'"

77. A reference to the words of *sūrat Abū Lahab*, CXI, v.4.

He then related this anecdote through Shuʿba, from al-Ashʿath b. Salim, from a man of Kināna, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the Dhū al-Majāz fair. He was saying, 'O people, say "There is no God but God" and you will prosper.' There was a man standing there behind him scattering dust on him. It was Abū Jahl, and what he was saying was, 'O people, let not this fellow entice you away from your religion. He just wants you to give up worship of al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā.'"

This anecdote states it was Abū Jahl, but it is obvious that it was Abū Lahab. We will give details of his biography when we report his death, which occurred after the battle of Badr. If God Almighty wills it, so shall it be.

Abū Ṭālib, as will be apparent from both his actions and his qualities, was a man of great natural kindness and compassion. He showed this by his support for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and for his Companions, God bless them all.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that he was informed from Ṭalḥa b. Yaḥyā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, that ʿUqayl b. Abū Ṭālib related, "Quraysh came to Abū Ṭālib and said, 'This nephew of yours is disturbing our meetings and our mosque; keep him away from us!' He asked me, 'O ʿUqayl, go and bring me Muḥammad.' So I went off and brought him out from a *kanas*.' This word means a "tent"; or he might have used the word *khanas*, a "hide-out", or alternatively as some say, a "small house". He arrived back at midday in the full heat. When he came in, Abū Ṭālib told him, 'These relatives of yours charge that you are annoying them in their meetings and in their mosque. Stop annoying them!'

"At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gazed upwards to the sky and asked, 'Do you see that sun?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then said, 'I'm no more capable of stopping that than you are of getting a flame from it.'

"Abū Ṭālib then said, 'By God, I swear that my nephew never lied. So go home!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this story in his history, from Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ, from Yūnus b. Bukayr. And al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār in the same words.

Moreover al-Bayhaqī related it through Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq, who stated, "Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to me that he was told that when Quraysh made this complaint to Abū Ṭālib, he sent for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'O nephew, your relatives have come to me and told me this and that. Do right by me and by yourself by not burdening me with what neither you nor I could bear. Stop telling your relatives what they dislike hearing!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thought that Abū Ṭālib's attitude towards himself and his Muslims had changed and that his support for them had weakened. And so he addressed Abū Ṭālib as follows, 'O uncle, if the sun were placed in my right hand and the moon in my left, I would not give up this matter until

either God gives me success in it, or I perish in its pursuit.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then broke down into tears.

"When he turned to leave, Abū Ṭālib said, having seen how deeply the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been moved, said to him, 'O nephew!' When he turned to him, he said, 'Continue as before; do as you like. By God, I will never abandon you for any reason.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated that Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses on that subject:

"By God, they'll never get their gang to you until I'm laid to rest, buried in the ground.

Carry on with your work that is beyond reproach; rejoice, and may you be content in doing so.

You invited me, and I knew you were advising well; you spoke the truth, and you were ever trustworthy.

You offered a religion I knew to be the best religion of mankind.

Were it not for people's blame and anger, you'd find me giving it my favour openly."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ibn Ishāq related various verses of Abū Ṭālib on that subject."

All this gives evidence that God Almighty gave the prophet (ṢAAS) His protection through his uncle, even though he differed in his religion. And God had protected him when his uncle was not there; God's will is final and unchallenged.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Muḥammad b. Ishāq related to him, quoting a man originally from Egypt some 40 years previously, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, a long anecdote relating what transpired between the polytheists of Mecca and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose, Abū Jahl b. Hishām said, "O Quraysh, Muḥammad is persisting, as you know, in criticizing our religion, reviling our forefathers, ridiculing our values and insulting our gods. I swear by God that I'll sit and wait for him tomorrow carrying a rock, and if he prostrates in his prayer, I'll smash his head with it! And let 'Abd Manāf's people do whatever they like about it afterwards."

Next day Abū Jahl, God curse him! took a rock and sat to wait for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). That morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came as usual; his direction of prayer at that time was towards Syria. When he prayed he positioned himself between the corner (of the *ka'ba*) with the "black stone" and the Yemeni corner, facing so that the *ka'ba* was between himself and Syria. By the time he came to pray Quraysh were already sitting in their meeting places, waiting. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prostrated in prayer, Abū Jahl did pick up the rock and approached him. When he got near him, he retreated in fear, his colour pale in terror. His hands lost their grip on the rock and it fell.

Quraysh men went up to him and asked, "What's the matter with you, Abū al-Ḥakam?" He answered, "When I got up to do as I told you yesterday I would and got near him, a stallion camel blocked my way to him. And, by God, I never saw a stallion so big as it, with a neck and fangs like it had! It was about to devour me!"

Ibn Ishāq related, "It was reported to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'That was Gabriel. And if he had come near me, he would have taken him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to him, quoting Abū al-Nadr, the jurist, quoting 'Uthmān al-Dāramī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Layth b. Sa'd, from Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Abān b. Ṣāliḥ, from 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, from his father, from 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, "One day I was in the mosque when Abū Jahl, God curse him! arrived. He said, 'I swear by God, that if I see Muḥammad prostrating in prayer, I'll stomp on his neck!'"

"I then left and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what Abū Jahl had said. He left home in a rage and went to the mosque. He was in a hurry to enter through the door, but he hit the wall instead. I told myself that this was an evil day; I put on my cloak and followed him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered then, recited the verse, 'Read in the name of your Lord who created, created man from a clot.' When he reached the passage relating to Abū Jahl: 'No; man is indeed impious, to see himself self-sufficient' (*sūrat al-'Alaq*, XCVI, v.1, 2; 6, 7), a man said to Abū Jahl, 'O Abū al-Ḥakam, that's Muḥammad.' Abū Jahl replied, 'Can't you see what I see? By God, the vistas of heaven have been barred to me!' When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached the end of the *sūrat* he prostrated himself in prayer."

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma'mar, from 'Abd al-Karīm, from 'Ikrima, who said, "Ibn 'Abbās stated, 'What Abū Jahl said was, "If I see Muḥammad praying at the *ka'ba*, I will tread on his neck!'"

"This comment reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he said, 'If he does any such thing the angels will take him, in full view!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in the same way from Yaḥyā, from 'Abd al-Razzāq.

Dāwūd b. Abū Hind stated from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Abū Jahl passed by the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was praying and addressed him with the words, 'Hey, Muḥammad, didn't I forbid you to pray? You know there to be no one who can call upon more people in council than I can.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) reprimanded him and Gabriel spoke the words, 'Let him call his henchmen; we will summon the angels of punishment! (*sūrat al-'Alaq*, XCII, v.17-18). By God, if he does summon his people, the angels of justice will inflict punishment on him.'"

Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī related this; and al-Nasā'ī authenticated it through Dāwūd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā'īl b. Yazīd Abū Zayd related to him, quoting Furāt, from 'Abd al-Karīm, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Abū Jahl stated, 'If I see Muḥammad at the *ka'ba* praying, I'll fight him till I tread on his neck!'"

He said that he (the Prophet) also used the words, "If he does so, then the *zabāniyya*, (the angels of punishment) will take him away in full view."

Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr stated that Ibn Ḥumayd related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ, quoting Yūnus b. Abū Ishāq, from al-Walid b. al-'Azār, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Abū Jahl said, 'If Muḥammad ever again prays at the shrine, I will kill him!'"

"And so God Almighty sent down the verses, 'Read in the name of your Lord who created' up to the verse 'We will certainly smite his forehead, the lying, sinful forehead; let him summon his henchmen, and we will summon the *zabāniyya*' (*sūrat al-'Alaq*, XCVI, v.15–18).

"Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) came and prayed and Abū Jahl was asked, 'Well, what's stopping you?' He replied, '(The space) between myself and him is black with his squadrons.'"

Ibn 'Abbās stated, "And, by God, if he had so much as moved, the angels would have seized him, while the people looked on."

Ibn Jarīr stated that Ibn 'Abd al-A'ālā related to him, quoting al-Mu'tamir, from his father, from Nu'aym b. Abū Hind, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Abū Jahl asked, 'Is Muḥammad to place his face down among your backs?' 'Yes', they replied."

The account continues, "So he said, 'By al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā, if I see him praying like that, I'll stomp on his neck and I'll flatten his face down into the dust!' So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he prayed in order to tread on his neck, but everyone was surprised to see him retreat and put his hands out as if to protect himself."

He went on, "So he was asked what was the matter, and Abū Jahl replied, 'Between him and myself there is a trench of fire, terrifying things, and wings.'"

The account continues, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'If he had come near me the angels would have picked him apart limb by limb.'"

He said, "And God Almighty revealed – I don't know whether or not this is in the *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra – 'No, man is indeed impious, to see himself self-sufficient' (*sūrat al-'Alaq*, XCVI, v.6–7), and so on to the end of the *sūrat*."

Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Nasā'ī, Ibn Abū Ḥātim and al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān of Taym.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wahb b. Jarīr related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Ishāq, from 'Amr b. Maymūn, from 'Abd Allāh, who said, "I never saw the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say a prayer against Quraysh except on one occasion. He was praying while a group of Quraysh sat there; there was the placenta (*salā*) of a sacrificed camel near by him. Quraysh asked, 'Who will pick up that placenta and throw it over his back?' 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayt replied, 'I will.' And he picked it up and threw it over his back. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there prostrating until Fāṭima came and removed it off his back. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'God take this crowd of Quraysh! O God, take away 'Utba b. Rabi'ā! O God, take away Shayba b. Rabi'ā! O God, take away Abū Jahl b. Hishām! O God, take away 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayt! O God, take away Ubayy b. Khalaf – or Umayya b. Khalaf – they're like a patch of thorns!'"

'Abd Allāh stated, "And I saw all of them killed at the battle of Badr, and they were carried off to al-Qalib; except for Ubayy, or Umayya b. Khalaf; he was a very large man and so was kept separate."

Al-Bukhārī related this tradition in several places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, and Muslim related it with lines of authority from Ibn Ishāq.

The man who should rightly be referred to in this tradition is Umayya b. Khalaf. It was he who was killed at the battle of Badr. His brother Ubayy, however, was killed at the battle of Uhud, as we will explain hereafter. The word *al-salā*, "placenta", used above is what emerges in birth with a baby camel, like the placenta of a woman's baby.

In some versions told in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, when Quraysh did this they laughed so hard they fell right over one another; that is, one would collapse onto the one next to him because of the violence of their laughter. God curse them!

Regarding the same incident, when Fāṭima threw it off him, she drew near Quraysh and insulted them. And also it is said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) finished his prayer he held up his hands to curse them. And when they saw him do this their laughter died down, fearing his imprecation. They say he cursed all the Quraysh chiefs, singling out in his prayer seven of them. In most accounts six of these are named, they being 'Utba and his brother Shayba, the two sons of Rabi'ā, al-Walid b. 'Utba, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayt, and Umayya b. Khalaf. Ibn Ishāq stated, "I forget the seventh." But I state that he was 'Umāra b. al-Walid; his name is given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

The Story of al-Irāshī, the man from Irāsh.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Sufyān al-Thaqafi stated, "A man from Irāsh brought in to Mecca some camels he owned and Abū Jahl b. Hishām bought them from him. But he was slow in paying for them and so the man from Irāsh came to the place where Quraysh met; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was also there at the time, sitting

near the mosque. The man asked them, 'O Tribe of Quraysh, which man of you will give me help against Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām? I am a stranger, a traveller, and he has cheated me.'

"The Quraysh council replied, 'You see that person' – indicating the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both to mock him and because of the enmity they knew existed between him and Abū Jahl – 'go to him. He will help you against him.'

"So the man from Irāsh went and stood before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and related his story to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) got up and left with him. When Quraysh saw him do so they told one of their men to follow and see what he would do.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left and went to Abū Jahl's house and knocked on the door. Abū Jahl said, 'Who is there?' He replied, 'It's Muḥammad; come outside!' So Abū Jahl came outside, there being not a drop of blood in his face, his colour having turned pale. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said to him, 'Give this man his duel!' Abū Jahl replied, 'Don't leave before I give him what I owe.' He then went back inside and returned with the money he then paid to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left and said to the man from Irāsh, 'Now, go to your destination.' The man then went again before the Quraysh council and said, 'May God reward him well; I have received what was due to me.'

"The man Quraysh had sent to watch came back to them and they asked what he had seen. He replied, 'It was incredible! I swear, when he knocked on Abū Jahl's door and he came out, his spirit was not accompanying him! He told him to give the man his due, and Abū Jahl replied, "Don't leave till I bring it out for him." He then went back inside, then came out and gave it to him.'

"Soon thereafter Abū Jahl arrived and Quraysh asked, 'Well, what's wrong with you? By God, we never saw the like of what you did.' He replied, 'It was terrible! As soon as he knocked on my door and I heard his voice, I was filled with terror. Then when I went outside to him, there on his head was a stallion camel more fearful than any I ever saw before; its neck and teeth were unlike those of any camel. I swear, if I had refused, it would have eaten me!'"

DIVISION

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Ayyāsh b. al-Walīd related to him, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting al-Awzā'ī, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī (who said) that 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr related to him that he asked Ibn 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs, "Tell me what the worst thing was the polytheists did to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

He replied, "While the Prophet (ṢAAS) was praying at the *hijr* (the outer enclosure of the *ka'ba*) 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayṭ went up to him, drew his robe around his neck and began choking him hard.

"Abū Bakr, God bless him, approached, took him by the shoulders and pulled him off the Prophet (ṢAAS) saying, 'Would you murder a man for saying, "God is my Lord; He has brought you clear signs from your Lord" to the end of the verse" (*sūrat Ghāfir*, XL, v.28).

Ibn Ishāq gives the same *ḥadīth* but uses the words "Yaḥyā b. 'Urwa related to me: I asked 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr . . .".

'Abda gives it in the form: "from Hishām, from his father, who said, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ was asked . . .'. And Muḥammad b. 'Amr said, 'from Abū Salama, who said, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ related to me . . .'."

Al-Bayhaqī stated it, and Sulaymān b. Bilāl related it, from Hishām b. 'Urwa as 'Abda gave it.

Al-Bukhārī is the sole authority giving this anecdote; he told it in several places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. In one of these he related it to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ. That account is closest to that of 'Urwa. The fact that it was related from 'Amr (rather than from the son of 'Amr) is more likely, since the incident had occurred so early.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that Yaḥyā b. 'Urwa related to him, from his father 'Urwa, who said that he asked 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, "What is the worst thing you saw Quraysh inflict on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He replied, "I saw them once when all their chiefs had gathered at the *hijr* of the *ka'ba* and they were discussing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They said, 'We've been extraordinarily patient in putting up with this man; he has ridiculed our values, reviled our forefathers, criticized our religion, made divisions among us and insulted our gods. We've put up with a lot from him.' They used words such as these."

He went on, "While they were thus engaged, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appeared. He approached on foot, kissed the 'black stone', then passed on by them as he circumambulated the *ka'ba*. They, as I recognized from the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said some insulting things to him. He went on his path but when he came round past them on his second circuit they again, as I saw from his face, insulted him. When he came round for the third time, they did the same.

"He then spoke, 'Are you listening, O Quraysh? By Him in whose hands is my soul, I'm bringing you slaughter!'

"His words had such great impact on them that they went totally silent. Then those previously most harsh to him addressed him with kindness, saying, 'Why

don't you be sensible and leave, Abū al-Qāsim? You've never acted foolishly.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left.

"Next day Quraysh met again in the *ḥijr* and I was there with them. They discussed their interactions with him and said to one another, 'You mentioned what he did to you and what you did to him, until he brought out what you didn't like; so you let him go!'

"While they were engaged in this discussion, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appeared and they leapt upon him as one man and surrounded him, accusing him, 'Haven't you said so-and-so?' making reference to the negative comments they had heard he had made about their gods and their religion.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Yes; I am the one who said that.'

"Then I saw one man grab him by the top fastening of his robe. At this Abū Bakr put himself between them, weeping, and said, 'Shame on you! Would you murder a man for saying, "My Lord is God?"' At this they let him go.

"That incident was the worst treatment he ever had from Quraysh."

Section: On the uniting of the Quraysh chiefs against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, and their meeting with his uncle Abū Ṭālib who was protecting and aiding him; their pressure upon Abū Ṭālib to deliver him to them, and how he resisted them in that objective, through the aid and strength of God.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Waki' related to him, from Ḥammad b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'I've suffered harm for God, whereas no one should be harmed; I've been frightened for God, whereas no one should be afraid. At one time, 30 days and nights had passed, and neither I nor Bilāl had what any human can eat except what could be concealed by Bilāl's armpit!'"

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja gave this text from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is a fine, true tradition."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "His uncle Abū Ṭālib showed his compassion and gave his protection to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and stood in front of him.

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued performing God's work by practising his religion openly and allowing nothing to deter him.

"When Quraysh saw that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would not give up anything they had complained to him about, neither his separating from them nor his criticism of their gods, and they recognized that his uncle Abū Ṭālib was sympathetic towards him and was standing in front of him and refusing to deliver him to them, some of the Quraysh leaders went to Abū Ṭālib. These men were: 'Utba and Shayba, two sons of Rabī'a b. 'Abd al-Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, Abū Sufyān Sakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya, Abū al-Bakhtari

(whose given name was al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy), al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, Abū Jahl (whose real name was ʿAmr b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm), al-Walid b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʿayy, Nabīh and Munabbih, the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿĀmir b. Hudhayfa b. Saʿīd b. Sahm b. ʿAmr b. Husayṣ b. Kaʿb b. Luʿayy, and al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil b. Saʿīd b. Sahm.” And Ibn Ishāq added “or those of these men who did go.”

“They said, ‘O Abū Ṭālib, your nephew has cursed our gods, criticized our religion, ridiculed our values and said our forefathers erred. Either you interpose yourself between us – you disagree with him just as we do – or we’ll take care of him for you!’

“Abū Ṭālib gave them a polite and gracious reply and they then left him.

“Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued as before, openly practising God’s religion and calling upon people to embrace it. But then things between them became more heated until the men were mutually hostile and alienated from one another.

“Quraysh discussed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a great deal, complaining to one another and urging one another on to take action against him.

“They then went again to Abū Ṭālib, and told him, ‘O Abū Ṭālib, you have seniority, prestige, and position among us, and we have asked you to keep your nephew away from us, but you have not done so. We can’t any longer put up with his behaviour in reviling our forefathers, ridiculing our values, and criticizing our gods until such time as you make him desist, or we will battle with him and you in this matter, until one or other side perishes.’ They said something of this sort, and then they left.

“It grieved Abū Ṭālib to be alienated from his people, and he was neither sympathetic to the call for Islam by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) nor to the idea of abandoning him.”

Ibn Ishāq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him that he was told that when Quraysh, made these comments to Abū Ṭālib, he sent a message to the Prophet (ṢAAS) in which he said, “O Nephew, your people have come to me and stated various things” – referring to what they had told him – “so protect me and yourself, and don’t burden me with more than I can bear.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thought that Abū Ṭālib had changed his attitude, and that he had abandoned him and his fellow Muslims, and lacked the strength to help and protect him.

“So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘O Uncle, if they were to place the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition I abandon this course until God decide it or I perish, I would not abandon it.’

“Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) broke down in tears and rose to leave.

"As he turned away, Abū Ṭālib called out to him, 'Come close, nephew!' So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approached him and Abū Ṭālib told him, 'Go ahead, nephew, and say whatever you wish. I will never give you up for any reason.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Quraysh learned that Abū Ṭālib had refused to abandon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and was determined to break with them in enmity because of this, they went to him, bringing 'Umāra b. al-Walid with them. They told him, as I have heard, 'O Abū Ṭālib, this is 'Umāra b. al-Walid, the strongest and best-looking young man of Quraysh. Take him and use his mind and strength and adopt him as your own son; he is yours. And hand over to us this nephew of yours who has opposed your religion and that of your forefathers, broken up the unity of your people and ridiculed our values, so that we may kill him. It will be just one man for another!'"

"Abū Ṭālib responded, 'By God, what evil is this you ask of me! Will you give me your son to feed for you, while I give you mine for you to kill? This, by God, will never happen!'"

"Al-Muṭ'īm b. 'Adī b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy then said, 'By God, Abū Ṭālib, your people have been fair with you and have done their best to avoid offending you. But I don't see you give them anything in return.'"

"Abū Ṭālib replied to al-Muṭ'īm, 'I swear by God they have not been fair with me. You have agreed to ostracize me and turn the people against me. So do what you think fit.' Or words to that effect."

"The situation worsened and the conflict became more heated, with the people adopting different sides and expressing mutual hostility."

"Abū Ṭālib spoke verses about all this criticizing al-Muṭ'īm b. 'Adī and those of Banū 'Abd Manāf and the other Quraysh tribes who were hostile to him. In these verses he made reference to their request to him and to their alienation:

'Tell 'Amr, al-Walid and Muṭ'īm: "Instead of your (worthless) protection I'd rather have a camel calf

That was sickly and ungainly, that moaned a lot, its urine dripping down its legs,

That was left behind the herd and couldn't keep up, one that looked more like a stoat when climbing the dunes."

I see both our brothers, sons of our father and our mother, who reply when asked, "It's someone else's problem."

No, it is their concern, though they disappeared with the speed of a rock dropping from atop Mt. Dhū 'Alaḳ.

I single out 'Abd Shams and Nawfal, both having dropped us like hot coals

They have slandered and insulted their brothers (in front of) the people; their hands now hold nothing for them

They have shared their prestige with men whose fathers are unknown except for being of low repute.

And Taym and Makhzūm and Zuhra are among them, men who had once been allied with us when help was desired.

By God, enmity between us and you will never end, so long as any of our progeny survive.’”

Section: Concerning their use of excessive violence against individual, powerless Muslims.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Quraysh then incited each other against those individual tribesmen who were Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had accepted Islam.

“Each tribe persecuted the Muslims among them, using violence and trying to seduce them from their faith.

“God gave protection to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against them through his uncle Abū Ṭālib.

“When Abū Ṭālib saw what Quraysh were doing, he called upon Banū Hāshim and Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib to join him in aiding and defending the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They did join with him and agreed to his request, except for Abū Lahab, that enemy of God.

“He spoke some verses on this subject, praising them and urging them to fulfil their promises of help and support for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

‘If Quraysh were to assemble one day to express their pride, the ‘Abd Manāf would be their heart and core

And if the chiefs of ‘Abd Manāf were counted, then in Hishām would be their most noble and ancient of line

If Quraysh do one day express their pride, then Muḥammad will be the one chosen from their core, and their noble one;

Quraysh had their men, both high and low, against us, but they have not succeeded and their hopes are dashed.

In former times we never tolerated evil; if people turned their heads down, we straightened them out.

We defended their sanctuary every evil day, knocking from its walls those attacking it.

Through us the withered stalk is renewed, under our care its roots turn moist and grow.’”

Section: Concerning the objections presented by the polytheists to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); how they troubled him with their asking of him various kinds of signs and miracles, and how this was due to their obstinacy rather than to their seeking guidance.

They were therefore not granted many of their requests or wishes because The Truth, glory be to Him, knew that if they had seen what they wanted, they would have continued straying in their tyranny, error and sin.

God Almighty stated, "And they swear by God, with their mightiest oaths, that if a sign came to them they would believe in it. Say: 'Signs are with God alone.' And what would make you perceive that if such came, they would still not believe? Supposing we turn their hearts and their vision upside down, they will not believe, as at the first time. So we will leave them straying in their tyranny. Even if we sent down the angels to them, and even if the dead spoke to them, and even if we gathered together all things from before, they would not believe unless God wished it. But most of them are foolish" (*sūrat al-An'ām*, VI, v.109–11).

And He said, "Even those against whom God's word has proved true will not believe, even if all signs were to come to them until they see the painful punishment" (*sūrat Yūnus*, X, v.96–7).

The Almighty spoke, "Nothing prevented us from sending the signs except the fact that the earlier peoples disbelieved in them; We did give Thamūd the she-camel in full view, but they used it for evil. We do not send signs for any purpose but to warn" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, also known as *sūrat Banū Isrā'il*, XVII, v.59).

And the Almighty said, "And they said, 'We will not believe in you until you break forth a spring from the earth for us. Or until you have a garden of date-palms and grapes amidst which you make streams gush forth. Or until you make the sky fall upon us in pieces, as you have claimed you will. Or until you bring God and the angels before us. Or until you have a house of gold cloth. Or until you rise up to heaven. And we will not believe in your ascension until you bring down for us a book we can read.' Say: 'Glory be to God; am I anything but a mortal man, a messenger?'" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.90–3).

We have discussed these verses and those similar to them in their places in the *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And all praise be to God.

Yūnus and Ziyād related, from Ibn Ishāq, and from a certain scholar, namely a sheikh from Egypt named Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr and 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Leaders from Quraysh chiefs met – and he enumerated their names – after sunset at the rear of the *ka'ba*. Some said, 'Send for Muḥammad and speak with him and argue with him so you will find excuse for him.'

"So they sent a message to him, saying, 'The chiefs of your people have assembled to speak with you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to them quickly, believing that there had been a change in their attitude to him. He was eager for them to accept the truth for their error, which was painful to him. He sat down with them.

"They said, 'O Muḥammad, we sent for you to reconcile with you. By God, we know of no Arab man who has ever brought his people as much trouble as you have. You have reviled the forebears, criticized the religion, ridiculed the

values, cursed the gods, and divided our community. Every unpleasant thing possible you have done to make a rift between you and us.

“If you had come to say these things merely to seek wealth, we would have collected money for you from our own until you were the richest among us. If what you wanted was prestige, we would have placed you in leadership over us. If you had wanted sovereignty, we would have made you king over us. If what you were bringing us was because of a spirit that had possessed you (they used the word *raʿī* for *tābīʿ* meaning spirit) and that may be the case, we would expend our resources seeking a potion to free you from him, or we would excuse you.’

“The Messenger of God replied, ‘What you have said does not apply to me. I have not brought you my message seeking your money, nor honour among you, nor sovereignty over you. God has sent me to you as a Messenger; He has revealed a document to me and has ordered me to bring you good news and to warn you. I have brought you a message from my Lord and have given you counsel. If you accept what I have brought you, then that is for your good on earth and in the hereafter. If you reject it, I will await God’s decision, until He decides between myself and you.’ The Messenger of God used some such words.

“They responded, ‘O Muḥammad, if you will not accept what we are offering you, then you will realize that there are no people with less land than us, nor any less wealthy, nor any with a more difficult life. So ask for us your Lord who has sent you with whatever he has sent you, to level out for us these mountains that close us in, and spread out our country and give us some rivers here that flow like those in Syria and Iraq. Ask him to resurrect for us some of our dead forefathers, including among them Qusayy b. Kilāb, since he was a truth-telling sheikh. We will then ask them whether what you say is true or false.

“If you do what we ask and they believe you, we will believe you and recognize your status with God, and that he has sent you as a messenger, as you say.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘This is not why I have been sent. I have only brought you from God what He has sent me with. I have informed you of what I was sent to convey to you. If you accept it, then that is your good fortune on earth and in the hereafter. If you reject it, I must wait patiently for God’s decree and for Him to judge between us.’

“They responded, ‘If you won’t do this for us, take something for yourself. Ask your Lord to send us down an angel who will verify what you say and make us leave you alone. Ask him to provide for us some gardens, some castles and treasures of gold and silver, and to take care of those needs we see you have, for we see you engage in business and earn your living like us. That way we will know the favour and prestige you have with your Lord – if, that is, you are a messenger as you claim.’

"He replied, 'I'm not going to do so. I'm not one to ask such things of his Lord. That is not why I have been sent to you. God has sent me to announce and to warn. If you accept my message, then that is your good fortune here on earth and in the afterlife. If you reject it, then I must be patient and leave the matter up to God, until He decides between myself and you.'

"They replied, 'Well then, make the sky fall down as you have claimed your Lord can do if He wishes. We'll not believe in you unless you do this.'

"He answered, 'That is up to God. If He wishes, He will do that to you.'

"They commented, 'O Muḥammad, did your Lord not know we would sit with you and ask you questions as we have asked and make requests we have made, and so come forward to you and inform you how to respond to us, and tell you what He would then do about us if we did not accept the message from you?'

"We have learned that you just receive this instruction from a man in al-Yamāma known as *al-Raḥmān*,⁷⁸ we will never, by God, believe in that *al-Raḥmān*! We've made every excuse for you, Muḥammad, but, by God, because of what you've done to us we'll not leave you alone until we destroy you or you destroy us!

"One of them said, 'We worship the angels who are God's daughters.' Another said, 'We'll not believe in you till you bring us God and the angels beforehand.'

"When they had said this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to leave them. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm, who was his cousin, being the son of his aunt 'Ātika, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, got up with him and said to him, 'O Muḥammad, your people have made certain offers to you that you have not accepted. Then they made requests for themselves so that they could discover your status with God, but you did nothing. Then they asked you to send promptly some punishment that would scare them. By God, I'll never believe in you until you put up a ladder to heaven then climb it, with me watching, until you reach there, bring back with you a copy of a document accompanied by four angels who testify that you are as you claim! And yet, by God, even if you did that, I think I'd not believe you!'

"He then left the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who went off home sad and regretful at his failure to achieve what he had expected when his people had summoned him, and at the alienation he had seen them express towards him."

This assembly where those leaders met with him had been one of injustice, antagonism, and stubbornness. Divine wisdom and God's mercy decreed that they not be granted what they had requested, because God knew that they would not have faith thereby, and that it would hasten their punishment.

78. Apparently a reference to the "false prophet" Musaylima.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Jarīr, from al-Aʿmash, from Jaʿfar b. Iyās, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The people of Mecca asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to turn Mt. al-Ṣafā into gold for them and to move away the mountains so that they could grow crops. He was told, ‘It is up to you whether you give them respite, or what they ask, and then if they disbelieve they will perish as did those nations who came before them.’

“He replied, ‘No; I will give them respite.’

“And so God Almighty sent down, ‘Nothing prevented us from sending the signs except the fact that the earlier peoples disbelieved in them; We did give Thamūd the she-camel in full view, but they used it for evil. We do not send signs for any purpose but to warn’” (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.59).

Al-Nasāʾī related this tradition from Jarīr.

Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥman related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from ʿUmrān b. Ḥakīm, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Quraysh said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), ‘Pray to your Lord for us to turn Mt al-Ṣafā into gold and we will believe in you.’ ‘You would really do so?’ he asked. ‘Yes,’ they replied.

“So he did pray and Gabriel came to him and spoke, saying, ‘Your Lord greets you and tells you, “If you wish, then al-Ṣafā will become gold for them. But all those who disbelieve thereafter I will either punish as I never have any humans before, or, if you wish it, I will open up for them the door of forgiveness and repentance.”’

“He replied, ‘No, let it be forgiveness and repentance.’”

Both these two chains of authority are excellent and were transmitted by a group of followers of the Prophet (ṢAAS) including Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Qatāda, Ibn Jurayḥ and others.

Imām Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī recounted from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, who said that Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Zahr, from ʿAlī b. Yazīd, from al-Qāsim, from Abū Umāma, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) who said, “My Lord, Almighty and All-glorious is He, proposed to me that he would transform the Mecca valley into gold. But I replied, ‘No, O God, one day I am satisfied, the next hungry, or something close thereto; and when I am hungry, I humble myself before you and think of You, and when satisfied I give praise and thanks to You.’”

(Imām) Aḥmad gave this tradition without comment. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “This *ḥadīth* is good.” And ʿAlī b. Yazīd considered it weak.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that an Egyptian sheikh, who came to him some 40 years before, related to him from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Quraysh sent al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith and ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ to the Jewish rabbis at

Medina, telling the two men, 'Ask them about Muḥammad; describe him to them and relate to them what he says. They are the people of the first scriptures. They have knowledge we don't possess about prophets.'

"So al-Naḍr and 'Uqba went off to Medina and asked the rabbis about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), describing him and what he said to them. The two men told them, 'You are the people of the Torah; we have come for you to tell us about this countryman of ours.'

"The rabbis told them, 'Ask him about three subjects we will inform you about. If he responds, he is a prophet with a mission. If he does not, he is a pretender for you to treat as you will.

"Ask him about the young warriors who passed away in earlier times and what happened to them. They had a very strange experience.

"Also ask him about the great traveller who went far out to the east and far to the west, and what became of him. Then ask him what the *rūḥ* (soul or spirit) is.

"If he answers these questions, then he is a prophet and so follow him. If he does not, then he is a fake and you should do with him what seems right to you.'

"Al Naḍr and 'Uqba returned to Quraysh and told them, 'O Quraysh, we bring you the means to decide the issue between yourselves and Muḥammad. The rabbis told us to ask him certain questions.' They then told Quraysh what these were.

"So Quraysh went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said to him, 'O Muḥammad, answer us these.' They then questioned him as they had been told. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I will tomorrow give you the answer to what you have asked.' But in saying this, he omitted the phrase, 'if God wills it'.

"They then left him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereafter remained for 15 days without revelation or any visitation from Gabriel. And so the Meccans spread rumours, saying, 'Muḥammad promised us it would be the next day, but it's been 15 now without him having answered any one of the matters we asked him.' The cessation of revelation greatly troubled the Messenger of God, and he was hurt by what the Meccans were saying about him.

"Then Gabriel, peace be upon him, brought him from God, the Almighty and All-Glorious, the *sūrat al-Kahf* (XVIII). In this there is reprimand for his sadness about them and information on the matters concerning the ancient warriors and the mighty traveller about whom they had questioned him. God Almighty also stated, 'And they ask you about the *rūḥ* (the soul). Say, the *rūḥ* is by order of my Lord. And you are given but little knowledge' (*sūrat al-Isrā'* (or *Banū Isrā'il*), XVII, v.85)."

We have spoken about that at length in the *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*; the reader wishing more information on this will find it there.

Also revealed was God's statement, "or did you think that the men of the cave and the inscription were a wonder from among our signs?" (*sūrat al-Kahf*, XVIII, v.9).

He then proceeded to detail their story. In the course of this God interjected by his commanding the use of "the exception" as a matter of determination, not comment, in His words, "And do not say of anything, 'I will do that tomorrow,' unless God wills it. And remember God when you are forgetful" (*sūrat al-Kahf*, XVIII, v.23-4).

He then made mention of the story of Moses, because it is related to that of *al-Khiḍr*, and then he proceeded to tell about *Dhū al-Qarnayn*. God then said, "They will ask you about *Dhū al-Qarnayn*. Say, I will relate you an account of him" (*sūrat al-Kahf*, XVIII, v.83). He then explained all about him and what happened to him.

God stated in the *sūrat* (beginning with) *Subhān*: "And they ask you about the *rūḥ* (i.e. soul or spirit). Say: the *rūḥ* is by order of my Lord" (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.85). That is, it, the *rūḥ*, is a strange and marvellous part of His creation, something God ordained; He said "Be" (Let there be *rūḥ*), and so it "was". And it is not up to you to scrutinize all He has created. To represent or portray real nature and essence would be too difficult for you. It is something related to the power and (ultimate) wisdom of the Almighty. This is why He stated: "And you are given but little knowledge" (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.85).

It is well established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the Jews asked this of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was in Medina, and so he recited this verse to them.

This verse was either revealed a second time or he made reference to it as a response, even though its revelation came previously. Those who maintain it was revealed only at Medina and exclude it from the *sūra Subhān* (i.e. *sūrat al-Isrāʾ*) are wrong. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Abū Ṭālib feared that the crowds of Arabs would overwhelm him and his people, he composed his ode in which he claimed refuge at the Mecca sanctuary because of his position there. In it he expressed his friendship for his people's leaders, but told them and others in his poem that he was not surrendering the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that he would never abandon him for any reason, even if it meant dying in his defence. Abū Ṭālib spoke the verses:

'Having seen that the people are without friendship and that they have severed all ties and connections

And have openly expressed their enmity, inflicted harm and obeyed the orders of the implacable enemy

And have allied with a people against us who are suspicious, and bite their fingers in rage at us behind our backs,

I have remained firm towards them, my spear flexible, my sword sharp and of royal provenance.

I assembled my brothers and kin at the *ka'ba* and gripped the ropes of its covering,
Standing together and facing its doors, the place where those having made oaths
fulfil them,

The area where pilgrims kneel their mounts and where the flow of blood comes
from the gods Isāf and Nā'il,

Their mounts branded on their shoulder or neck base, prime pampered beasts
between seven and nine years old.

On them you see ornaments of cowry shells and marble tied to their necks which
are like fronds heavy with dates.

I seek sanctuary with the Lord of men from all aggressors seeking evil and men who
persist in lies,

From those who hate and strive to harm us and from those who attach to the religion
what we have not attempted.

By Thawr and by Him who set Thabir in its place and by those who both ascend
Hirā' and descend,

By the *ka'ba*, the true House in Mecca's valley, and by God, I swear, God is never
unaware.

By the "black stone" when it is touched by those who move around it at morn and
evening,

By Abraham's tread upon the moist rock, both feet bare and wearing no sandals,

By the courses run between al-Marwatayn and al-Ṣafā and by the images and statues
at both places.

By all those who ride in to pilgrimage at God's house and all who make vows and all
who come on foot.

By the furthest shrine they head for, for Mt. 'Arafāt, and the place where the
streams meet and flow

And the places where they halt at evening above the mountains, where they make
their mounts stop by placing their hands on their animals' foreparts.

By the night of the assembly at the Minā stations; are there any shrines or stations
above them?

And by the crowding when the horses swiftly pass by as if they are escaping a
falling rain.

By the great *Jamra*, the mound of stones, when pilgrims approach it, casting their
stones at its top.

By Kinda tribe when at evening at al-Ḥisāb and the pilgrims of Banū Bakr b. Wā'il
pass them by.

Both allies who have affirmed the bond between them, and referred back to it all
kinds of relationships

And by their breaking down the very tallest of trees and bushes as they race by, like
swift-paced ostriches,

Is there after this any better refuge for one seeking it? Does anyone offer refuge
who is just and fears God?

Our enemies had the best of us and wished we were used to block the gates to Turk
and Kābul.

You have lied, by God's House; we leave Mecca and our land without you being confounded?

You have lied, by God's House; we subdue Muḥammad, not fight and resist in his defence?

We give him up before we are piled up dead around him, and leave behind our children and our wives?

A people will rise up with steel against you, like camels rising when they bear waterskins,

Until we see our enemy stretched out from his wounds, all awry, like a cripple.

We will, by God, if what I see is in earnest, have our swords become mixed with others like them

In the hands of a young fighter like a flame, a brave man, trustworthy, defending the truth, heroic.

And so months, days, a year become inviolate for us, and then will come another season, after the next.

How, curse you, could a people abandon a chief who protects his honour, not some foul-mouthed coward

And a noble for whom the clouds are made to rain, the provider for orphans and supporter of widows?

The most needy of the Ḥāshim tribe resort to him; with him they find mercy and respect

By my life, Usayd and his first born led us to being hated, and they cut us up for anyone to eat.

Neither 'Uthmān nor Qunfudh had sympathy for us, but obeyed the order of those tribes

They obeyed Ubayy and the son of their 'Abd Yaghūth, neither of them caring what others said of us

We fared the same from Subay' and Nawfal, and all turned away in opposition, not acting kindly.

If they both should be discovered or God take hold of them, we'll take revenge measure for measure

And that Abū 'Amr insisted on hating us, to drive us out to join herdsmen of sheep and camels

Whispering about us at morning and evening; whisper away, O Abū 'Amr, and then deceive!

He swears to us by God, he'll not deceive us; but yes, we perceive him obviously untrustworthy.

His hate for us has made all the high ground between Akhshab and Majādil too constrained for him.

Question Abū al-Walid, "How did you benefit us by coming to us, then turning away, like a deceiver!"

"You used to be a man whose opinion and kindness had influence over us, for you were once no fool.

"And so, 'Utba, do not listen to those who secretly hate us, envious, mendacious, hate-filled slanderers."

As Abū Sufyān passed by me he looked away, as though he were a royal prince of a great line.

He gets away to high Najd and its cool waters, claiming, "No, I'm not abandoning you."

He tells us, as though a true counsellor, that he is sympathetic but he hides his innate ill-will.

O Muṭ'īm, I did not desert you when needing help, nor any critical time needing deeds of valour

Nor on that day of conflict when they attacked you violently, fierce men, implacable enemies.

O Muṭ'īm, the people have entrusted a task to you, and I, when given a task, don't shun it;

May God punish 'Abd Shams and Nawfal for us, soon, not delayed, and harsh.

In proper measure, not a grain-weight less, it being testimony about itself, not that of some miscreant.

Fools are they who would exchange in barter the Banū Khalaf and al-Ghayāṭal for us.

We are the very heart of the essence of Hāshim and the tribe of Quṣayy in all prime regards.

Sahm and Makhzūm have biased and incited against us in enmity every scoundrel and sinner.

O 'Abd Manāf, you men are the best of your people, so do not ally in your affairs with every sponger.

By my life, you have gone weak and ineffectual, failing badly in the view of anyone of good judgement;

Till recently you were the firewood for one pot, but now you're the fuel for various pots and cauldrons.

Let Banū 'Abd Manāf enjoy our plight and abandonment, and our being forsaken in our refuge.

If indeed a tribe, we will have revenge for your acts and you will taste the fruits of indiscriminate warfare.

Tell Quṣayy that news of us will spread, and announce to Quṣayy that after us they will be defeated.

Yet if great misfortune had one day befallen Quṣayy, we would not have stood away, forsaking them;

If they had fought valiantly amidst their homes, we would have helped them with their women and children.

So all we considered friends or relatives we've found, I swear, of no avail

Excepting a group of the Kilāb b. Murra tribe who are innocent of the fault of falseness to us.

The finest of the tribe is our nephew Zuhayr, without dispute, a sharp sword, alone, unsheathed,

The tallest standing of the pride of the chieftains, a fine man, belonging to a line at the very centre of glory.

By my life, I am utterly devoted to Aḥmad and his brethren, with all the constancy of a close admirer.

For who of all is like him, who could be hoped to compete when judges assess him for superiority?

He is mild-tempered, intelligent, just, stable, the ally of a God of whom he is ever aware.

Noble in his work, noble and noble-born, a man with an inheritance of glory, constant and unbroken

And the Lord of men has aided him with victory, and he has brought forth a religion the truth of which shall stay.

By God, were I not thereby to cause disgrace that would be brought out against our sheikhs in the assemblies

We would have followed him regardless of fate, in all seriousness, not mere talk.

They know that our son is not thought a liar by us, nor does he pay attention to silly nonsense.

Among us Aḥmad is so deeply rooted that the best efforts of upstarts fall short of him.

I cared for him myself, protected him, and defended him by our heads and chests.”

Ibn Hishām commented, “These seem to me the verses of this poem that are genuine. But some scholars expert in poetry reject most of them.”

I would say that this ode is truly fine and very effective. No one but he to whom it is ascribed could have spoken it; it is more perfect than the seven *mu‘allaqat* odes! It is more effective in conveying its meaning than all of them are.

Al-Umawī gave its text in his *maghāzī* history at greater length, with additions. But God knows best.

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated: “They then became aggressive towards those who had accepted Islam and followed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“Each tribe attacked all the defenceless Muslims in them, imprisoning them or persecuting them by beating them, depriving them of food and drink and by putting them out on the burning hot ground of Mecca when the heat was most extreme. They were trying to deter them from their religion.

“Some, due to the severity of their suffering, were dissuaded from it, while others stood up to them, God giving them His protection.

“Bilāl, who became Abū Bakr’s freed-man, at that time belonged to Banū Jumah, being one of their slaves born to a foreign mother. His name was Bilāl b. Rabāḥ and his mother’s name was Ḥamāma. He was sincere in Islam, a man pure of heart. Umayya b. Khalaf would place him outside at heat of noon, then

order that a huge rock be placed on his chest. He would then tell him, 'By God, you'll stay like this till you die, unless you disavow Muḥammad and pray to al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā!'

"Bilāl, while in this state, would say only, 'One! One!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated that Hishām b. 'Urwa related to him, from his father, who said, "Waraqa b. Nawfal used to pass by Bilāl when he was being persecuted in this way as he was saying, 'One! One!' Waraqa would then say to Bilāl, 'One! One! by God, O Bilāl!'"

"Waraqa would then go to Umayya b. Khalaf and the others of the Banū Jumaḥ who were doing this and say, 'I swear by God, that if you murder him I'll use his tomb as a shrine!'"

I observe that some consider this *ḥadīth* as dubious, since Waraqa died directly after the Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission, during the period of intermission of the revelation. Those who first accepted Islam did so following the revelation of the verse, "O You who are all wrapped up" (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*, LXXIV, v.1). And so how could Waraqa pass by Bilāl as he was being tortured? The tradition is doubtful.

Then Ibn Ishāq recounted how Abū Bakr passed by Bilāl as he was under torture and bought him from Umayya by exchanging a black slave he owned. Thereafter he manumitted Bilāl and so saved him from persecution.

He then related how Abū Bakr purchased a number of slaves, both male and female, who had accepted Islam. These included, with Bilāl, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, Umm 'Umays and Zinnīra, who lost her sight but had it restored by God Almighty. Also there were al-Nahdiyya and her daughter, both of whom he bought from Banū 'Abd al-Dār; their mistress had sent them both to mill some flour, and Abū Bakr heard her say to them, "By God, I will never free either of you!" Abū Bakr then told her, "Retract that, Umm so-and-so!" The woman replied, "I retract. Now you have spoiled them, so you free them!" "How much are they?" he asked. She named a price and he agreed, "All right, I'll take them. They are free now. So return her flour to her." They asked, "Shouldn't we finish milling it, and then give it back to her?" "That's fine, if you want to."

He purchased a slave-girl of Banū Mu'ammil, a clan of the Banū 'Adī; Umar used to strike her over Islam.

Ibn Ishāq continued to say that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū 'Atīq related to him, from 'Āmir b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from one of his family, who said, "Abū Quhāfa said to his son Abū Bakr, 'Son, I see you are setting free people who are powerless. If you want to do this, why don't you free some powerful men who could protect and defend you?'"

"Abū Bakr replied, 'I'm only doing what it is I want.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on: "And it is related that the following verses were revealed specifically about him and what his father had said, 'To those who give, are

pious and believe in goodness we will provide ease and facilitate' and so on to the end of the *sūrat*" (*sūrat al-Layl*, XCII, v.5-7).

We have previously given the account of Imām Aḥmad and Ibn Māja, from 'Āsim b. Bahdala, from Zarr, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said that, "The first who openly became Muslims were seven persons: the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, 'Ammār and his mother Sumayya, Ṣuhayb, Bilāl, and al-Miqdād.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was protected by God through his uncle, and Abū Bakr was protected by his tribe. The others were seized by the polytheists, bound in chains and set in the hot sun. All ultimately complied with their persecutors' wishes except for Bilāl; he subjugated himself to God Almighty. His people did not care for him, they ultimately gave him over to the guards who paraded him in the quarters of Mecca while he repeated, 'One! One!'"

Al-Thawri related this from Maṣṣūr, from Mujaḥid, but it lacks a complete chain of early authorities.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Banū Makhzūm used to set 'Ammār b. Yāsir and his father and mother, all of whom had become Muslims, outside at heat of noon, torturing them with the hot ground of Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would pass by them and say to them, as I have heard, 'Be patient, O family of Yāsir; you are destined for paradise.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, from Ibrāhīm b. 'Iṣmat al-'Adl, who said that Al-Sarri b. Khuzayma related to him, quoting Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Hishām b. Abū 'Ubayd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by 'Ammār and his family while they were being tortured. He said, "Be of good cheer, O family of 'Ammār, O family of Yāsir; you are destined for paradise."

His mother, however, they actually did kill, for she refused anything but Islam.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakī' related to us, from Sufyān, from Maṣṣūr, from Mujaḥid, who said, "The first martyr to meet her death early in Islam was 'Ammār's mother Sumayya. Abū Jahl thrust a spear into her heart.'"

This account lacks a complete chain of early authorities.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "That sinner Abū Jahl was the one who incited the men of Quraysh against them. When he heard of a man of status and influence who had accepted Islam he would upbraid and insult him, saying, 'You have abandoned the religion of your father, a man better than you. We will deprecate your values, deride your opinions, and destroy your reputation.' If the Muslim were a merchant, he would say, 'We will, by God, boycott doing business with you and will ruin you.' If the Muslim were defenceless, Abū Jahl would beat him and incite others against him. May God damn and punish him!"

Ibn Ishāq also said that Ḥakīm b. Jubayr related to him, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, who said, "I asked 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Did the polytheists so persecute the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they were forgiven if they gave up the faith?'"

"'Oh yes,' he replied. 'They would so beat people and so deprive them of food and water that they would be unable to sit up. Eventually they would do whatever their persecutors incited them to. If they were asked, 'Are al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā gods in their own right, other than God?' they would reply, 'Yes; they are!' This was just to avoid their torture.'"

I here observe that it was concerning this that God sent down, "Whoever disavows God after having believed in Him, except for those who are compelled (to do so) while their hearts are content in the faith, but whoever allows himself to accept disbelief shall have God's wrath upon them, and they shall receive terrible punishment" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*, XVI, v.106).

These people were forgiven because of the contempt and extreme pain they suffered; may God, in all his power and strength, preserve us from the like.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Mu'āwiya related to him, quoting al-A'mash, from Muslim, from Masrūq, from Khabbāb b. al-A'ratt, who said, "I was a chieftain and I was owed money by al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il. So I went to him to get payment but he told me, 'No, by God, I'll not pay you until you express disbelief in Muḥammad!' I replied, 'I will never, by God, express disbelief in Muḥammad until you die and then are resurrected!' He responded, 'Well, if I do die and am resurrected and you come to me and I then have property and sons, then I'll pay you!' And so God Almighty sent down: 'And have you seen him who disbelieves in our signs yet says: "I will certainly be given wealth and sons . . ." and so on, to the verse ending "and he shall come to us alone"' (*sūrat Maryam*, XIX, v.77-80).

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere this tradition is given in various lines of transmission from al-A'mash.

According to al-Bukhārī's text, the wording should be "I was a chieftain in Mecca, and I made a sword for al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il and went to him for payment."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Al-Ḥumaydī related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Bayān and Ismā'īl, both of whom said that they heard Qays say that he heard Khabbāb say, "I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) when he was using his cloak as a pillow in the shadow of the *ka'ba*; we had recently suffered violence from the polytheists. I asked him, 'Aren't you praying to God?'"

"He sat up, his face flushed red, and said, 'Those who came before you did would be combed with metal down through their flesh and sinews to the bone, but that would not deter them from their religion. They would have saws put on their hair parting and have their heads split in two, but would not be deterred from their religion. God will certainly so conclude this matter that a person will

be able to ride from Yemen to Ḥaḍramawt and fear only God, Almighty and All Glorious is He.’”

Another statement is also added “and wolves attacking his sheep”. And in one account there are also the words, “But you are impatient”.

Al-Bukhārī alone, and not Muslim, gives this tradition. It was also reported from another line of transmission from Khabbāb, but in a shorter form than this. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Sufyān and Ibn Ja‘far, that Shu‘ba related to them, from Abū Ishāq, from Sa‘īd b. Wahb, from Khabbāb, who said, “We complained to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the intensity of the heat of the ground, but he would not make a complaint for us; that is, in prayer.” Ibn Ja‘far said “but he would not listen to our complaint.”

He also said that Sulaymān b. Dāwūd related to him, as did Shu‘ba, from Abū Ishāq, who said that he heard Sa‘īd b. Wahb say that he heard Khabbāb say, “We made complaint to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the intensely hot ground, but he would not listen to our complaint.”

Shu‘ba stated, “that is, at the heat of midday”.

Muslim related this, quoting al-Nasā‘ī and al-Bayhaqī from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī, from Sa‘īd b. Wahb, from Khabbāb, who said, “We made a complaint to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the intense heat of the ground” – to this al-Bayhaqī added the words “on our faces and palms” – “but he would not listen to our complaint.”

Ibn Māja related it, from ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭanāfusi, from Wakī‘, from al-A‘mash, from Abū Ishāq, from Ḥāritha b. Maḍrib al-‘Abdī, from Khabbāb, who said, “We complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the intense heat of the ground, but he would not listen to our complaint.”

It occurs to me – though God knows best – that this *ḥadīth* is abbreviated from the former one. That is, they complained to him at the treatment they were receiving from the polytheists. They were being tortured on the intensely hot ground and so using their hands to protect themselves while being dragged along on their faces, as well as being given those other forms of torture mentioned by Ibn Ishāq and others. They therefore requested him to pray on their behalf that God might punish the polytheists, or to seek help against them. He promised to do so, but did not fulfil this for them in the current circumstances, but reminded them of those who had preceded them. Those people had received treatment far worse than they were getting, but this had not deterred them from their religion. He cheered them by assuring them that God would bring this matter to a conclusion, and would do so openly, clearly and decisively over an area far and wide, so that a traveller would be able to go from Ṣan‘ā to Ḥaḍramawt and have nothing to fear but God, and nothing to fear for his sheep from wolves. But, he told them, they were being impatient.

For this reason, he stated, "We made complaint to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the intense heat of the ground on our faces and palms, but he would not listen to our complaint", i.e. he would not pray for us at that time.

As for those who see evidence in this for not deferring the midday prayer until it is cooler, or on the need to touch the place of prayer with the palms, as is a judgement reached by al-Shāfi'ī, these views may be debated or considered. But God knows best.

CHAPTER: THE ARGUMENTATION OF THE POLYTHEISTS AGAINST
THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND THE COGENT ARGUMENTS
THAT REFUTED THEM; HOW WITHIN THEMSELVES THEY
RECOGNIZED THE TRUTH, EVEN THOUGH THEY EXPRESSED
DISAGREEMENT OUT OF STUBBORNNESS, ENVY, MALICE AND
DENIAL.

Ishāq b. Rāhawayh stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, from Ma'mar, from Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that al-Walid b. al-Mughīra went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who recited the Qur'ān to him. Al-Walid seemed to be impressed by it, and this fact reached Abū Jahl. He therefore went to al-Walid and told him, "Uncle, your people want to collect for you some money." Al-Walid asked why, and he went on, "To give it to you. Because you went to Muḥammad to oppose his influence!"

Al-Walid replied, "But Quraysh know that I am one of their wealthiest men."

Abū Jahl said, "Well, do make some statement telling your people that you disavow him."

He replied, "What should I say? By God, there's not one man among you with a better knowledge than myself of poetry, of its various metres and odes, or of the verses by spirits. But, I swear, what he speaks is nothing like these; by God, there is a splendour in what he says. There's a gracefulness about him. He is effective and productive at all levels. He achieves greater heights than anyone. He overwhelms all beneath him."

Abū Jahl commented, "Your people will not be pleased with you until you make a statement about him."

"Well", al-Walid asked, "leave me alone till I can give it some thought."

When he had done so, he said, "This is nothing but sorcery brought him by others." And so God revealed the verses, "Leave Me (to deal with) him whom I created, alone; and I made for him extensive wealth, and sons to be seen" (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*, LXXIV, v.11–13).

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus, from al-Ḥākim, from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-San'ānī at Mecca, from Ibn Ishāq's account. Ḥammad b. Zayd related it from Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, but with an incomplete chain of early authorities. That

account states that the Prophet recited to al-Walid the verses, "God enjoins justice, kindness and charity to one's kinsfolk, and prohibits immorality, evil and wickedness. He admonishes you, so that you may take heed" (*sūrat al-Naḥl*, XVI, v.90).

Al-Bayhaqī stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad related to him, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, or 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that al-Walid b. al-Mughīra met with a group of men of Quraysh. He was, at that time, one of their respected elders. The time was that of the pilgrimage. He addressed them, saying, "Delegations of Arabs will now be coming to you, and they will have heard of this associate of yours. So unite in one opinion about him, without dissension between you that would make you contradict one another."

He was told, "O Abū 'Abd Shams, you tell us; you establish a position for us that we can uphold."

He replied, "No; you must speak, and I will listen."

They responded, "We say he is a soothsayer."

He replied, "No; he is no soothsayer. I have seen soothsayers and he doesn't engage in the rhymed mumbling doggerel they use."

They commented, "Well, then we say he is crazy, possessed by spirits."

"No," he replied, "he is not crazy; we have seen and known those who are crazy, and he has none of their choking, erratic movement and mumbling."

"Then we say he is a poet."

"No," he disagreed, "he is no poet. We know poetry in all its metrical forms, and what he speaks is not poetry."

"Then we say he is a sorcerer."

"No," he said, "he is no sorcerer. We've seen sorcerers and their magic and he doesn't do any of their tying and untying."

"What are we to say then, O Abū 'Abd Shams?"

He replied, "By God, there is a splendour in what he speaks. In essence he is like a palm tree whose branches give much fruit. All you have been saying will be recognized as false. The closest thing is for you to say, 'This man is a sorcerer who comes between a man and his religion, a man and his father, a man and his wife, a man and his brother, and a man and his tribe.'"

They then dispersed and set about taking seats (and waiting) for people when they arrived for the festivities. They would warn them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whenever they passed by, and told them all about him.

And God revealed concerning al-Walid, "Leave Me (to deal with) him whom I created, alone; and I made for him extensive wealth, and sons to be seen" (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*, LXXIV, v.11-13). And concerning those men who had rendered the Qur'ān into disparate parts, God stated, "And so, by your Lord, we will

certainly question all of them concerning what they have been doing" (*sūrat al-Hijr*, XV, v.92–3).

And I comment that God Almighty also stated, indicating their ignorance and lack of wisdom, "And they even said, 'A jumble of dreams! He just made it up! He's a poet! So let him bring us a sign, like those that former (prophets) were dispatched with'" (*sūrat al-Anbiyā'*, XXI, v.5). And so they were at a loss what to say of him; everything they did say was false. For he who deviates from the truth is mistaken in all he says. God Almighty stated, "See how they made comparisons to you! They have gone astray, and they will find no path" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*, XVII, v.48).

Imām 'Abd b. Ḥumayd stated in his *musnad* collection of *ḥadīth* that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Mishar, from al-Ajlaḥ, the son of 'Abd Allāh al-Kindi, from al-Dhayyāl b. Ḥarmala al-Asadī, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "Quraysh met one day and agreed to determine who among them was the most knowledgeable in magic, sorcery, and poetry. That person would then approach the man who had caused dissension and division amongst them and had found fault with their religion, talk to him and decide how to respond to him. They agreed that 'Utba b. Rabi'a was the obvious choice, and they approached him and told him, 'It is to be you, O Abū al-Walid.'

"'Utba then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'O Muḥammad, who is better, you or 'Abd Allāh?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), remained silent.

"Then he said, 'Who is better, you or 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent.

"'Utba then said, 'If you claim those men to be better than you, the fact is they worshipped the gods you have criticized. If you claim to be better than them, then speak so we can hear what you say. By God, we've never seen any fool more harmful to his people than you; you have caused division and dissension among us, criticized our religion and so disgraced us in the eyes of the Arabs that the rumour is current among them that there is a magician or a sorcerer amidst Quraysh. By God, fellow, it seems all we have to await is the cry of a pregnant woman for us all to be at one another with swords till we wipe ourselves out! If it is need that is your problem, we'll make a collection for you till you're the wealthiest man in Quraysh; if it is status you want, choose any women of Quraysh you like and we'll marry you to ten of them.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Are you done?' 'Yes,' replied 'Utba. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke: 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. *Hā Mīm*. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent. A book whose verses have been detailed in an Arabic Qur'ān for a people who are aware . . .' and so on until he reached the verse, 'But if they turn aside, say: "I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed 'Ād and Thamūd"' (*sūrat Hā Mīm*, also called *sūrat al-Fuṣṣilat*, XLI, v.1–13).

“‘Utba said, ‘That’s sufficient. You’ve nothing else?’

“‘No,’ he replied.

“‘Utba then went back to Quraysh and they asked what had happened. He replied, ‘I didn’t omit saying to him anything you talked about.’

“‘And did he respond?’ they asked. ‘Yes,’ he answered. Then he stated, ‘Well, no; by Him who erected it as a building, I didn’t understand anything he said, except that he warned you of a terrible punishment like that of ‘Ād and Thamnūd.’

“They commented, ‘Woe upon you! The man speaks to you in Arabic, but you don’t know what he said?’

“He replied, ‘I swear, I didn’t understand a thing, except for the reference to the terrible punishment.’”

Al-Bayhaqī and others related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from ‘Abbās al-Dūrī, from Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn, from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, back to al-Ajlaḥ. There is some dispute about it.

This version added “and if all you want is leadership, we’ll swear allegiance to you, and you can be our chief for life.”

And in that version, when he had finished speaking the verse, “But if they turn aside, say: ‘I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed ‘Ād and Thamūd’”, ‘Utba put his hand over the mouth of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and implored him for mercy to stop. ‘Utba, moreover, did not return to his people, but hid himself from them.

And so Abū Jahl said, “By God, O Quraysh, ‘Utba must have been quite taken by Muḥammad, and liked his food. It’s just some impulse that has possessed him. Let’s go and get him!”

Later Abū Jahl said, “Well, ‘Utba, I swear, we concluded you must have been quite taken by Muḥammad, and enjoyed yourself with him. If you’re in need, we’ll collect money for you so you can dispense with Muḥammad’s food.”

“‘Utba became angry and swore he would never speak to Muḥammad again. He told Abū Jahl, ‘You well know I’m one of the wealthiest men of Quraysh. I did go to him and . . .’ He then related the story to them and concluded ‘and he responded to me with something I swear was not magic, not poetry and not sorcery. He recited, “In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. *Ḥā Mim*. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent,” until he reached, “But if they turn aside, say: ‘I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed ‘Ad and Thamūd.’” I then put my hand over his mouth and implored him for mercy to stop. And you all well know that Muḥammad does not lie in whatever he says. I was afraid that punishment would descend upon you.’”

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that Yazid b.

Abū Ziyād, a freed-man of the Banū Hāshim, told him from Muḥammad b. Ka'b, who said that it was related to him that 'Utba b. Rabi'a, who was a wise leader, said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh meeting hall and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sitting alone in the mosque, "O Quraysh, should I not go to this fellow and make him offers, some of which he might accept, and then leave us alone?"

"Yes, do that Abū al-Walid!" they told him.

'Utba then arose and sat next to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave him his speech – as given above – and offered him wealth, leadership and so on.

Ziyād b. Ishāq stated that 'Utba said, "O Quraysh, should I not go to Muḥammad and talk to him and make him offers, some of which he might accept, so we give them to him and he would leave us alone?" That occurred when Ḥamza had accepted Islam and Quraysh recognized that the followers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were increasing and expanding. So they said, "Yes, Abū al-Walid, do go and talk to him."

'Utba then arose and sat down near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O nephew, you know the status and respect your people give you, and the nobility of your lineage, but you have caused much trouble to your people. By this, you have destroyed their unity, ridiculed their values, criticized their gods and their religion, and claimed that their forefathers were unbelievers. Listen to me now, as I make you some offers to consider; perhaps you might be able to accept some of these."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "I am listening, Abū al-Walid."

'Utba went on, "O nephew, if all you want by bringing up this matter is wealth, we will collect money from ourselves for you and so you will be the richest of us all. If what you are seeking by it is honour, we will make you our leader and never make decisions without you. If what you want by it is sovereignty, we will make you our king. If whatever comes to you is some spirit you see but can't remove by yourself, we will seek out a potion for you and spend our own money to free you from it. A spirit may well take possession of a person until he is cured of it." His words were similar to these.

When he had finished, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Well, Abū al-Walid, are you done?"

"Yes," he replied.

"Then listen to me."

"I will," said 'Utba.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke, "In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. *Hā Mim*. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent. A book whose verses have been detailed in an Arabic book for a people who are aware . . ." He went on reciting it, while 'Utba listened, placing his hands behind his back and using them as a support as he did so.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to the ending where prostration is sought, he prostrated himself, then asked, "Well, did you hear, Abū al-Walid?"

"Yes, I heard," he replied.

"Now it's up to you," observed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 'Utba then arose and went to his associates who told one another, "By God, Abū al-Walid looks quite different now from what he did before he left."

When they sat down with him, they asked, "Well, what happened to you, Abū al-Walid?" "What happened, by God," he replied, "was that I heard speech such as I never did before. I swear, it was not poetry, nor sorcery; obey me and do as I shall. Keep away from him and what he does; avoid him. For, by God, what I heard him speak is going to cause a stir. If the Arabs destroy him, others will have taken care of him for you. But if he betters the Arabs, his dominion will also be yours, his power your power, and you will be most pleased with him."

They replied, "By God, he has bewitched you with his tongue, O Abū al-Walid."

"Well, that's my advice to you; do with it as you see fit," 'Utba told them.

Yūnus then related, from Ibn Ishāq, some poetry Abū Ṭalib spoke in which he praised 'Utba.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Aṣbahānī informed him, quoting Abū Qutayba Salama b. al-Faḍl al-Adamī of Mecca, quoting Abū Ayyūb Aḥmad b. Bishr al-Ṭayālīsī, quoting Dāwūd b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbī, quoting al-Muthannā b. Zur'a, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had recited to 'Utba *'Hā Mim*. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent', he went to his people and told them, 'O people, obey me now in this matter, though you may oppose me later. For, by God, I heard from this man words the like of which my ears never heard before. I didn't know what to reply to him.'"

This *ḥadīth* is very strange to come from such a source.

Al-Bayhaqī then related, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq, who said that al-Zuhri said to him, "I was told that Abū Jahl, Abū Sufyān and al-Akhnas b. Shariq went out to overhear the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he prayed at night in his home. Each of them sat down to listen to him, none knowing where the others were sitting. They spent the night listening to him until dawn when they left individually. On the way back they met and each criticized the other, saying, 'Don't do that again. For if some foolish person were to see you, he'd have his suspicions about you.' They then parted.

"The next night each of these men returned to where he had sat and they spent the night listening to him. When dawn came they dispersed, but met on the way. They said to one another what they had before and then left.

"The third night each again took his seat and spent the night listening to him. At dawn they dispersed and met on the way home. 'This time', they told one another, 'let's not leave without making a pact not to return.' They made this promise to one another and parted company.

"That morning al-Akhnas b. Shariq took his stick and went off to see Abū Sufyān at home. He told him, 'Abū Ḥanzala, give me your views on what you have heard from Muḥammad.' He replied, 'Abū Thaḳāba, I swear, I've heard certain things I know, and I also know what was implied by them, but others I've heard I don't know, nor what was implied by them.' Al-Akhnas commented, 'Me too, I swear!'

"Al-Akhnas then left and went to see Abū Jahl at home. He asked him, 'Abū al-Ḥakam, what's your view on what you've heard from Muḥammad?' 'You mean what have I heard? We and Banū 'Abd Manāf have been rivals for status. They feed the poor, and so do we. They help people, and so do we. They give to charity, and so do we. We've kept pace with them like two racehorses. Then they say, one of us will be a prophet who receives revelation from heaven! How can we compete with that? I swear, we will never listen to him, nor believe him.' Having heard this, al-Akhnas b. Shariq left."

Then al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to him, quoting Abū al-'Abbās, quoting Aḥmad, quoting Yūnus, from Hishām b. Sa'd, from Zayd b. Aslam, from al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, who said, "The first day I knew the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was when I was walking along an alley in Mecca accompanied by Abū Jahl b. Hishām. When we met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said to Abū Jahl, 'Abū al-Ḥakam, come to God and to his Messenger. I invite you to God!'

"Abū Jahl replied, 'Muḥammad, have you stopped cursing our gods? Don't you just want us to testify that you have fulfilled your mission? We testify that you have. And, I swear, if I knew that what you say is the truth, I would follow you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, and Abū Jahl came over to me and said, 'By God, I really do know that what he says is true, but something is holding me back. Banū Quṣayy have said, "We want the privilege of the *ḥijāba*" (the placing of the cloth over the *ka'ba*). We agreed. Then they said, "We want the privilege of the *saqāya*" (the provision of drink for the pilgrims). We agreed. Then they said, "We want the privilege of the *nadmā*" (feasting the pilgrims). We agreed. Then they said, "We want the privilege of the *limā*" (the ceremonial unfurling of the banners). We agreed. They provided food, and we did too. Then, when we were running neck and neck, they said, "We have a prophet among us!" By God, I'll not do it!'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, informed him that Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Aṣamm related to him, quoting Muḥammad

b. Khālid, quoting Aḥmad b. Khalaf, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Abū Ishāq, who stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by Abū Jahl and Abū Sufyān while they were both seated. Abū Jahl said, 'This is your prophet then, O Banū 'Abd Shams.' Abū Sufyān replied, 'You're surprised that one of us could be a prophet? A prophet could arise among those fewer in number and lower in status than us!'"

"Abū Jahl commented, 'I'm surprised that a young man among sheikhs of age and maturity could be a prophet!'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) overheard them and approached. He addressed them, 'As for you, Abū Sufyān, it's not because you care for God and His Messenger that you became angry; you're just burned for the lineage. As for you, Abū al-Ḥakam, you are going to laugh very little and weep a great deal.' Abū Jahl commented, 'So, nephew, what an evil you promise me coming out of your being a prophet!'"

This *ḥadīth* is lacking early links in its chain of authorities, and it is somewhat strange; equally strange are the comments of Abū Jahl, God curse him! In reference to him and people like him, God Almighty stated, "And when they see you, they take you for a joke, saying, 'Is this fellow he whom God sent as a messenger? He might almost have enticed us away from our gods, if we had not stayed patiently with them.' They will know when they see the punishment who it is who strays furthest from the path" (*sūrat al-Furqān*, XXV, v.41–2).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Abū Bishr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "This verse was sent down while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in hiding in Mecca, 'and do not speak the prayer loudly, nor speak it too softly'" (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.110).

He went on, "When he prayed with his followers, he would raise his voice as he recited the Qurʾān. On hearing this, the polytheists would curse the Qurʾān, along with him who sent it down and him who conveyed it. And so God Almighty told his Prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS), 'and do not speak the prayer loudly' that is, when you recite it, lest the polytheists hear it and curse the Qurʾān. And 'nor speak it too softly' lest your followers won't hear the Qurʾān and learn it from you. And so 'seek a path between these'" (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*, XVII, v.110).

This tradition is similarly given by both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Bishr Jaʿfar b. Abū Ḥayya.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Dāwūd b. al-Ḥusayn related to him from ʿIkrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the Qurʾān loudly as he prayed, people would move away and refuse to listen to him. If anyone did want to hear any of what the Messenger of God was reciting as he prayed, he had to strain his ears away from the rest. And if he knew that they were aware that he was listening he would have to leave, for fear

of harm from them. And so he would not listen. But if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were to lower his voice, those who were listening would hear nothing. Therefore God Almighty revealed, 'and do not speak the prayer loudly' or they will disperse away from you. And also 'nor speak it too softly' or those trying hard to hear it, believing it may be beneficial to them, will not be able to do so. And so, 'seek a path between these.'"

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Ya'qūb b. 'Utba' means 'Ya'qūb, son of 'Utba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas' the names of Ya'qūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt, a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name 'Ā'isha bt. Abū Bakr refers to 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ṢAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who

officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

ʿarab al-ʿarība: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

ʿarab al-mustaʿriba: 'the arabized Arabs', initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Ḥijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

ʿArafāt (also *ʿArafa*): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *hajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

ʿashīra (pl. *ʿashāʾir*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An *ʿashīra* is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several *ʿashāʾir* form a single *qabila* (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *hajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believed suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam's sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabila* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

dafʿ: the word used to denote the act of departure from *ʿArafāt* during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's 'ashīra (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfū': a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣaḥīb*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufūẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qur'ān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Ḥijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheism. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *ka'ba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

hijra (or *hegira*): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāda: the movement or departure of pilgrims from 'Arafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

kaʿba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwāʾ: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *kaʿba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rakʿāt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *kaʿba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabila (pl. *qabā'il*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabila* is larger than an *ʿashīra* (q.v.) but smaller than a *shaʿb* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *kaʿba* there.

rakʿa (pl. *rakʿāt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rakʿāt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

riḍāʾ: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *iḥrām* state.

riḥḍa: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-saʿy: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

sabaʾ: the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣāḥib (pl. *aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥīḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth*.

ṣamʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabīla* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Faṭīma, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *ṣunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

tubbaʿ (pl. *tabābiʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wudūʿ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

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This index gives the names of all persons and places mentioned in the text, except for those to whom only passing and minimal reference is made. In some cases Ibn Kathīr refers to an individual by several different names. For example, Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr is sometimes referred to by that name, and elsewhere by the abbreviation Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, or even Abū ʿUmar. These alternative referents are listed here with cross references where appropriate. In some cases Ibn Kathīr gives an honorific – for example, Abū Ṭālib (Ṭālib’s father) – by which that person, usually of great fame, was commonly known, sometimes without further full designation anywhere in the text. Such names are listed in this index as they appear in the body of the work. Place names are listed here in full, with the exceptions of Mecca and Medina, to which cities there are innumerable references throughout.

It has been seen as unnecessarily cumbersome to index certain prime sources for Ibn Kathīr’s work – such as Ibn Ishāq – to whom reference is made on almost every page. Similarly, quotations given from the Qurʾān are cited in full in the text, but without separate listings in this index.

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The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization

The Life
OF THE
Prophet
Muḥammad
VOLUME II

Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick

Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed

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In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

FOREWORD

THE interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilisations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzī (Rhazes), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilisation as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam's Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilisation in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria, used to select individual books, were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from

another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today's world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

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THIS series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

Readers will therefore see that this series includes a variety of works in the purely Islamic sciences, such as Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, theology, prophetic traditions (*sunna*), and jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Also represented will be books by Muslim scientists on medicine, astronomy, geography, physics, chemistry, horticulture, and other fields.

The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

This series is distinguished from other similar intercultural projects by its distinctive objectives and methodology. These works will fill a genuine gap in the library of human thought. They will prove extremely useful to all those with an interest in Islamic culture, its interaction with Western thought, and its impact on culture throughout the world. They will, it is hoped, fulfil an important rôle in enhancing world understanding at a time when there is such evident and urgent need for the development of peaceful coexistence.

This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhawi, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Muhammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a

* Died 1994, may Allāh have mercy on him.

Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.

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INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidā' Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr,¹ and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, 'Abd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qur'ān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, 'Abd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.² He argues that the *sīra* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, 'Abd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathīr*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfi, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Harrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafṣīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr's Tafṣīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*. Unpublished dissertation. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismā'īl b. Umar b. Kathīr b. Daw b. Kathīr b. Zar'. Other versions have been given, however, such as appears in al-Ziriklī's *al-A'lam* (1: 320) and 'Umar Ridā Kakhālā's *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin* (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzālī's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzī, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Ṣālihiyya.³

Ibn Kathīr, true to the pre-eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the *muḥaddith*, the scholar of *ḥadīth* traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muḥammad: the *ḥadīth* literature and the *sīra*; the Qurʾān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of *ḥadīth* material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, “followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of *ḥadīth*, and that of the tribes (i.e. the *ayyām* anecdotes as narrated by the *akḥbārīs* and the *ruwāt*), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities. “These two lines”, he explains, “reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life.”⁴ According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muḥammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qurʾān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of *ḥadīth* traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, “a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the *ḥadīth* which flourished in the second and third centuries.”⁵ A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a

3. Curtis, 23.

4. Professor Duri’s article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls “the tribal type of history.” See in this regard “The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century”, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).

5. M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Hadith Literature* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1983), 186.

rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (*fitna*), whereupon sources were no longer regarded, *prima facie*, as trustworthy, but were instead increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate *isnād* system where every *ḥadīth* was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text (*matn*) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of transmitters (*sanad*) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such information from the Prophet himself.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathīr's method in this particular work is more that of the *ḥadīth* scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhārī, Muslim and more so, al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū Nu'aym thus feature more prominently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām or al-Ṭabarī. But, as 'Abd al-Wāḥid rightly points out, Ibn Kathīr, on occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Mūsā b. 'Uqba, and the *al-Rawḍ al-Anf* of al-Suhaylī are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Hishām, are Ibn Kathīr's copious citations of poetry, almost all of which seem to have been taken from Muḥammad b. Ishāq's biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of Ka'ab b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, *Bānat Su'ād*; there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the haunting ode of Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, when he speaks so movingly of his virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the evocative panegyrics of Ḥassān b. Thābit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and his Companions.

Ibn Kathīr, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of *ḥadīth* methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars such as Ibn Ishāq, but also, at times, the very *ḥadīth* material he so often quotes. He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī or that of Muslim. 'Abd al-Wāḥid offers two possible reasons for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathīr was simply quoting from memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis is, I believe, somewhat unconvincing for it requires, amongst other things, that Ibn Kathīr possessed not one, but an entire set of *ḥadīth* works unique to his library alone!

The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabari, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."⁶ Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet".⁷ And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."⁸

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.⁹

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by

6. See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

7. This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

8. For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of Prophet Muhammad, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

9. See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sīra* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."¹⁰

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and stratagems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".¹¹ Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."¹² As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption."¹³ Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

10. F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 291–315.

11. See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

12. *Ibid.*, 300.

13. *Ibid.*, 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.¹⁴ Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a “much more solid contribution to historical knowledge” as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did “not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as ‘the great Imposter’ and then describing the Arab conquests as ‘that grievous calamity’.”¹⁵ The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: “With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his.”¹⁶

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel “the historical person of Muhammad”, Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating “the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sīra*”. Lammens’ efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. “Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam’s obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence.”¹⁷

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a “pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnād*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the ‘Companions’ who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

14. Ibid., 291.

15. Ibid., 311.

16. P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.

17. K. S. Salibi, “Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens”, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330–342.

in pertinent ways.”¹⁸ Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that “hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards.”¹⁹ From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: “that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded.”²⁰

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht’s conclusion. He thus maintains that “In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a ‘tendential shaping’ of the material . . .”²¹

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.²² He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title “*al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah*” in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah*.²³

18. See Goldziher’s chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

19. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

20. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

21. W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford University Press, 1953), xiii.

22. M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islami, 1376 h.

23. *Ibid.*, 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

“In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *aḥādīth* narrated by ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr’s books. ‘Urwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet’s letters in a very early period.”²⁴

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than “the rubble of early Muslim history”. For Patricia Crone therefore, the “inertia” of material such as appears heretofore “comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam.”²⁵ “The bulk of it”, she argues, “has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles.”²⁶

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, “a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship.”²⁷ For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions “taken as a whole” do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and “a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of ‘what really happened’.”²⁸

24. Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

26. *Ibid.*, 13.

27. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith*. (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

28. *Ibid.*, 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,²⁹ "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."³⁰

Muneer Fareed
Reviewer of Volumes II–IV

29. H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

AS has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathīr repeats anecdotal *ahādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathīr's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *ahādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted

have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 1997

VOLUME II

Chapter: Concerning the migration of those Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) who escaped from persecution with their faith from Mecca to Abyssinia.

It has been recounted above how the polytheists abused those believers who lacked power or protection and treated them with severe violence and great humiliation.

God, Almighty and Glorious is He, had kept them away from His Messenger (ṢAAS), and had given him the protection of his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, as was mentioned above. And all praise and recognition is due to God.

Al-Wāqidi has related that their passage to Abyssinia occurred in the month of Rajab in the fifth year of the Mission, and that the first group to migrate consisted of eleven men and four women. He told how they made their way to the sea, either on foot or riding, and there they hired a boat to Abyssinia at a cost of one-half of one dinar.

These persons were: ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad and his wife Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, ʿUthmān b. Mazʿun, ʿĀmir b. Rabiʿa al-ʿAnzī, his wife Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathma, Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm, Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr, Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd. God bless them all! Ibn Jarīr stated, "Others say, however, that the group consisted of 82 men, not counting their women and children. About ʿAmmār b. Yāsir we have doubts; if he was among them, they totalled 83 men."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), witnessed the trials descending upon his Companions, he compared this with his own good state that derived from his own status with God and from his uncle Abū Ṭālib, and, recognizing that he was unable to prevent the evil befalling them, he told them, 'I wish you would go forth into the land of Abyssinia, for there is a king in whose realm no one is harmed, where truth prevails. Stay there until God gives you relief from your plight.'

"The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), thereupon left for Abyssinia, fearing the unrest and fleeing with their faith unto God. This was the first emigration that occurred in Islam. The first Muslim to depart was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān along with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related, similarly, from a *ḥadīth* of Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, from ʿAbbās al-ʿAnbārī, from Bishr b. Mūsā, from al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Burjūmī, who said,

"Qatāda stated to us, 'The first man to emigrate to God Almighty along with his family was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him.'

"I heard al-Naḍr b. Anas state, 'I heard Abū Ḥamza (by whom he meant Anas b. Mālīk) say, "ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, along with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), left for Abyssinia. A long time elapsed without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having news of them, until a Quraysh woman came to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, I saw your son-in-law with his wife in his company.' 'In what state did you see them?' he asked.

"“She replied, 'I saw him leading a decrepit old donkey on which his wife was mounted.'

"“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), exclaimed, 'May God be with them both! ʿUthmān is the first man since Lot, upon whom be peace, to take himself and his family into exile.'””

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And (they also included) Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl b. ʿAmr; and in Abyssinia she bore him a son, Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥudhayfa.

"And there were al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-ʿAsad, along with his wife Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra, to whom Zaynab was born there. Also travelling were ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, and ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa, who was allied to the al-Khaṭṭāb family; he was from the tribe of ʿAnz b. Wāʾil. His wife was Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥaṭhma. Then there was Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruḥm al-ʿĀmirī, with his wife Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Suhayl b. ʿAmr; the latter is also known as Abū Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālīk b. Ḥis̄l b. ʿĀmir. He is also said to have been the first to arrive there.

"Also there was Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ.

"These ten men, so I have been told, were the first Muslims to leave for Abyssinia."

Ibn Hishām stated, "ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn was in command of them, according to some scholars."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Then Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib left, accompanied by his wife Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmayy. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar was born to him in Abyssinia."

The Muslims followed on after one another, eventually being reunited in Abyssinia.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba has claimed that the first migration to Abyssinia occurred when Abū Ṭālib and those who had allied with him in support of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), went into the *shīʿb*.¹ There are differing views on this. But God knows best.

He also claimed that the departure of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib came only in the second migration to Abyssinia, after the return of some of those who had gone

1. The defile in Mecca where he was permitted by Quraysh to take up residence.

there initially. (They returned) when they heard that the polytheists had accepted Islam and were praying. When they arrived in Mecca, 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn among them, they did not find it true that the polytheists had accepted Islam, as they had been told. Some of them then returned to Abyssinia, while others remained in Mecca. Other Muslims also went to Abyssinia at the time of the second migration. This will be explained hereafter.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalīb was among those who left the second time." But Ibn Ishāq's referring to his having gone on the first migration is very plain, as will be shown. But God knows best.

However, he clearly was in a second group of the emigrants who went on the first migration; he acted as their spokesman and translator before the Negus and others. We will report this at length.

Then Ibn Ishāq went on to list those who left in the company of Ja'far, God be pleased with them all.

They were: 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-Āṣ and his wife Fāṭima, daughter of Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Muḥarrith b. Shiqq al-Kinānī.

And his brother Khālīd, accompanied by his wife Umayna, daughter of Khalaf b. As'ad al-Khuzā'i; she bore him Sa'id and Amma, the latter ultimately marrying al-Zubayr by whom she gave birth to 'Amr and Khālīd.

Also there were 'Abd Allāh b. Jahsh b. Ri'āb and his brother 'Ubayd Allāh, who was accompanied by his wife Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān.

And Qays b. 'Abd Allāh of the Banū Asad b. Khazīma along with his wife Baraka, daughter of Yasār, the freed-woman of Abū Sufyān.

And Mu'ayqib b. Abū Fāṭima, a freed-man of Sa'id b. al-Āṣ. Ibn Hishām stated, "He was of (the tribe of) Daws."

And Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, that is 'Abd Allāh b. Qays, an ally of the family of 'Utba b. Rabi'a; we will discuss this later and also the authority.

And 'Utba b. Ghazwān, Yazīd b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad, 'Amr b. Umayya b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad, Ṭulayb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb b. Abū Kathīr b. 'Abd, Suwaybiṭ b. Sa'd b. Huraymala and Jahm b. Qays al-'Abdawī, accompanied by his wife Umm Ḥarmala, daughter of 'Abd al-Aswad b. Khuzayma, along with his two sons 'Amr b. Jahm and Khuzayma b. Jahm. Also there was Abū al-Rūm b. 'Umayr b. Ḥāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār, Firās b. al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalda, 'Āmir b. Abū Waqqāṣ, brother of Sa'd, and al-Muṭṭalib b. Azhar b. 'Abd 'Awf al-Zuhri, accompanied by his wife Ramla, daughter of Abū 'Awf b. Dubayra, who bore in Abyssinia al-Muṭṭalib's son 'Abd Allāh.

Also there were 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and his brother 'Utba, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, al-Ḥārith b. Khālīd b. Ṣakhr al-Taymī, accompanied by his wife Rayṭa, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Jubayla; she bore him there Mūsā, 'Ā'isha, Zaynab and Fāṭima.

Also there were 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra and Shammās b. 'Uthmān b. al-Sharīd al-Makhzūmī. He (Ibn Ishāq) stated that

he was named "Shammās" (i.e. perhaps "Sunny", tr.) because of his good looks; his original name was ʿUthmān b. ʿUthmān.

Then there were Habbār b. Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī and his brother ʿAbd Allāh, Hishām b. Abū Ḥudhayfa b. al-Mughira b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Makhzūm, Salama b. Hishām b. al-Mughira, ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabiʿa b. al-Mughira, Muʿattib b. ʿAwf b. ʿĀmir, known as ʿAyhāma, he being an ally of the Banū Makhzūm.

Also included were Qudāma and ʿAbd Allāh, the two brothers of ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, al-Sāʿib b. ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, Ḥāṭib b. al-Ḥārith b. Maʿmar, accompanied by his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Mujallil and his two sons by her, Muḥammad and al-Ḥārith. Also there were Ḥāṭib's brother Khaṭṭāb, accompanied by his wife Fukayha, daughter of Yasār, Sufyān b. Maʿmar b. Ḥabib and his wife Ḥasana, along with his two sons by her, Jābir and Junāda, as well as a son of hers by another husband. This son's name was Shurahbīl b. ʿAbd Allāh, a member of the family of al-Ghawth b. Muzāḥim b. Tamīm; he was known as Shurahbīl b. Ḥasana.

And there were ʿUthmān b. Rabiʿa b. Aḥbān b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumah, Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. ʿAdī, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī b. Saʿīd b. Sahm, Hishām b. al-ʿAṣ b. Waʿīl b. Saʿīd, Qays b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. ʿAdī, accompanied by his brother ʿAbd Allāh.

Also there were Abū Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī, along with his brothers al-Ḥārith, Maʿmar, al-Sāʿib, Bishr and Saʿīd, all sons of al-Ḥārith, along with the brother of Saʿīd b. Qays b. ʿAdī on his mother's side, his name being Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī.

And ʿUmayr b. Rṣāb b. Ḥudhayfa b. Muhashshim b. Saʿīd b. Sahm, along with an ally of the Banū Sahm named Maḥmiyya b. Jazʿ al-Zubaydī, Maʿmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAdawī, ʿUrwa b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, ʿAdī b. Naḍla b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, along with his son al-Nuʿmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Makhrama al-ʿĀmirī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr, Salīṭ b. ʿAmr and his brother al-Sakrān, who was accompanied by his wife Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa, Mālik b. Rabiʿa and his wife ʿAmra, daughter of al-Saʿdī, and Abū Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr al-ʿĀmirī, accompanied by their ally Saʿīd b. Khawla from Yemen.

Also there were Abū ʿUbayda ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Jarrah al-Fihri, Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ, Bayḍāʾ being his mother, whose real name was Daʿd, daughter of Jaḥdam b. Umayya b. Zarib b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. He, Suhayl, was really Suhayl b. Wahb b. Rabiʿa b. Hilāl (b. Uhayb)² b. Ḍabba. And there were ʿAmr b. Abū Sarḥ b. Rabiʿa b. Hilāl b. Uhayb b. Mālik b. Ḍabba b. al-Ḥārith, ʿIyād b. Zuhayr b. Abū Shaddād b. Rabiʿa b. Hilāl b. Mālik b. Ḍabba. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr b. Abū Shaddād b. Rabiʿa and ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Ghanm b. Zuhayr were two brothers. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Qays b. Laqīṭ, along with his brother al-Ḥārith were of the Fihr tribe.

2. Ibn Hishām adds this link.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The number of those Muslims who migrated and went to Abyssinia, not counting the little children and those born there, totalled 83. This assumes that 'Ammār b. Yāsir was among them, but there is some doubt about him."

I would comment that the inclusion by Ibn Ishāq of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī among those who migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia is very strange.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to us that he heard Ḥudayj, brother of Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya say, on the authority of Abū Ishāq, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, from Ibn Mas'ūd, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us, a body of some 80 men, to the Negus. These included 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Ja'far, 'Abd Allāh b. Arfaṭa, 'Uthmān b. Maz'un, and Abū Mūsā. These men went to the Negus.

"Then Quraysh dispatched to him 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ and 'Umāra b. al-Walīd with a gift.

"When they went in to the Negus, they bowed down before him. Then they took up positions to the left and right before him and said, "A group of our people have taken up residence in your land, after having turned away from us and from our religion."

"Where are they?" he asked.

"In your land. Send for them," they suggested.

"He did so and Ja'far said, "I will be your spokesman today." And they followed him.

"He made salutation, but did not bow down. They asked him, "What is wrong with you, not bowing down before the king?"

"He replied, "We bow down only before God, the Almighty and Glorious."

"What is this all about?" he was asked.

"He answered, "God has sent a messenger to us and told us to bow down to no one but God, the Almighty and Glorious. He also ordered us to pray, and to give alms."

"Amr commented, "They differ with you about Jesus, son of Mary."

"He (the Negus) asked, "What do you say about Jesus son of Mary and His mother?"

"He (Ja'far) replied, "We say as God did: He is His word and His spirit which He cast into the Virgin whom no man had touched and no child had been inside."

"The king then picked up a stick from the ground and said, "O people of Abyssinia, and you, priests and monks; by God, they are not so much as the size of this stick away from what we say! Welcome to you and greetings to him from whom you come! I bear witness that he is the Messenger of God, and that it is him we find in the Bible. He is the Messenger of whom Jesus, son of Mary, made prophecy. You may reside wherever you wish; and, by God, were it not for my role as king, I would go to him so that I could be the one who carries his shoes for him!"

“He then commanded that the present the two messengers had brought be returned to them.

“‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd hurried forth thereafter, and lived to take part in the battle of Badr.

“He claimed that the Prophet (SAAS) prayed for forgiveness for him (the king) when news of his death reached him.’”

The chain of authorities for this is excellent, and the narrative is good. It gives evidence that Abū Mūsā was among those who migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia, even though this *ḥadīth* is not recorded by some authorities. But God knows best.

This event is related on the authority of Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī from another chain.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu‘aym stated in *Dalā’il (The Signs)*, “Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us quoting from Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’ al-Ghulābī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Rajā’ from Isrā’īl. Also Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us from Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā’, from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alluwiyya al-Qaṭṭān, from ‘Ibād b. Mūsā al-Khutulī, from Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far, from Isrā’īl.

“Also, Abū Aḥmad related to us, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Shīrawayh, from Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, he being Ibn Rāhawayh, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrā’īl, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered us to depart with Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭālib, to the land of the Negus.’

“Quraysh heard of this and so they sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and ‘Umāra b. al-Walīd, having obtained a gift for the Negus.

“They went in to the Negus with the present, which he accepted, and they made obeisance before him.

“Then ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ said, ‘Certain people from our land have abandoned our religion. They are here in your country.’

“‘In my country?’ the Negus asked.

“‘Yes,’ they replied.

“So he sent for us and Ja‘far told us, ‘Let none of you speak. I will be your spokesman today.’

“And so we went to the Negus when he was seated on his throne, with ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ on his right, ‘Umāra on his left, and the priests seated in two ranks. ‘Amr and ‘Umāra had told the king, ‘They will not make obeisance to you.’

“When we arrived, some of his priests and monks there with him hurried to us and told us to bow down before the king. But Ja‘far replied, ‘We bow down only before God, the Almighty and Glorious.’

“When we reached the Negus, he asked, ‘What prevents you from bowing down?’

“Ja‘far replied, ‘We bow down only before God.’

“The Negus then asked him, ‘Well, what is this all about?’

"Ja'far explained, 'God sent a messenger among us; he is that same Messenger Jesus, son of Mary, God's prayers and peace be upon Him, said would come after himself, his name being "Aḥmad". He ordered us to worship God and to associate no god with Him, to perform the prayers, to pay alms, to be good, and to abstain from what is forbidden.'

"His speech astonished the Negus.

"When 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ saw this, he exclaimed, 'May God save the king! They disagree with you concerning Jesus, son of Mary.'

"The Negus then asked Ja'far, 'What does your master say about the son of Mary?'

"Ja'far replied, 'He says of Him what God stated – that he is God's spirit and His word, and that He brought him forth from the Virgin whom no man had approached and in whom there had been no child.'

"The Negus then picked up a stick from the ground and raised it up, saying, 'Ye priests and monks, these people do not add so much as the weight of this to what we say about the son of Mary.'

"'Welcome to you,' he continued, 'and greetings to him from whom you have come. I bear witness that he is the Messenger of God and that it is he of whom Jesus made prophecy. Were it not for the duties of my kingdom, I would go to him to kiss his shoes. Stay in my land as long as you wish.'

"He then ordered that food and fine garments be brought for us. And he said, 'Give back to those other two their gift.'

"'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ was short, while 'Umāra was a handsome man. While at sea, they had been drinking. 'Amr had his wife with him and, after they had been imbibing, 'Umāra said to 'Amr, 'Tell your wife to kiss me!' 'Amr replied, 'You should be ashamed!' Then 'Umāra picked up 'Amr and flung him into the sea. 'Amr kept calling out to 'Umāra until he brought him back on to the boat.

"'Amr hated him for this, and told the Negus, 'If you were to leave, 'Umāra would take your place with your wife.' At that the Negus summoned 'Umāra and had air blown into his urethra so that he flew away with the wild birds."

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī related it thus in *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, through Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Sallām al-Sawwāq, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā. He relates it similarly, with the same chain of authorities, up to the words, "He then ordered that food and fine garments be brought to us."

He then stated, "This chain of authorities is good; what it apparently shows is that Abū Mūsā was at Mecca, and that he did go with Ja'far, son of Abū Ṭālib, to Abyssinia.

What is true according to Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Burda, on the authority of his grandfather Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, is that the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became known to them while they were in Yemen. They therefore went out into exile along with some 50 persons in a boat that took them to the Negus in Abyssinia. They found that Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and his companions were already living there. Ja'far told them to stay, and they did stay

with him until they joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the time of Khaybar.

He stated, "Abū Mūsā witnessed what took place between Jaʿfar and the Negus and reported this."

He also said, "And perhaps the narrator was using his imagination in saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ordered us to depart.' But God knows best.

This is how al-Bukhārī related this in his chapter on the migration to Abyssinia: "Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, 'The departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became known to us while we were in Yemen. So we embarked on a boat which took us to the Negus, in Abyssinia. There we found Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, God bless him, and we stayed there with him until we left and joined the Prophet (ṢAAS), when Khaybar was conquered. And so the Prophet said, 'For you people of the boat there are two migrations.'"" Muslim related this in this way from Abū Kurayb and Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd Allāh b. Barrād, both of whom used Abū Usāma as a source. They both related this at length in other places. But God knows best.

This narrative concerning Jaʿfar and the Negus was also related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir in his biography of Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib. His account is on his own authority and that of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, both of whom related the *ḥadīth*. It is also recounted by Ibn Masʿūd, as given above, and by Umm Salama, as will be shown later.

This following account given by Jaʿfar is extremely valuable. Ibn ʿAsākir related it from Abū al-Qāsim al-Samarqandī, from Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Naqūr, from Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ, from Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Baghawī, who said, "Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juʿfī related to us, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abān, quoting Asad b. ʿAmr al-Bajālī, from Mujālid b. Saʿīd, from al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from his father, who said, 'Quraysh sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmāra b. al-Walid with a gift from Abū Sufyān to the Negus. They told him – and we were there with him – 'Some low-class and silly people of ours have come to you. So hand them over to us!'

"He replied, 'No, not until I hear what they have to say.'"

Jaʿfar went on, "So he sent to us and asked, 'What's all this they say?'

"We replied, 'These are people who worship idols. God sent a messenger to us in whom we believed and trusted.'

"The Negus then asked them, 'Are these people slaves of yours?'

"No,' they replied.

"Do they have debts owing to you?' he then asked.

"No,' they answered.

"Then leave them alone,' he said.

"At this we left his presence, but ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ told him, 'These people speak different things of Jesus from what you do.'

"He replied, 'If they do not say about Jesus as I do, I will not allow them to stay in my land a single hour of the day!'"

"And so he sent for us, this second invitation being harder upon us than the first.

"The Negus asked, 'What does your master say about Jesus, son of Mary?'"

"We replied, 'He says that He is the spirit of God and His word that He cast to a chaste virgin.'

"He then dispatched a messenger, saying, 'Summon to me such-and-such a priest, such-and-such a monk.'

"Some men of theirs came and he asked, 'What do you say concerning Jesus, son of Mary?'"

"They replied, 'You are the most knowledgeable of us; what do you say?'"

"The Negus replied, having picked something up from the ground, 'Jesus is no more different from what these people say than this much.'

"He then asked, 'Is anyone harming you people?'"

"They replied, 'Yes.'

"So then a crier announced, 'Whoever harms any one of them is to be fined four dirhams.'

"Then he asked, 'Is this enough for you?'"

"We replied, 'No.' So the king doubled the fine."

Ja'far went on: "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) emigrated to Medina and proclaimed himself there, we told him (the Negus) 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) has proclaimed himself and gone to Medina; he has killed those we told you about. We wish to travel to him, so send us back.'

"Yes, I will,' he replied. He gave us mounts and provisioned us, then said, 'Inform your master how I have treated you. This man, my friend, will go with you. I bear witness that there is no god but God and that he is the Messenger of God. Ask him to pray for forgiveness for me.'

Ja'far went on: "So we left and went to Medina where the Messenger of God (SAAS) met us. He embraced me, then said, 'I don't know what pleases me more – the victory at Khaybar, or the arrival of Ja'far!'"

This coincided with the victory at Khaybar. He then sat down.

The envoy of the Negus then said, "This man, Ja'far, ask him how our master treated him."

So he, Ja'far, said, "Yes, he acted in such-and-such a way, then gave us mounts and provisions and bore witness that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God. He also told me, 'Ask him to pray for forgiveness for me.'"

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose, performed the prayer ablutions and prayed three times: "O God, forgive the Negus!" And the Muslims present said, "Amen".

Then Ja'far said, "I then told the envoy of the Negus, 'Leave now, and tell your master what you saw of the Messenger of God (SAAS).'"

Ibn ‘Asākir commented after this *ḥadīth*: “It is *ḥasan gharīb* (good but unique).”

Regarding the narrative given by Umm Salama, Yūnus b. Bakayr stated, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, “Al-Zuhri related to me, from Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥārith b. Hishām, that Umm Salama, God bless her, said, ‘When events turned threatening and even violent in Mecca for the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and actual harm was done to them because of their faith, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was unable to defend them, being himself under the protection of his family and his uncle, so that he experienced none of their sufferings, he told them, “In Abyssinia there is a king who allows no one to be persecuted in his domain. So go to his country until such time as God provides for you some relief and solution to your troubles.”

“‘And so we did set out in groups and rejoined one another there. We found hospitality, friendship and security to engage in our religion in Abyssinia, and had no fear of harm.

“‘When Quraysh saw that we had gained accommodation and security there, they were angered and agreed to make representations to the Negus to remove us from his country and send us back to them.

“‘They therefore dispatched ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Rabi‘a. They gathered gifts for the king and for all his generals, without exception. They told their two envoys, “Give a present to each general before you speak among them, and then give the king his gifts. And if you are able to have him hand over the exiles to you without him speaking to them, then do so.”

“‘The envoys did go to the king, not having omitted giving the presents to each of his generals. They then addressed them, saying, “We have only come to see the king about some fools of ours who have abandoned their people and their religion, and who have not joined your faith. Their people have sent us to have the king return them to them. When we speak with him, then indicate that he should do so.” They agreed to this.

“‘The envoys then gave their gifts to the Negus. The most favoured of their gifts from Mecca to him were leather products.’”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba related that they presented to him a mare, a gown and a silk garment.

Umm Salama continued, “When they took their gifts in to him, they told him, ‘O king, some of our foolish young have abandoned their people’s religion and have not entered your faith. They have come here with a fabricated religion we do not know and have taken refuge in your land. Their tribes, their own fathers and uncles, have sent us to you so that you will return these people to them. They know them best. They will not adopt your faith, and you should prevent them from doing so.’

“The king was angered at this and replied, ‘No! By God’s life, I will not return them to them before summoning these people and talking to them to discover

their views. They are a group who have taken refuge in my land and have chosen my company above that of all others. If they are indeed as your people say, I will return them to them. But if they are otherwise, I will protect them, give their people no access to them and no satisfaction.’”

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that his generals indicated to him that he should return them to their people, but the king refused, saying, “No! By God, I will not, not until I hear what they have to say and what their position is.”

Umm Salama went on, “When the exiles came before him, they greeted him by saying, ‘Peace be upon you’, but they did not bow down before him. He addressed them, ‘Will you not tell me why you do not greet me in the same manner as others of your people who have come to me? And tell me what it is you say about Jesus and what your religion is. Are you Christians?’

“‘No,’ they replied.

“‘Are you Jews then?’

“‘No.’

“‘Do you worship in your people’s religion?’

“‘No.’

“‘What is your religion?’

“‘It is Islam.’

“‘What is Islam?’

“‘We worship God,’ they replied, ‘and we associate no other god with Him.’

“‘Who was it brought you this faith?’

“‘A man from among ourselves, whose face and genealogy we know. God sent him to us as He sent messengers to those who came before us. He ordered us to behave with kindness, honesty, trustworthiness and good faith. He forbade us to worship idols and ordered us to worship God alone who has no associate. We believed him and recognised God’s words. We realized that what he presented came from God. But when we did all this our people behaved with enmity towards us and towards the truthful Prophet; they disbelieved in him and wanted to kill him. They wanted us to worship idols, and so we fled to you, bringing our faith and our blood to you away from our own people.’

“‘By God,’ he exclaimed, ‘this is the very niche from which Moses’ affair emerged!’

“‘And regarding our greeting,’ Ja‘far explained, ‘the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us that the people of paradise greet one another with a wish for peace and he ordered us to do the same. We greeted you the same way we greet one another.

“‘And regarding Jesus, son of Mary, he was the servant and messenger of God, His word that He cast to Mary and also His spirit. He was the son of the chaste Virgin.’

“The king then picked up a stick and said, ‘By God, Mary’s son did not add to this the weight of this stick more!’

"The Abyssinian leaders then said, 'By God, if the Abyssinians heard this they would depose you!'

"'By God,' he responded, 'I will never say anything about Jesus different from this; God did not acquiesce to the people about me when He restored my kingdom to me. Shall I then obey the people concerning God's religion? God forbid such a thing!'"

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "And so the Negus sent for them and assembled them, nothing being more distasteful to 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Rabi'a than that he should hear their words.

"When the Negus's messenger came to them, the exiles assembled and asked one another what to say.

"'What can we say?' they asked, and decided, 'By God, we will tell what we know and all about the religion we follow, what it was our Prophet (ṢAAS) brought to us, come what may!'

"When they went in to him their spokesman was Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalib, God be pleased with him. The Negus asked him, 'What is this religion you follow? Have you left the faith of your people without entering either Judaism or Christianity?'

"Ja'far replied, 'O king, we were a people of polytheism. We worshipped idols, ate the meat of animals that had died, offended rules of hospitality and permitted things forbidden, as in the shedding of one another's blood and so on. We completely ignored matters of right and wrong. And so God sent to us a prophet, from among ourselves, whose honesty and trustworthiness we knew well. He summoned us to pray to God alone and without associate, told us to respect rights of kinship, to honour rights of hospitality, to pray to God the Almighty and Glorious, to fast for Him and to worship none other than Him.'"

Ziyād stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "And so he called us to God, to affirm His oneness, to worship Him, and to tear down all the other stones and idols we and our forefathers had worshipped apart from Him. He ordered us to be truthful in our speech, to keep to our trust, to respect kinship ties and hospitality rights and to abandon things forbidden and the shedding of blood. He forbade us to do anything immoral, to tell lies, to misuse the funds of orphans, or to make false accusations against women of virtue. He ordered us to worship God and to associate no other god with Him. He told us to pray, to give alms and to fast." He stated, "And he enumerated for him all aspects of Islam.

"And so we believed in him and trusted him, following him in the instructions he brought from God. We worshipped God alone, without partner and associating no one with Him. We forbade what he had forbidden and considered permissible what he allowed us.

"But our people aggressed against us and harmed us, seeking to draw us out of our faith, to return us to the worship of idols instead of God, and to have us again consider permissible the abominations we had previously allowed.

"When they treated us with violence and persecution, besieged us and prevented us from performing our religion, we left for your country and chose you above all others. We desired your hospitality and hoped we would not be harmed in your domain, O king."

She (Umm Salama) went on to state, "The Negus replied, 'Did you bring anything with you from what he brought?'"

"Ja'far then recited to him a passage from KHY'S (*sūrat Maryam*: XIX) and, I swear, the Negus wept so hard his beard was soaked! And all his bishops cried so hard they wet their bibles!

"He then said, 'These words certainly come from the niche that Moses brought with him! Pass on, rightly guided! No, by God, I will not return them to you and I will not give you satisfaction.'

"So we did leave his presence. The more sensible of the two envoys, in our view, was 'Abd Allāh b. Rabī'a, for 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ said, 'By God, I will go to him tomorrow and tell him something that will turn them all upside down: I will tell him that they claim that the god he worships, Jesus, son of Mary, is a servant (of God)! But 'Abd Allāh b. Rabī'a told him, 'No, don't do that; even if they have opposed us, they are related to us and have a certain right.'

"But he insisted, 'By God, I will do it!'"

"The next day he went in to the king and said, 'O king, they say terrible things about Jesus. Send for them and question them about him.'

"He did indeed do so, and nothing like this had happened to us before. We asked one another what we should say about Jesus if he were to ask about him. All agreed that we should definitely say about him what God had said and our Prophet had told us to say.

"The exiles then went in to the king who had his generals with him. He asked, 'What is it you say about Jesus, son of Mary?'"

"Ja'far replied, 'We say he is God's servant, His messenger, His spirit and His word that He cast into Mary, the chaste Virgin.'

"The Negus stretched his hand down to the ground and picked up a stick between two fingers, saying, 'Jesus, son of Mary is not more than the size of this little stick different from what you say.'

"His generals grumbled at this and he responded, 'Grumble away, by God! You people may leave now and you are *shuyūm* in my land! (The word *shuyūm* means in their language: those who are secure, i.e. those whose life is safe.) Whoever reviles you will be fined! (He repeated this phrase three times.) I'd rather not have *dabr* than that I harmed one man among you! (*Dabr* in their language means: gold.)'"

Ziyād stated, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, that what he said was, "I'd rather not have a *dabr* of gold." Ibn Hishām stated that others say the word *zabr* was used, meaning a mountain in their language.

The Negus then said, "I swear, God took no bribe from me when He returned my kingdom to me. And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to acquiesce to them about him? Return their presents to the two envoys. I don't need them. And, you two, get out of my country!"

The two men did depart in disgrace, with what they had brought having been returned to them.

Umm Salama continued, "And so we stayed on there in comfort and security.

"But soon a certain Abyssinian rose in revolt and challenged the rule of the Negus. And, I swear, nothing had ever caused us so much grief as this, since we feared that that rebel would defeat him and then there would be a king who might not recognise our rights as the Negus had done.

"And so we began saying prayers to God, supplicating Him to give victory to the Negus who went out to do battle.

"The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked one another which one of them should go and witness the engagement to see which side would be victorious.

"Al-Zubayr, one of the youngest of them, volunteered.

"They then blew air into a skin which they attached to his chest and he set off on it, swimming across the Nile. He came out on the other bank, went to the site where the two sides were meeting and witnessed the battle.

"God defeated and killed that rebel leader, giving the Negus victory over him.

"Al-Zubayr then returned to us, waving his shirt and yelling, 'Rejoice! God has given victory to the Negus!'"

Umm Salama concluded, "I swear by God we were never happier than at the Negus's victory. Thereafter we remained there with him, until some of us returned to Mecca while others stayed there."

Al-Zuhri stated, "I related this *ḥadīth* on the authority of Umm Salama to ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and he asked, 'Do you know what was meant by the Negus's words? "I swear, God took no bribe from me when he returned my kingdom to me; so am I to accept a bribe about Him? And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to obey them about him?"'

"I replied, 'No; Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, relating on the authority of Umm Salama, did not tell me that.'

"ʿUrwa explained, 'Well, ʿĀ'isha related to me that his father had been the king of his people and had a brother who had fathered twelve sons. Whereas his own father had only one son, the Negus himself. The Abyssinians discussed this among themselves and decided to kill the father of the Negus and to appoint his uncle over them in his place. For since the uncle had twelve sons of his own who would inherit the kingship, then Abyssinia would remain for a long time free from unrest. They therefore attacked and killed the father of the Negus and made his brother king.

“The Negus then went to live with his uncle; eventually he had such influence over him that no one but he could direct his affairs. He was intelligent and judicious. When the Abyssinians saw his status with his uncle, they told one another, “We have seen how this young man ranks with his uncle, and we could never be safe if he ruled over us, because he knows we killed his father. If he became king, he would not fail to kill every nobleman among us. Let us therefore speak to the king about him so that he will kill or exile him from our land.”

“So they went to his uncle and told him, “We have seen how this young man ranks high with you, but you know that we killed his father and put you in his place. We could never be safe if he ruled over us, for he would kill us. You should either kill him or exile him from our land.”

““What?” he responded, “You killed his father yesterday and today I am to kill him! No, but I will exile him.”

“So they took him out and stood him in the market where they sold him to a certain merchant for 600 or 700 dirhams who put him aboard a ship and sailed away with him.

“When evening came, autumn storm clouds arose and his uncle went outside beneath them to pray for rain; he was struck by a thunderbolt which killed him.

“They then went in fright to his sons but they turned out all to be idiots, with not a good one among them. The Abyssinians were most disturbed at this and some said to others, “You realize, by God, that the only king fit to solve your problems is the man you sold this morning. If you are concerned about Abyssinia, then go and get him before he leaves.”

“So they did set off to find him, located him and sat him on the throne and declared him king.

“The merchant then said, “Return to me my money since you have taken my slave from me.”

“The Abyssinian replied that they would not and he said he would talk directly to the king.

“He went to him and said, “O king, I bought a slave and those who sold it received the price for him. But then they acted unjustly with me regarding the slave by seizing him and not returning my money.”

“The first thing told about the stability and justice of his rule was that he replied, “Let his money be returned to him or let the hand of his slave be placed in his own so that he may take him wherever he wishes.”

“His people replied, “No, we will give him his money.” And so they did.

“That is why he said, “God did not take a bribe from me, so am I to take a bribe when He returns my kingdom to me? And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to obey the people about him?””

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, “The father of the Negus had been the king of Abyssinia but died when the Negus was a small boy. The king had entrusted him to his

own brother, saying, 'You rule your people until my son comes of age; thereafter, he shall be king.'

"But the king's brother wanted to rule and so he sold the Negus to a merchant. However, the uncle died that night and the Abyssinians restored the Negus, placing the crown on his head."

He then related it in brief. But Ibn Ishāq's account is better and fuller. But God knows best.

The account of Ibn Ishāq refers to 'Amr b. al-Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Rabī'a. Those of Mūsā b. 'Uqba, al-Umawī and others give the two envoys as 'Amr b. al-Āṣ and 'Umāra b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra.

'Umāra was one of the seven persons against whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke prayers when they ridiculed him on the occasion when they put the placenta of the sacrificial animal on his back when he was bent over in prayer at the *ka'ba*.

Similarly they were named in the previous accounts given by Ibn Mas'ūd and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī.

What is implied is that when they left Mecca, 'Amr's wife was with him and also that 'Umāra was a handsome young man. They were together in the boat and 'Umāra was attracted to the wife of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ. So he threw 'Amr into the sea to kill him, but he swam back to the boat. 'Umāra then told him, "If I'd known you could swim so well, I wouldn't have thrown you in!" 'Amr consequently hated him.

Having failed to achieve their objective with the Negus regarding the Emigrants, 'Umāra ingratiated himself with some of the Negus's people. But 'Amr warned the Negus of this and the latter had 'Umāra bewitched so that he lost his mind and wandered off into the desert with the wild beasts.

Al-Umawī related his story at very great length, to the effect that he lived on into the time of the reign of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when some of the Companions hunted him down and seized him. He then began saying, "Dispatch me! Dispatch me! Or I will die!" Since they did not dispatch him, he died right then and there. But God knows best.

It has been said that Quraysh sent twice to the Negus regarding the Emigrants. The first occasion involved 'Amr b. al-Āṣ and 'Umāra, the second 'Amr and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Rabī'a. Abū Nu'aym gives such a text in *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*). But God knows best.

It is said that the second mission occurred after the battle of Badr. Al-Zuhri stated this. Its purpose was to gain vengeance through the Emigrants there. But the Negus, God bless him, did not grant them any part of their request. But God knows best.

Ziyād related, from Ibn Ishāq, that when Abū Ṭālib saw Quraysh engaged in this he wrote to the Negus some verses urging him to act with justice and kindness towards those of his people who were living with him:

"Would that I knew how it is so far off for Ja'far and 'Amr, and it is relatives who can be the most bitter enemies.

And whether the actions of the Negus towards Ja'far and his companions are still kind, or whether some mischief-maker has hindered that.

You should know, may you avoid disaster, that you are noble, and that no alien would have complaint to you.

We know that God has given you much abundance, and that the means of all goodness is attached to you."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me that 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said, 'It was really 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, God bless him, who spoke with the Negus and it is well-known that it was Ja'far, God bless him, who was the translator.'"

Ziyād al-Bakkā'i stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me from 'Urwa, that 'Ā'isha, God bless her, said, 'After the Negus died, it was said that a light could still be seen at his grave.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this from Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Rāzi, from Salama b. al-Faḍl, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, as follows, "When the Negus, God bless him, died, we used to say that a light could still be seen at his grave."

Ziyād related, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, "Ja'far b. Muḥammad related to me that his father said, 'The Abyssinians gathered together and told the Negus, "You have abandoned our faith." Then they revolted against him.'

"He sent to Ja'far and his companions and prepared boats for them, telling them, 'Embark on these, and remain as you are. If I am defeated then leave for wherever you want. If I am victorious, then stay.'

"He then made his way to a document and wrote down the words, 'He testifies that there is no god but God and that Jesus is His slave, His messenger, His spirit and His word that he cast unto Mary.' He then placed the document inside his gown at his right shoulder.

"He then went outside to the Abyssinians who were lined up before him and said, 'O Abyssinians, am I not your rightful leader?' 'Yes,' they replied.

"And how,' he asked, 'do you rate my conduct towards you?'

"As fine conduct.'

"So why are you discontented?'

"You have abandoned our faith and claimed that Jesus is His slave and His messenger.'

"And what is it you say of Jesus?' he asked them.

"We say that he is the son of God.'

"Placing his hand across his chest over his gown, he then gave his testimony that, 'Jesus, son of Mary, was no more than this.' But he meant what he had written.

"His people were satisfied and left.

"This reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and when the Negus died he prayed for him and sought God's forgiveness for him."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lamented the death of the Negus on the day he died and went with others to the place of prayer. There he lined up with them and four times recited the litany, *Allāhu Akbar*, God is most great. Al-Bukhārī stated: "*The Death of the Negus*. Abū al-Rabi' related to us, as did Ibn 'Uyayna, from Ibn Jurayj, from 'Aṭā', from Jābir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated on the day when the Negus died, "Today a good man died; arise and pray for your brother Aṣḥama."'"

This is also related from a *ḥadīth* of Anas b. Mālik, Ibn Mas'ūd, and others.

In some accounts he is named Aṣḥama, though in one it is Maṣḥama. His name was Aṣḥama b. Baḥr. He was an honest, devout and intelligent man, just and honourable. May God be pleased with him.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "The name of the Negus was Maṣḥama." In one manuscript al-Bayhaqī has corrected this to Aṣḥam. 'The name means in Arabic *'aṭiyya*; gift. The word 'Negus' is the title for a king, equivalent to using the word 'Chosroe' or 'Heraclius'."

This, I observe, is how this text reads; no doubt he meant "Emperor", the title used for all kings who rule Syria along with the Roman peninsula. "Chosroe" is the title of those ruling Persia, "Pharoah" that for those ruling all Egypt, "al-Muqawqis" for he who rules Alexandria, "Tubba'" for those ruling Yemen and al-Shaḥr, the "Negus" for those ruling Abyssinia, "Batlimus" for those ruling Greece, and, it is said, India, and "Khāqān" for those ruling the Turks.

Some scholars said that he only prayed for him because he kept his faith hidden from his people and there was no one there with him to pray for him the day he died.

These scholars thus maintain that for someone not present, if the funeral prayers were said for him in the place where he died, then such rites are not ordained for him in another country. This is why funeral prayers were said for the Prophet (ṢAAS) only in Medina and not by the people of Mecca or elsewhere. The same was true of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and others of the Companions; it is not reported that funeral prayers were said for them in towns other than the ones in which they died. But God knows best.

I add the comment that the fact that Abū Hurayra, may God be pleased with him, witnessed the prayers for the Negus points to his having died after the conquest of Khaybar, the year when the remainder of the Emigrants to Abyssinia arrived along with Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib, God bless him, namely on the day of the conquest of Khaybar.

It is therefore related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "By God, I don't know which makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib!"

They brought with them presents and treasures from the Negus, God be pleased with him; and accompanying them as passengers on their Yemeni boat were the followers of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and his people the Ash'aris, may God be pleased with them.

And with Ja'far and the presents of the Negus were the nephew of the Negus, Dhū Nakhtar, or Dhū Mikhmar, whom he had sent to serve the Prophet (ṢAAS) instead of his uncle.

Al-Suhaylī stated that the Negus died in Rajab in the year 9 of the *hijra*, though there is dispute about that. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The jurist Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tūsī informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Hilāl b. al-ʿAlā' al-Raqqī, quoting Abū al-ʿAlā' b. Mudrik, quoting Abū Hilāl b. al-ʿAlā', from his father, from Ghālib, from Abū Umāma, who said, 'The delegation from the Negus went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he arose to serve them. His Companions objected, saying, "Let us do that for you, O Messenger of God." He replied, "They honoured my Companions, and I wish to repay them."'"

He (al-Bayhaqī) then stated, "And Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Aṣbahānī informed me, quoting Abū Saʿīd b. al-Aʿrābī that Hilāl b. al-ʿAlā' related, quoting my father, quoting Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd, from al-Awzāʿī, from Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Qatāda, who said, 'The delegation from the Negus went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he arose to serve them. His Companions said, "We'll do that for you, O Messenger of God." He replied, "They honoured my Companions and I wish to repay them."'"

Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd narrated this, from al-Awzāʿī.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān related to us, quoting Abū ʿAmr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Ishāq, quoting al-Ḥumaydī, quoting Sufyān, quoting ʿAmr, as follows, 'When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ arrived from Abyssinia he sat at home. Since he would not go out to them, people wondered why this was. ʿAmr then said, "Aṣḥama claims your man to be a prophet."'"

ʿUMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB ACCEPTS ISLAM.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa arrived back to Quraysh, having failed to achieve their aims with the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and having been rudely rejected by the Negus, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb accepted Islam. He was a forceful man, capable of defending his supporters, and the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had protection through him and through Ḥamza, so that they could stand up to Quraysh.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd used to say, 'We were unable to pray at the *kaʿba* until ʿUmar accepted Islam; having done so, ʿUmar battled Quraysh until he was able to pray at the *kaʿba*, and we prayed with him.'"

I comment that it is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, that Ibn Mas‘ūd said, “We have been powerful ever since ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb accepted Islam.”

Ziyād al-Bakkā‘ī stated, “Mis‘ar b. Kidām related to me, from Sa‘d b. Ibrāhīm, who said, ‘Ibn Mas‘ūd stated, “The acceptance of Islam by ‘Umar was a victory, his migration was a help, and his reign was a mercy. We could not pray at the *ka‘ba* until he accepted Islam; when he did so ‘Umar battled Quraysh until he was able to pray at the *ka‘ba*, and we prayed with him.”’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The acceptance of Islam by ‘Umar occurred after the departure of some of the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Abyssinia.

“‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabi‘a related to me, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Āmir b. Rabi‘a, from his mother Umm ‘Abd Allāh, daughter of Abū Ḥathma, who said, ‘We were preparing to depart for Abyssinia – ‘Āmir having gone off to get something we needed – when ‘Umar came along and stopped, he being a polytheist at the time. We had suffered violence and harm from him.

“‘He said, “So you’re leaving then, Umm ‘Abd Allāh?”

““Yes,” I replied. “We’re leaving for one of God’s countries, since you have so maltreated and harmed us, so that God may provide us some way out.”

“‘He commented, “Well, God be with you!”

“‘I saw in him a gentleness I never had before. He then left, our departure, so it seemed to me, having saddened him.

“‘Āmir then arrived with our things and I commented, “O father of ‘Abd Allāh, I wish you could have seen ‘Umar just now, his gentleness and concern for us.”

“‘He asked, “Do you look to his accepting Islam?”

““Yes, I do,” I replied.

“‘He commented, “That man you saw won’t accept Islam before al-Khaṭṭāb’s donkey does!”

“‘He said this in despair at him, for all his harsh opposition to Islam that had been seen.”

I comment that this refutes the claim of those who maintain that he brought the number of Muslims to 40. For the Emigrants to Abyssinia were more than 80 persons. Unless, that is, it be said that he was the 40th to convert after the departure of the Emigrants.

This is supported by Ibn Ishāq’s report here concerning the acceptance of Islam by ‘Umar, God bless him, individually, and the account of that.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The acceptance of Islam by ‘Umar, so I have been told, came about as a result of the conversion of his sister Fāṭima, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb, who was married to Sa‘id b. Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl. Her husband had also converted, and they were concealing their conversion from ‘Umar.

“Nu‘aym b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Nahhām, a member of the Banū ‘Adī tribe, had also converted but concealed this fact from his people.

“Khabbāb b. al-Aratt was attending the home of Fāṭima, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb, to read the Qur’an to her. One day ‘Umar went out, his sword at his waist, looking for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who, along with a group of his followers, he had been told, were in a house at al-Ṣafā. The group with him, including men and women, totalled some 40 persons. Among these, along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), were his uncle Ḥamza, Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, *al-Siddiq*, “the Trusting”, and ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, *God be pleased with them*, along with other Muslim men who had stayed behind in Mecca and not departed for Abyssinia.

“Nu‘aym b. ‘Abd Allāh met him and enquired, ‘Where are you heading, ‘Umar?’

“He replied, ‘I’m looking for Muḥammad, that Ṣabian who has disunited Quraysh, ridiculed their dreams, criticized their religion and slandered their gods. I’m going to kill him!’

“Nu‘aym told him, ‘By God, you’ve lost your mind, ‘Umar! Do you think that ‘Abd Manāf would allow you to walk on the face of the earth once you killed Muḥammad? Why don’t you go home and sort out your household!’

“‘What about my household?’

“‘Your brother-in-law and nephew Sa‘id b. Zayd and your sister Fāṭima. They have accepted Islam and become followers of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) in his religion. Look to them!’

“‘Umar then returned to his sister Fāṭima where Khabbāb b. al-Aratt was; he had with him a manuscript of sūrat Ṭāhā that he was reading to her.

“When they heard ‘Umar’s approach, Khabbāb hid inside a bedroom, or somewhere else in the house, and Fāṭima took the manuscript and hid it under her thigh. But ‘Umar had heard Khabbāb reciting it as he approached the door.

“As he came in, he demanded, ‘What was that murmuring sound I heard?’

“‘I heard nothing,’ they both replied.

“‘Well I did,’ he insisted. ‘And I’ve been told you are following Muḥammad in his religion.’

He then struck out at his brother-in-law Sa‘id b. Zayd, and when his sister Fāṭima rose to defend her husband he hit her and wounded her.

“When he did this, his sister and brother-in-law admitted, ‘Yes, we have accepted Islam and do believe in God and in His Messenger. Do whatever you want!’

“When ‘Umar saw the blood on his sister he was sorry for what he had done and repentant and he told her, ‘Give me that document you were just reading so that I can see what it is Muḥammad brings.’ ‘Umar was literate.

“When he said that, she replied, ‘We don’t trust you with it.’

“‘Don’t be afraid,’ he told her, and swore by his gods to return it to her when he had read it.

“When he said this she had hopes of his accepting Islam and so she said, ‘But being a polytheist you are unclean, and only the purified may touch it.’

“So ‘Umar arose and washed himself, and she gave him the sheet on which *surat Tāhā* was written. When he had read a passage of it, he said, ‘How fine, how wonderful these words are!’

“When Khabbāb b. al-Aratt heard this he came out and said, ‘By God, ‘Umar, I do so hope that God has selected you because of the prayer of His Prophet (SAAS), for yesterday I heard him say, “O God, give help to Islam through Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, or through ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb!” So come now to God, ‘Umar!’

“At that ‘Umar said, ‘Khabbāb, lead me to Muḥammad so that I can accept Islam.’

“‘He is in a house at al-Ṣafā with a group of his Companions,’ Khabbāb replied.

“‘Umar picked up his sword and put it on then left for the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions. He knocked on the door and when they heard his voice, one of the Companions got up and looked outside through a chink in the door. He saw ‘Umar, wearing his sword, then went back in to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in a fright and exclaiming, ‘O Messenger of God, it’s ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, armed with his sword!’

“Ḥamza said, ‘Well, let him in. If he has come with good, we’ll reciprocate, but if he’s come in evil, we’ll kill him with his sword.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) also said, ‘Let him in!’

“So the Companion did so, and the Messenger of God (SAAS), got up and went across the room to meet him, taking him by his waist or by the place where his cloak joined, and giving him a strong pull, saying, ‘What brings you, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb? By God, I don’t see you stopping until God sends down a thunderbolt upon you!’

“‘Umar replied, ‘O Messenger of God, I come to you to believe in God, in His messenger, and in what has come down from God!’

“At this the Messenger of God (SAAS) let out a great cry of *Allāhu Akbar*, and the people in the house all knew that ‘Umar had accepted Islam.

“The Companions of the Messenger of God left their places elated that now ‘Umar had accepted Islam along with Ḥamza, knowing that these two men would protect him and help them obtain justice from their enemies.”

Ibn Ishāq concluded, “This then, is the account given by the *ḥadīth* scholars of Medina concerning the acceptance of Islam by ‘Umar, God bless him.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ al-Makkī related to me, from his Companions ‘Aṭā, Mujāhid and others, that regarding ‘Umar’s acceptance of Islam, he himself would say, ‘I used to be very remote from Islam. Before Islam I used to be a great man for wine; I loved drinking it. We used to have a place at al-Ḥazwara where we would meet.

“One night I went out looking for my drinking partners, but found not one of them there. So I told myself I should go off to a wine dealer named so-and-so to get some for myself to drink.

“But I could not find him. So I told myself I might as well go to the *ka'ba* and circumambulate it seven or seventy times.

“So I went to the mosque and there, standing praying, I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he prayed he would face towards al-Shām, placing the *ka'ba* between himself and it. The spot he prayed at was between the two corners, *al-aswad* (the one with the ‘black stone’) and *al-yamānī* (the one towards Yemen).

“When I saw him, I told myself I might just as well spend the evening listening to Muḥammad. If I came too close to him to listen I might scare him, so I approached from the *hijr* side, passing beneath its covering and walking slowly while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued standing there reciting the Qur’ān. Eventually I stood facing towards him with nothing there between us but the covering over the *ka'ba*.

“When I heard the Qur’ān my heart was touched by it, I wept and Islam entered within me.

“I stayed where I was until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his prayer and departed. When he left he would pass by the home of Ibn Abū Ḥusayn, whose dwelling happened to be at Dār al-Raqtā', which was owned by Mu'awiya. I followed him until, as he went between the house of 'Abbās and that of Ibn Azhar, I caught up with him. When he heard my voice he recognized me and thought I had followed him only to harm him. So he told me to keep away, then said, “What brings you here at this hour, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?”

“I replied, “I have come to believe in God and in His messenger, and in what has come down from God.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed thanks to God at this and then he said, “God has guided you, 'Umar!” He then touched my chest and prayed for me to be constant.

“After that I left and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside his house.”

Ibn Ishāq then commented, “God alone knows best which of these versions really happened.”

I point out that I have investigated the manner in which 'Umar, God bless him, accepted Islam and related all the statements and evidence thereto at length in the first part of the biography I devoted to him alone. All praise and credit be to God!

Ibn Ishāq said, “Nāfi', the freed-man of Ibn 'Umar, related to me that 'Umar's son said, ‘When 'Umar accepted Islam, he asked, “Which man of Quraysh is best at making announcements?’”

““Jamīl b. Ma'mar al-Jumahi,” he was told.

“Next morning 'Umar went to the man.’ Ibn 'Umar continued, ‘So I followed him to see what he would do; I was a lad at the time, but understood all I saw.

“When ‘Umar reached him, he asked, “Jamil, do you know that I have accepted Islam and entered into the faith of Muḥammad (ṢAAS)?”

“Ibn ‘Umar went on, ‘Well, I swear, he had no sooner told him this than off he went, his gown trailing. ‘Umar followed him and I did so too until he stopped at the mosque gate, where he shouted at the top of his voice, “O Quraysh!” (They were there at that time in their chambers around the *ka’ba*.) “Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb has become a Ṣabian!”

“‘Umar, standing right behind him, yelled, “He lies! But I have become a Muslim. I do testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God!”

“People were most enraged against him and soon he was battling hard against them, they against him. They kept up this fighting until the sun was high over their heads.

“At last he was exhausted and sat down, while they stood all around him. He told them, “Do what you want! But I swear by God that if we were 300 men strong, either we’d have left the battlefield to you or you would have to us!”

“While they were so engaged, a Quraysh sheikh finely dressed in a robe from Yemen and an embroidered shirt came up and stood there. He asked, “What’s going on with you?”

““‘Umar has become a Ṣabian,” they replied.

“““So what? If a man chooses to do something, what’s it got to do with you? Do you think his tribe, the Banū ‘Adī, will give him over to you like this? Let the man go!”

“Ibn ‘Umar went on, ‘And I swear, they drew back like a garment being stripped from him.’

“And when my father ‘Umar went off into exile to Medina, I asked him, “Father, who was that man who drove the people away from you at Mecca who was fighting you the day you accepted Islam?”

“““That, my son,” he replied, “was al-‘Āṣ b. Wa’il al-Sahmī.””

This chain of authorities is extremely strong. It points to the tardiness of ‘Umar’s acceptance of Islam. This is because Ibn ‘Umar fought at Uḥud for the first time, when he was 14. That battle, Uḥud, occurred in the year 3 AH. He was at the age of discrimination on the day his father accepted Islam, an event that must have occurred some 4 years before the emigration to Medina. And that is some 9 years after the beginning of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS). But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī said, “Al-Ḥākim related to us, al-Aṣamm informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, and Yūnus related to us, all from Ibn Ishāq, who stated, ‘Then 20 men came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was in Mecca, or nearby; these were Christians, news having spread about him to them from Abyssinia. They found him at the meeting place and spoke with him and asked him questions, while the men of Quraysh were in their chambers there around the *ka’ba*.

“When they had finished putting the questions they wanted to ask the Messenger of God, he invited them to come to God, the Almighty and Glorious, and he recited the Qurʾān to them. When they heard it, their eyes overflowed with tears. They then responded positively to him, believed in him and accepted and trusted him, recognising what had been described to them about him in their scripture.

“When they arose to leave him, Abū Jahl and a group of Quraysh blocked their path and told them, “What a hopeless party you are! You were sent here by your co-religionaries back home to undertake an investigation for them and to return with information about this fellow, yet no sooner did you sit down in comfort with him than you abandoned your faith and believed all he told you. We’ve never known a group more foolish than you.” Or words to that effect.

“They replied, “We do not denigrate you; peace be upon you! We act as we see fit, as do you as you see fit. We spare no pains to attain what is good.””

It is said that the group of Christians were from Najrān; but God alone knows whether that was so.

It is also said, though God alone knows, that the following verses were revealed about them, “And those to whom we gave the book before it do believe in it. When it is recited to them, they say, ‘We do believe in it; it is the truth from our Lord. We were accepting (its message) even before it came.’ Those shall receive their reward twice, for they have been steadfast and repay evil with good and expend from what We have given them. And when they hear idle gossip they turn away from it and say, ‘We act as we see fit, as do you as you see fit. Peace be upon you; we do not desire the ignorant and foolish’” (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.52–5).

DIVISION

Al-Bayhaqī in his book *Dalāʾil (The Signs)* entitles a chapter “On the contents of the document sent by the Prophet (ṢAAS) to the Negus.”

He then relates, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq, as follows, “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate: this is a document from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to the Negus, al-Aṣḥam, the great leader of Abyssinia: Peace be upon those who follow guidance, believe in God and His messenger, and testify that there is no god but God alone, Who has no partner, Who took no female partner for Himself, and Who has no child, and they testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. I call out to you in God’s name, for I am His messenger. So submit (to Him) and be at peace! O People of the Book, come to an agreement that is equal between us both; that we will worship none but God and associate no other god with Him; that we will not take one another as masters to the exclusion of God. But if they do turn aside, then

say, 'Bear witness that we are Muslims' (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.63). But if you refuse, then upon you is the sin of those of your people who are Christians."

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus after the narrative of the migration to Abyssinia. There are various opinions concerning this account. It is clear that this document was to the Negus who, in addition to being a Muslim, (was also) the friend of Jaʿfar and his companions.

It relates to the time when he (Muḥammad) wrote to all the rulers on earth inviting them to God, the Almighty and Glorious, shortly before the conquest (of Mecca). He wrote to Heraclius, the head of the Romans and the Caesar of Syria, to Chosroe, the king of the Persians, to the ruler of Egypt as well as to the Negus.

Al-Zuhri stated, "The letters to them from the Prophet (ṢAAS) were all the same, i.e. copies, and all quoted this same verse which comes from *sūrat Āl-Imrān*, a chapter that is incontrovertibly from the Medina period. The verse comes from the early part of the *sūrat*."

Eighty-three verses of this *sūrat*, from its beginning, relate to the delegation from Najrān, as I asserted in my *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And to God belong all praise and credit.

And so this document was to the second Negus, not to the first.

Regarding the words therein, "To the Negus al-Aṣḥam ..." perhaps the word "al-Aṣḥam" is an interpolation by the narrator, based on his understanding. But God knows best.

More relevant here than this is what al-Bayhaqī also narrated, from al-Ḥākim, from Abū al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Faqīh, of Merve, who stated, "Ḥammād b. Aḥmad related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq and Salama b. al-Faḍl, all from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī with a letter he wrote to the Negus concerning Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and his companions: "In the name of God the most Merciful and Compassionate: from Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to the Negus al-Aṣḥam, king of Abyssinia: Peace be upon you. I express to you my praises for God the King, the All-Holy, the Faithful, and the Protector; I testify that Jesus is the spirit of God and His word that He cast unto Mary, the good, chaste, unviolated Virgin. And so she bore Jesus, whom He created from His spirit and His breath, just as He created Adam by His hand and breath. I call upon you to believe the One God Who has no associate. To Him all obedience is due. (I call upon you, tr.) to follow me, to believe in me as well as in that which has come down to me. For I am the Messenger of God. And I have sent to you my nephew Jaʿfar along with a group of Muslims. When they come to you receive them hospitably. Do not be haughty, for I invite you and your forces to God the Almighty and Glorious. I have conveyed my message and given advice. So accept my advice. And peace be upon those who follow the true path."

“The Negus wrote back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows: “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate: To Muḥammad the Messenger of God from the Negus al-Aṣḥam b. Abjar: Peace be upon you, O Prophet of God, from God, along with the mercy and blessings of God. There is no god but Him who guided me to Islam. Your letter, O Messenger of God, in which you made reference to Jesus, has reached me. And, by the God of the heavens and the earth, Jesus is no more than what you stated. We recognize what you have been sent with to us. We have received your nephew and his friends with hospitality. And I do testify that you are the Messenger of God, that you speak the truth and are to be believed. I pledge my allegiance to you and to your nephew, accepting Islam at his hands for God, the Lord of the universe. I have sent to you, O Prophet of God, Arīḥa b. al-Aṣḥam b. Abjar, for I possess nothing but myself. If you wish for me to come to you, I will do so, O Messenger of God, for I testify that what you say is truth.””

An Account of the disagreement of the Quraysh tribes of the Banū Hāshim and the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib in helping the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Also concerning their confinement of them in the quarter of Abū Ṭālib for a lengthy period and their writing an evil, brazen document to that effect. And the signs of the prophethood and proofs of the truth that became evident regarding all this.

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri: “The polytheists thereafter became so violent in their actions against the Muslims that the plight of the latter became extreme. And Quraysh so united in their evil intent as to agree to kill the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in full view.

“When Abū Ṭālib realized their purposes, he gathered the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and told them to include the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in their enclave and to protect him against those wishing to murder him.

“The Muslims and non-believers of the tribe did agree to this, some out of a desire to uphold traditions of protection, others out of their faith and conviction.

“When Quraysh realized that these were in agreement to protect the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the polytheists among them made a pact not to sit down with, nor to do business with them, nor to enter the homes of these people until they surrendered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to execution. They cunningly drew up agreements and pacts to the effect that they would never accept peace or reconciliation with the Banū Hāshim until they delivered him up for death.

“The Banū Hāshim therefore remained for three years confined to their enclave, suffering great deprivation. Their markets had been cut off; no food was allowed into Mecca for them, and all their business dealings were interrupted.

“Their purpose in all this was to spill the blood of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“When it was bed time, Abū Ṭālib would tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to sleep on the former’s bed, and he would do the same, the intent being that anyone wishing to harm or assassinate him would be unaware of this. And while people slept, Abū Ṭālib made sure that one of his sons, brothers or nephews would lie on the bed of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he would tell the latter to take their places instead.”

“At the start of the third year certain men of the tribes of ‘Abd Manāf and Quṣayy, along with others whose mothers were from the Banū Hāshim, became critical of this and recognized that they were breaking the bonds of kinship and disregarding what was right. They therefore decided one night to revoke what they had previously agreed to, and to free themselves thereof.

“They discovered, however, that God had dispatched woodworm to attack their documents; they devoured everything making reference to their pact.

“It is said that these documents were hung from the ceiling of the temple. Every reference to God’s name was devoured; all that remained was material relating to polytheism, injustice and destruction of ties of kindred.

“God, the Almighty and Glorious, made His messenger aware of what He had done to their documents, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told this to Abū Ṭālib.

“But Abū Ṭālib responded, ‘No! May the stars never mislead me!’

“He then hurried off with a band of the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and went to the mosque which was full of Quraysh. When the latter saw them heading for them they were surprised, believing them to be doing so because of the extent of their suffering and that they were coming to deliver the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to them.

“Abū Ṭālib spoke to them as follows: ‘Various things we don’t need to tell you of have occurred between you. Bring now your deeds referring to the pacts you have made; perhaps now there can be peace between us all.’

“The reason he said this was because he was afraid they might look at the deeds before bringing them.

“They did now bring them down, proud of them and not doubting that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was to be delivered to them. They placed them down, saying, ‘Well, the time has come for you to proceed to a reconciliation with your people. Only one man has caused this rupture between us. You have placed him in a position where he has brought the danger of destruction and corruption to your people.’

“Abū Ṭālib responded, ‘I have only come to you now to offer you justice. My nephew has informed me – and he never lied to me – that God will have no part of that document there before you and that He has erased all of His names from it, leaving only references to your treachery, your breaking of the bonds of kinship and your unjust public demonstrations against us.

"If what my nephew has said is so, then you should recognize that and, by God, we will never surrender him to you before the last of us is dead!

"But if what he said is false, then we will deliver him to you for you to kill or to spare his life.'

"We'll agree to that', they replied.

"They then opened up the deed and found that he (Muḥammad), the truthful and the trustworthy (ṢAAS) had proved correct. When Quraysh saw it to be as Abū Ṭālib had said, they said, 'By God, this has to be some magic done by your man!'

"They then reneged and reverted to even worse impiety and violence against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than before, doing their best to destroy him as they had formerly compacted.

"That group of men of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib responded by saying, 'It is others, not us, who are more blameworthy in telling lies and using magic. We very well know that the boycott of us you agreed on was closer to sorcery and magic than what we did. If you had not agreed to use magic the deeds before you would not have been spoiled and God's name would not have been erased while reference to your evil was retained. Is it we who rely on magic, or you?'"

"Thereafter some men of 'Abd Manāf and Quṣayy, along with those of Quraysh born to women of the Banū Hāshim, including Abū al-Bakhturī, al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī, Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra, Zam'ā b. al-Aswad and Hishām b. 'Amr, of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy (the last-mentioned having had charge of the deed), along with other prominent members of their community, stated that they disavowed the action.

"To this Abū Jahl, God damn him, responded, 'But this matter is not revocable!'

"Abū Ṭālib spoke verses regarding their deed and praised the men who had disavowed their former agreement, and he also commended the Negus."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Our sheikh, Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, also related it thus, that is through Ibn Lahī'a, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, meaning in the same context as that given by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, God bless him."

We have previously told of Mūsā b. 'Uqba that he stated, "The migration to Abyssinia only occurred following their entry into the enclave, and was the result of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having told them to do so." But God knows best.

I observe that it is most likely that Abū Ṭālib spoke his *lāmiyya*, his ode rhyming in 'I', as previously quoted, also only after they went into the enclave. And so making reference to it here is most appropriate. But God knows best.

Thereafter al-Bayhaqī related, through Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out to fulfil the mission entrusted to him, the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib undertook to

protect him and refused to deliver him. Even though they were opposed to him and were engaged in the same religion as their people at large, they were none the less reluctant to humiliate themselves and deliver him over, conscious of the loathing Quraysh had for him.

"The Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib having taken their stand and Quraysh having recognized that they had no access to Muḥammad, they met and agreed to write a document defining their relationship to the Banū Hāshim and the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. They agreed that they would not marry them nor allow their women to marry them, nor engage in buying or selling with them. They wrote a document to that effect which they hung up in the *ka'ba*.

"They then attacked the Muslims, restricting their movements and subjecting them to violence. Their plight and insecurity became extreme."

Thereafter Ibn Ishāq related the story in full, telling of their entry into the enclave of Abū Ṭālib and of the severe trouble they suffered there, to such a degree that their children would be overheard inside writhing with the pangs of hunger.

Eventually most Quraysh regretted their plight and expressed their hatred for their accursed document. They then told how God, in His mercy, sent down woodworm against the document and these demolished every word relating to God, leaving therein only what referred to evil, to the boycott and to slanderous talk. Also related was how God Almighty informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this and how he told this to his uncle Abū Ṭālib.

He then went on to mention in full the remainder of the story as narrated by Mūsā b. 'Uqba.

Ibn Hishām stated, from Ziyād, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, "And when Quraysh saw that the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone to live in a land where they had attained security and where the Negus had offered his protection to those seeking refuge with him, that 'Umar had accepted Islam and had now, along with Ḥamza, joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, and that Islam was spreading out into the tribes, they met and decided to write down a document. This would record their mutual agreement concerning the Banū Hāshim and the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. It specified that they would neither marry with them nor offer their womenfolk into marriage with them nor engage in any buying or selling with them. Having agreed to this, they wrote it down in a deed to which they gave their solemn pledge. They then suspended the document inside the *ka'ba* in affirmation of this.

"The man who wrote out the document was Maṣṣūr b. 'Ikrima b. 'Āmir b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy."

Ibn Hishām said, "He was also named as al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said prayers against him and he lost the use of some of his fingers."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The man who wrote down the agreement was Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-ʿAbdari." My own view is that it is well established that the man was Maṣṣūr b. ʿIkrima, as Ibn Ishāq related. It was he who lost the use of a hand; Quraysh used to say among themselves, "Look what happened to Maṣṣūr b. ʿIkrima!"

Al-Wāqidi said, "And the document was suspended in the middle of the *kaʿba*."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Quraysh had done this the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib allied with Abū Ṭālib and entered his enclave and joined forces with him.

"But Abū Lahab b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib left the Banū Hāshim and gave his support to Quraysh.

"Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh related to me that Abū Lahab met Hind, daughter of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa when he parted with his own people and gave his support to Quraysh against them. He asked her, 'O daughter of ʿUtba, have I not given my support to al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā and broken with those who have abandoned them and given their support against them?'

"Yes, indeed,' she replied. 'And may God reward you well, O Abū ʿUtba!'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "I was told that one of the things he would say was, 'Muḥammad promises me things I do not see that he claims to exist after death. What apart from that had he put in my hands?'

"He then blew into his hands and addressed them thus: 'May you both perish! I see nothing in you of what Muḥammad talks!'

"And so God Almighty sent down His words: 'May the hands of Abū Lahab perish, and may he perish too!'" (*sūrat al-Lahab*; CVI, v.1).

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When Quraysh had agreed in this way and acted towards him as they did, Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses:

'O do announce our disagreement to the Luʿayy, to those Luʿayy of the Banū Kaʿb:

Do you not know that we have found Muḥammad to be a prophet like Moses of whom it is written in the very first books?

And that among men there is love for him and that none is better than those endowed by God with love,

And that the document you have put up is an evil thing, like the raging young camel?³

Wake up, wake up before the moist earth is dug (for your graves) and those without sin will be just like sinners.

Do not follow the orders of those who lie, and so cut your ties with us after friendship and kinship,

Drawing on an endless warfare; and the milk of war can turn very bitter to those who taste it.

3. Apparently a reference to the camel of Ṣāliḥ which was killed by his people, Thamūd, contrary to his express wish. See *sūrat al-Shuʿarāʾ*; XXVI, v.155–8.

We will not, by the Lord of the temple, deliver up Aḥmad because of the tribulations of time or the agony,

And when our necks and hands and yours will otherwise be cut by glinting blades of Qusāsī steel.⁴

In a narrow battlefield where broken spears will be seen, over which vultures hover, like drinkers at a party,

And the space where the horsemen gallop and the heroes cry out will make it like a battle in a war.

Was our forefather Hāshim not courageous, and did he not advise his sons to thrust and to strike?

We do not tire of warfare before it tires of us, nor do we complain at whatever misfortunes may strike.

We are people who stay firm and prudent at times when the spirits of brave men fly off in terror.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “And they remained under those conditions for two or three years in the utmost distress, with nothing getting into them unless secretly, from those members of Quraysh who wanted to keep ties with them.

“Abū Jahl b. Hishām, so they say, met Ḥākim b. Hizām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave bearing wheat for Hizām’s aunt Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, who was in the enclave along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Jahl took hold of him and said, ‘Are you taking food to the Banū Hāshim? I swear, you’ll not go, you and your food, without me making a scandal about you in Mecca!’

“Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad then came up to him and asked, ‘What’s going on between you and him?’

“He replied, ‘He’s carrying food into the Banū Hāshim.’

“Abū al-Bakhtari commented, ‘This is food belonging to his aunt that she had sent him and he had at home. Would you prevent him from taking to her her own food? Get out of the man’s way!’

“But Abū Jahl, God damn him, refused and they began to fight. Abū al-Bakhtari picked up a camel’s jawbone and struck him with it, giving him a head wound. He then stomped on him.

“Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was nearby and saw all this. But they did not like to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions of this incident lest they gloat over them.”

THOSE WHO MOCKED.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued as before, calling upon his people by day and night, secretly and openly, calling out the commands of God Almighty, fearing no man.

4. Swords of Qusas were renowned for their high quality.

God having provided the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with protection against Quraysh through the aid of his uncle and his relatives of the Banū Hāshim and the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Quraysh were unable to treat him with the violence they wished. Consequently they set about mocking, ridiculing him and disputing with him.

The Qur'ān then began coming down concerning the evil deeds of Quraysh and those who had declared themselves to be his enemies.

Some of these were mentioned by name to us, while others were inferred among those polytheists to whom general reference was made.

Ibn Ishāq mentions Abū Lahab and the revelation of a chapter concerning him; also, he referred to Umayya b. Khalaf and the revelation of the words of the Almighty, "Woe to every defaming slanderer!" (*sūrat al-Humaza*; CIV, v.1). The whole *sūrat* refers to the latter man.

Also there was reference to al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il in the revelation, "And have you then seen him who disbelieved in our signs and who said, 'Certainly I will be awarded wealth and children'" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.77). Some part of this has been quoted previously.

And then there was Abū Jahl b. Hishām and his saying to the Prophet of God (ṢAAS), "You had better stop insulting our gods, or we will insult your God whom you worship." Regarding this, God's revelation came: "Do not insult those whom they worship besides God, for they, in enmity and without knowledge, will insult God" (*sūrat al-An'ām*; VI, v.108).

Also, there was al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada b. 'Alqama, or 'Alqama b. Kalada according to al-Suhayli and others, who used to sit down after the Prophet of God (ṢAAS) had finished one of his sessions in which he would recite the Qur'ān and pray to God. Al-Naḍr would then narrate tales of Rustum and Isfandiyār and the wars between them in ancient Persia. Then he would comment, "I swear by God, Muḥammad is no better a story-teller than me. His talk is only of ancient legends from which he borrows, just as I do."

And so God Almighty sent down: "And they say: 'These are only legends of the Ancients that he has borrowed; they are dictated to him morning and evening'" (*sūrat al-Furqān*; XXV, v.5). And also: "Woe to every sinful liar" (*sūrat al-Jāthiyā*; XLV, v.7).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "One day, so we have been told, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down in the mosque with al-Walid b. al-Mughīra. Al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith came over and sat with them; also present were several men of Quraysh.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke, but al-Naḍr argued with him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then addressed al-Naḍr and ultimately silenced him. Having done so, he then recited to them all, 'You, along with that which you worship besides God, are the firewood for hell; you are on your way there. Were these gods they would not be ending up there; and all there will remain therein forever. Therein wailing is their lot, and therein they hear not' (*sūrat al-Anbiyā*; XXI, v.98-100).

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose just as ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā al-Sahmī approached and sat down.

“Al-Walid b. al-Mughīra spoke to him, ‘I swear, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith’s foregoing argument with Ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (i.e. Muḥammad) was indeed short lived! Muḥammad (silenced him by) claiming that we and those gods of ours we worship are to be firewood for hell-fire!’

“‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā replied, ‘If I’d found him saying that, I’d have disputed with him. Ask Muḥammad: “Is everything besides God that is worshipped, along with those who worship them, to be firewood for hell? We worship angels, the Jews worship ‘Uzayr, and the Christians worship Jesus.”’

“Al-Walid and those with him at the meeting were impressed by what Ibn al-Zibaʿrā had said, and thought he had made a cogent and winning argument.

“This was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who replied, ‘All those wanting to be worshipped aside from God will be there in hell with those who worship them. Those people merely worship devils, and those they (the devils) have ordered them to worship.’

“God Almighty then revealed, “Those to whom good has already gone from us will be kept far away from it (hell). They will not hear its slightest sound, but will remain forever in what it is they have so desired” (*sūrat al-Anbiyāʾ*; XXI; v.101–2).

This verse is referring to Jesus, ‘Uzayr and those rabbis and monks who lived in obedience to God Almighty. And regarding their assertion that they were worshipping angels and that these were the daughters of God, He sent down: “And they say that God the Beneficent has taken a son for himself. All glory be to Him! No, (not that) but they are honoured servants” (*sūrat al-Anbiyāʾ*; XXI, v.26).

And then there were the verses following that.

Concerning the good impression made upon the polytheists by what al-Zibaʿrā said, God sent down: “And when the son of Mary is mentioned as an example, your people make a great outcry. They ask, ‘Are our gods better, or is he?’ They only raise this objection for argument’s sake. They really are contentious people!” (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*; XLIII, v.57–8).

This argumentation they pursued was futile.

And they were aware of that, because they were an Arab people. It is part of their language that *mā*, i.e. “that which,” in the above quotation implies in Arabic something that does not think. The statement: “You, along with that which you worship besides God are the firewood for hell; you are on your way there” (*sūrat al-Anbiyāʾ*; XXI, v.98) refers to the rocks fashioned as idols. It does not include the angels that they claimed to be worshipping inside these images. Nor does it include Jesus, ‘Uzayr or any of the holy persons because that item of language, *mā*, cannot include them, directly or by implication.

They well knew that the comparison they were making to Jesus, son of Mary, was futile. As the Almighty stated, “They only raise this objection for argument’s sake. They really are contentious people” (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*; XLIII, v.57–8).

God also stated, "He", (meaning Jesus) "was merely a servant whom We favoured" (that is, by prophethood) "and We made him an example for the people of Israel" (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*; XLIII, v.59). That is, as an indication of the totality of God's power to achieve His wishes, having created him from a female without a male. Similarly, God created Eve from a male without a female, and Adam without either, while He created all the rest of mankind from both male and female.

As God stated in another verse, "And certainly We are creating him as a sign for all mankind." That is, as a proof and an indication of His evident power, and as a "mercy from Him", by which He gives mercy to those He wishes.

Ibn Ishāq also mentions al-Akhnas b. Sharif and Almighty God's revelation regarding him: "And do not obey every base oath-maker" (*sūrat Nūn* or *al-Qalam*; LXVIII, v.10).

He referred also to al-Walid b. al-Mughira as having said, "Does God make revelation to Muḥammad and not me, even though I am chief and leader of Quraysh and also ignores Abū Mas'ūd 'Amr b. 'Amr al-Thaqafi, lord of Thaqif, even though we are the greatest men of the two towns?"⁵ Regarding this statement, God sent down: "And they say, 'Why was this Qur'ān not revealed to some great men of the two towns?'" (*sūrat al-Zukhruf*; XLIII, v.31), along with other verses thereafter.

Ibn Ishāq also referred to Ubayy b. Khalaf who said to 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayt, "Have I not heard that you sat down with Muḥammad and listened to him? I'll never set eyes on you again unless you spit in his face!" And 'Uqba, that enemy of God, God damn him, did that! And so God sent down, "And a day (will come) when the evil-doer will bite his hands and say, 'Would that I had taken my path with the Messenger; woe is to me! How I wish I had not taken so-and-so as my friend!'" (*sūrat al-Furqān*; XXV, v.27, 28), along with following verses.

He also related, "And Ubayy b. Khalaf took an old, disintegrating bone to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, do you claim that God can restore this after it has disintegrated?' He then crumbled it in his hand and blew it into the air towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He replied, 'Yes, I do say that. God will restore it and you too, even after you are like that. And then He will place you in the fire!' And God revealed, 'He coins a metaphor for us, forgetting his own creation, saying, "Who will give life to bones that are rotten?" Say, "He will give life to them who first created them! He has knowledge of all creation"' (*sūrat Yāsīn*; XXXVI, v.78–9) to the end of that *sūrat*.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "I have been told that once, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was making a circumambulation of the *ka'ba*, near its doorway, he was obstructed by al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib, al-Walid b. al-Mughira, Umayya b. Khalaf and al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il. They said to him, 'O Muḥammad, come on! We'll

5. Thaqif were associated with al-Ṭā'if.

worship what you do if you'll worship what we do. Let's just co-operate, you and us, in the whole thing!'

"Regarding them God revealed, 'Say: "O you disbelievers! I will not worship what you worship"' (*sūrat al-Kāfirūn*; CIX; v.1-2).

"When Abū Jahl heard reference to the *al-zaqqūm* tree, he said, 'Do you know what this *al-zaqqūm* is? It is dates mashed in butter!' He added, 'Bring it along; we'll enjoy it!'

"And so God revealed, 'The *zaqqūm* tree is the food of sinners'" (*sūrat al-Dukhān*; XLIV, v.43-4).

Ibn Ishāq also related, "Al-Walid b. al-Mughīra was standing talking with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was addressing him, wishing to convert him to Islam, when Ibn Umm Maktūm, that is, the son of 'Ātika, daughter of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ankatha, passed by. Ibn Umm Maktūm, who was blind, addressed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and began asking him to recite the Qur'ān. This so upset the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as to anger him, and this was because he was interfering with his efforts to convert al-Walid to Islam as he was hoping.

"When the blind man persisted, he turned away from him frowning and ignored him. And so God Almighty sent down, '... and he frowned and turned away when the blind man came to him ...' up to the words, '... exalted, purified'" (*sūrat 'Abasa*; LXXX, v.1-14).

It is also said that the person who was talking to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Ibn Umm Maktūm came along was Umayya b. Khalaf. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq then related the names of those who returned to Mecca from the migration to Abyssinia. They did so when news reached them of the adoption of Islam by the Meccans. This information was incorrect, though there was a reason for it.

What is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of traditions and elsewhere is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down one day with the polytheists and God revealed to him, "By the star when it sets, your companion has not gone astray" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.1-2). When he had recited this *sūrat* completely, he prostrated in prayer as did the Muslims, polytheists and spirits all.

But that (the prostrations of the polytheists along with the Muslims) had a reason which is mentioned by exegetes in their commentary on the words of Almighty God, "And we did not send before you any messenger or any prophet without him wishing something and the devil then influencing his wish; and so God annuls whatever the devil has inspired, and affirms His own signs. And God is knowledgeable, wise" (*sūrat al-Ḥajj*; XXII, v.52). They then refer to the story of the *gharāniq*.⁶

6. The word seems to have two possible connotations. It can mean either a high-flying crane or a particularly attractive young person, male or female. At issue here are two verses said, in the

We preferred to refrain from mentioning it openly here lest it come to the attention of those unable to place it in context. The origins of the story are, however, present in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abū Ma'mar related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, quoting Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) prostrated himself in prayer having recited *sūrat al-Najm*, and all the Muslims, the polytheists and men and spirits alike prostrated too."

Al-Bukhārī is unique in giving this tradition; Muslim does not relate it.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to us, as did Ghundar and Shu'ba, from Abū Ishāq, who said, 'I heard al-Aswad say, quoting 'Abd Allāh, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) recited *sūrat al-Najm* in Mecca and prostrated in prayer. And those there with him also prostrated except for one old man who picked up a handful of dust or dirt which he raised to his forehead, saying, 'This suffices for me.' And later I saw him killed as an unbeliever."'"

Muslim related this, as did Abū Dāūd and al-Nasā'ī, from a *ḥadīth* from Shu'ba.

Imām Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) stated that Ibrāhīm recounted to him, saying, "Rabbāh related to us, from Ma'mar, from Ibn Tāwūs, from 'Ikrima b. Khālīd, from Ja'far b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadā'a, who heard his father say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited *sūrat al-Najm* in Mecca and then prostrated, and all those there with him did the same. But I lifted up my head, declining to prostrate.' Al-Muṭṭalib had not then accepted Islam. After that he never heard anyone recite *sūrat al-Najm* without him prostrating along with the reciter."

Al-Nasā'ī related this from 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid, from the account of Aḥmad b. Hanbal.

It may be gathered from this account and the preceding one that this man did prostrate, but then raised his head in pride. However, the old man whom Ibn Mas'ūd considered an exception did not prostrate at all. But God knows best.

What is implied here is that when the narrator saw that the polytheists had prostrated themselves in imitation of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he believed that they had accepted Islam, made peace with him and that there was no longer any dispute between them.

The news of that quickly spread and reached the Emigrants in Abyssinia, and they believed it to be true. A group of them, hoping that was so, came back, while another group remained there. Each of them was well intentioned and correct in acting as they did.

Ibn Ishāq gave the names of all of them that returned. These were: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Urba b. Rabi'a and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl, 'Abd Allāh

works of tradition, to have immediately followed the reference to the goddesses of pre-Islam, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt, in *sūrat al-Najm*, v.19, 20. These extra verses, not in the Qur'ān but preserved in the tradition literature, suggest that these goddesses are *gharāniq* and that their intercession is to be hoped for on judgment day.

b. Jahsh b. Ri'āb, ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Muṣ'ab b. ʿUmayr, Suwaybiṭ b. Sa'd, Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAwf, al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad and his wife Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira, and Shammās b. ʿUthmān.

Also there were Salama b. Hishām and ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa who were imprisoned in Mecca until after the battles of Badr, Uhud and *al-khandaq*.

There is some dispute over ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, as to whether or not he ever went to Abyssinia.

There also returned Muʿattib b. ʿAwf, ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, his son al-Sāʿib, along with his two brothers Qudāma and ʿAbd Allāh, both sons of Mazʿūn. Then there were Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa and Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil, the latter being imprisoned in Mecca until after the battle of *al-khandaq*. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa and his wife Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathma, also returned, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Makhrama.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr also returned, but he was imprisoned until the battle of Badr, when he joined the Muslims and fought on their side.

Also Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruḥm returned, along with his wife Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Suhayl. As did al-Sakrān b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams and his wife Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa. He died in Mecca before the migration to Medina and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), thereafter married his widow.

Sa'd b. Khawlā, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāh, ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr, Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ and ʿAmr b. Abū Sarḥ also returned.

They totalled 33 men; may God be pleased with them!

Al-Bukhārī stated, “ʿĀʾisha reported that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I was given a vision of your abode in exile, a place of date-palms between two tracts of black stones.’”

Some (of those who had returned from Abyssinia) then migrated to Medina, while the rest of those who had remained in Abyssinia did so as well.

And there is a report to this effect from Abū Mūsā and Asmāʾ, God be pleased with them both, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Already mentioned above is the account of Abū Mūsā, that being in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. The account of Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, will come later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust. Her story relates to what happened after the battle of Khaybar, when the latecomers from among the emigrants to Abyssinia arrived.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Yaḥyā b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, from Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm, from ʿAlqama, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘We used to greet the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he prayed, and he would reply to us. But when we came back from the land of the Negus we would greet him the same way, but he would not reply. So we said to him, “O Messenger of God, when we used to greet you, you would reply to us. But since our return from the land of the Negus, you don’t reply.’”

"He responded, 'Prayer keeps one engrossed.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī, by different chains of authority, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān, from al-A'mash.

This substantiates the interpretation of those who explain the authentic account of Zayd b. Arqam that is in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections: "We used to talk during the prayer, until God's revealed verse was sent down, 'Stand up before God in humility' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.238). And so we were ordered to remain silent and were forbidden to talk."

However, those referred to here were the "Companions of the Prophet" generally, for Zayd himself was a "Companion", (but) from Medina, and the prohibition against speaking during the prayer was established in Mecca. And so the report is being applied to what had gone before.

Regarding his reference to this particular verse which is of the Medina period, it is indeed difficult to explain. Perhaps he believed that it was this verse that prohibited speaking during the prayers, when in fact there were other prohibitions of it along with it. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Among those emigrants who returned under an agreement of protection, or named to us as such, were 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'un, protected by al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad, protected by his uncle Abū Ṭālib; his mother was Barra, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

"Regarding 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'un, Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Awf related to me from someone who was told the following about 'Uthmān, 'When 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'un saw the plight of the followers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he himself was able to come and go freely under the protection of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, he said, "By God, here I am moving about freely under the protection of a polytheist while my friends and followers in religion suffer harm and insult for God that do not afflict me, and this constitutes a great deficiency in me!"

"So off he went to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra and told him, 'O Abū 'Abd al-Shams, you have fulfilled your pledge, but now I'm giving back to you your protection.'

"'Why is that, cousin?' he asked. 'Has any one of my people harmed you?'

"'No,' he replied, 'it's just that what I want is the protection of God, the Almighty and Glorious. I don't want the protection of anyone else.'

"'Well then,' al-Walīd said, 'you should go to the mosque and give me my protection back in public, just as I declared my protection over you.'

"And so they both did go to the mosque, where al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra announced, 'This is 'Uthmān, and he has come to relieve me of my protection of him.'

"'Uthmān said, 'He speaks the truth. I have found him to be trustworthy and honourable in his protection, but I prefer to be protected only by God. I have given him back his pledge of protection.'

“‘Uthmān, God bless him, then left and joined an assembly of Quraysh who were being addressed by Labīd b. Rabī‘a b. Mālīk b. Ja‘far. ‘Uthmān sat down with them. Labīd spoke a verse:

‘Is not all but God vanity?’

“‘Uthmān commented, ‘You speak the truth!’

“Labīd then said,

‘And all pleasures must fade.’

“At this ‘Uthmān protested, ‘You lie! The pleasures of paradise will last forever!’

“Labīd commented, ‘O men of Quraysh, those who sat with you used not to be so insulted; when did this come about so?’

“One man replied, ‘This is just one of those fools allied with him; they have abandoned our faith. Don’t take to heart what he says.’

“‘Uthmān spoke back to this man and they became angry with one another. The other man then got up and hit ‘Uthmān in the eye, making it black. Al-Walīd, who was nearby and saw what had happened to ‘Uthmān, commented, ‘Well, nephew, your eye didn’t need to suffer so; earlier you were fully protected!’

“‘Uthmān replied, ‘Not so; I swear the only problem is that my good eye is in need of what the other one suffered for God’s sake! Actually I am under the protection of One stronger and more capable than yourself, O Abū ‘Abd al-Shams!’

“To this al-Walīd replied, ‘Come on now, nephew, just come back under my protection.’

“‘No,’ ‘Uthmān told him.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Regarding Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Asad: my father, Ishāq b. Yasār related to me that Salama b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Salama told him that when Abū Salama sought the protection of Abū Ṭālib some men of the Banū Makhzūm went to the latter and asked him, ‘O Abū Ṭālib, you’ve already given protection from us to your nephew Muḥammad; how is it you are now doing the same for one of our own men?’

“Abū Ṭālib replied, ‘He sought out my protection, and he is my sister’s son. And if I am not to protect my sister’s son, how could I protect my brother’s son?’

“Abū Lahab then arose and said, ‘O men of Quraysh, you’ve treated this sheikh harshly; and you’re constantly attacking him for giving protection to his own people. Either put an end to this, or let’s all take his side in this so he attains his goal.’

“They replied, ‘All right, Abū Lahab, we’ll stop behaving contrary to your wishes.’ He had been their ally and assistant against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and they wanted to maintain that.

“Abū Ṭālib had high hopes of him when he heard him speak thus and anticipated his aid regarding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And so he spoke the

following verses urging Abū Lahab to support himself and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

'A man with Abū 'Uṭayba as his uncle is secure from harm as in a pasture;
I tell him – though how could my advice benefit him – O Abū Mu'tib, hold your ground firmly,

And do not as long as you live accept a course you'll be blamed for, whenever you attend a gathering,

Leave the path of the weak to others than yourself, for you were not created to stay weak,

And fight, for fighting is just and you will never see a real warrior humbled until he surrenders.

And why is it, when they have done you no great harm, nor abandoned you when having victory or defeat?

May God punish 'Abd Shams, Nawfal, Taym and Makhzūm for us with disaster and death,

For their deserting our alliance after friendship and affection in order to attain things forbidden.

You lie, by God's temple! Us dispossess Muḥammad? Not even at the enclave did you see (us) turn against (him)."

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted one verse from this poem."

An Account of the determination of Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", to emigrate to Abyssinia.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "I was told by Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, that when Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', God be pleased with him, experienced suffering in Mecca and witnessed the antagonism of Quraysh for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his own supporters, he asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to move away and he granted him this request.

"And so Abū Bakr, God bless him, did leave and, having travelled a day or two away from Mecca, was met by Ibn al-Daghina, brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna, who was at that time the leader of the Aḥābish."

Al-Wāqidī gave this man's name as al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd, he being of the tribe of Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna. Al-Suhaylī, however, gave his name as Mālik.

('Ā'isha continued) "'What are you heading for, Abū Bakr?' the man asked. Abū Bakr replied, 'My people have offended me, treated me badly and forced me to leave.'

"'Why is that? By God, you're a credit to the tribe, aiding those in distress, and you are kindly towards the needy. Go back; you are under my protection!'

"He did return with him and, back in Mecca, Ibn al-Daghina stood up with him and stated, 'O Quraysh, I have placed the son of Abū Quḥāfa under my protection. Let no man do anything but good to him.'

“And they did leave him alone.”

Ā'isha went on, “Abū Bakr used to have a mosque at the gate of his home among the Banū Jumah and there he would pray. He was a very sensitive man and would shed tears when reciting the Qur'ān. Young men, slaves and women would stand nearby astonished at his behaviour.

“Some Quraysh men went to Ibn Daghina and told him, ‘O Ibn Daghina, surely you didn’t protect this man to harm us? When he prays and recites what Muḥammad brought he is moved (to tears) and he then attracts attention; we fear that he may influence our young men, women and the weak. Go and tell him to go inside his house, where he can do as he wishes.’”

She went on, “So Ibn al-Daghina did go to Abū Bakr and told him, ‘I didn’t give you protection so that you could do your people harm. They take offence at the place you attend and feel that you are harming them. Go inside your house and do there whatever it is you want.’

“(Abū Bakr asked) ‘So shall I give you back your protection and rely on God?’

“‘Do return my protection.’”

“‘Consider it returned.’”

“Ibn al-Daghina then stood and stated, ‘O Quraysh, the son of Abū Quḥāfa has given me back my protection over him. Do with him whatever you wish.’”

The Imām al-Bukhārī alone gives an account of this *ḥadīth* and his account is nicely expanded. He stated, “Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to me, quoting al-Layth, from ‘Uqayl, Ibn Shihāb stated, and ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr informed me, that ‘Ā'isha, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘I have no consciousness of my parents not actively participating in the faith. Not a day would pass for us without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) coming to us, either early in the day or late.

“‘And when the Muslims were being persecuted Abū Bakr left, travelling in the direction of Abyssinia. When he reached Bark al-Ghimād, he was met by Ibn al-Daghina, who was chief of the Qāra. The latter asked him where he was heading. Abū Bakr replied, ‘My people expelled me, and so I want to travel in the land praying to my Lord.’”

“‘Ibn al-Daghina commented, ‘But men like you, Abū Bakr, neither leave nor are expelled. You are charitable, maintain family ties, make sacrifices for others, are hospitable, and help out in times of disaster. I shall be your protector. So go back and worship your Lord in your own land.’”

“‘So he went back and Ibn al-Daghina travelled with him. At evening Ibn al-Daghina made the rounds of the Quraysh chiefs and told them, ‘The like of Abū Bakr does not leave, nor is he expelled! Would you exile a man who is charitable, maintains family ties, makes sacrifices for others, is hospitable to guests, and helps out in times of disaster?’”

“‘Quraysh did not deny Ibn al-Daghina’s right to give protection, but asked him, ‘Tell Abū Bakr to worship his Lord inside his house; there he can recite

what he likes without harming us or advertising it. We're concerned that he might subvert our women and sons."

"Ibn al-Daghina told that to Abū Bakr and the latter did therefore pray to his Lord in his house, without announcing what he was doing, and he recited only at home. But later Abū Bakr decided to build a mosque in the courtyard of his house and there he would pray and recite the Qur'ān. The women of the polytheists and their sons would crowd around staring at him in wonder; Abū Bakr was a man prone to tears, and he could not restrain his eyes when he recited the Qur'ān.

"This upset the polytheist Quraysh leaders and they sent for Ibn al-Daghina. When he came, they told him, "We've acknowledged your protection of Abū Bakr on the understanding that he would worship his Lord in his house. But he has gone beyond that, built himself a mosque in his courtyard and openly prays and recites there. We're concerned that he will subvert our young men and our womenfolk. Make him stop. If he will restrict himself to worship at home, then well and good. But if he insists on so doing only in full view, then ask him to give back to you your protection. We don't want to break with you, but we cannot agree for Abū Bakr to advertise."

"Ā'isha went on, 'Ibn al-Daghina then went to Abū Bakr and told him, "You know what it was I agreed to with you. Either you restrict yourself to that, or give me back my protection. I don't want the Arabs to hear it said that I've had my covenant broken because of a man to whom I had given my protection."

"Abū Bakr replied, "Then I give you back your protection and will rely on that of God, Almighty and Glorious is He."'"

Al-Bukhārī then recounted the rest of the tradition concerning the emigration of Abū Bakr, God bless him, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as will be described hereafter.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, the son of b. Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', as follows: 'He was confronted – that is Abū Bakr was confronted – after he had left the protection of Ibn al-Daghina, on his way to the *ka'ba* by some fool from Quraysh who tossed dirt up over his head. Then al-Walid b. al-Mughira – or perhaps it was al-Āṣ b. Wā'il – passed by Abū Bakr, who spoke as follows: "Don't you see how this idiot is behaving?" He was told, "You brought this on yourself." Meanwhile Abū Bakr kept repeating, "O God, how forbearing You are!"'"

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq made mention of these incidents to show the contradiction between the pact made by Quraysh with the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, and their drafting of that damnable document against the latter and their confinement to the enclave, with all the resultant consequences. These are matters appropriate for consideration in this era. Al-Shāfi'ī, God be pleased with

him, therefore stated, "He who wishes to know about the *maghāzī*, the early military engagements, is reliant upon Ibn Ishāq."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "While the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib were living in their house assigned to them by Quraysh in the document they had written, a certain group of Quraysh set about abrogating that document.

"No one took more pains to do this than Hishām b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabib b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy; this was because he was the nephew of Naḍla b. Hishām b. 'Abd Manāf by his mother, and Hishām had close ties to the Banū Hāshim. He was, moreover, deemed highly by his people.

"When, at night, the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib were restricted to their building in the enclave, he would, as I have been told, bring up a camel loaded down with food. When he reached the entrance to the enclave he would release the halter from the camel's head and strike its side to send it on down to them. Next time he would bring it loaded with wheat and do the same.

"He went to Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm, whose mother was 'Ātika, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and said, 'Zuhayr, does it please you to eat and dress well and to marry women while your uncles are where you know them to be, engaging in no buying nor selling, arranging no marriages, nor having any arranged with them? For my part, I swear that if they were the uncles of Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām and you were to ask him to treat them as you have been asked to do, he would never have agreed to your request.'

"'Shame on you, Hishām! What can I do? I'm just one man. If someone else would join me, I'd set about abrogating it.'

"Hishām replied, 'You have found one such man.' 'Who is that?' he asked. 'Myself,' came the answer. 'Well,' Zuhayr went on, 'find us a third then.'

"And so Hishām went to al-Muṭ'īm b. 'Adī and told him, 'Muṭ'īm, are you pleased to have two clans of the Banū 'Abd Manāf suffer while you look on, in agreement with Quraysh about that? By God, if you enable them to do this they will soon be treating you the same way.'

"'Damn it! What am I to do? I'm just one man,' Muṭ'īm commented.

"Hishām replied, 'I have found you a second.' 'Who?' 'Myself.'

"'Then find a third,' Muṭ'īm asked. 'I already have.'

"'Who is that?'

"'Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya.'

"'Then find us a fourth,' asked Muṭ'īm.

"So Hishām went to Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām and told him what he had said to Muṭ'īm b. 'Adī.

"Abū al-Bakhtari asked, 'Can you find anyone else to help in this?'

"'Yes, I can,' Hishām replied.

"'Who?' he asked.

"'Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya, Muṭ'īm b. 'Adī and myself are with you.'

"'Find us a fifth,' he asked.

“And so Hishām went to Zam‘a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, spoke to him and reminded him of their kinship and their rights.

“‘Is there anyone else helping in what you are inviting me to do?’ asked Zam‘a.

“‘Indeed yes,’ Hishām replied, naming the others.

“And so they agreed to meet at night on the promontory of Mt. al-Ḥajūn on the upper outskirts of Mecca. There they met and agreed to defy the document until they were able to revoke it. Zuhayr told them, ‘I will begin and be the first to speak out.’

“Next morning they went off to their assembly meeting and Zuhayr attended wearing a ceremonial robe. He made seven circumambulations of the *ka‘ba* then went before the gathering and said, ‘O people of Mecca, shall we eat all kinds of food and dress at will while the Banū Hāshim are in distress, unable to engage in any trade? By God, I won’t take my seat until this damnable boycott document is torn up!’

“Abū Jahl, who was over to one side of the mosque, retorted, ‘By God, it will not be torn up!’

“Zam‘a b. al-Asad then said, ‘By God, you are the worst liar! We weren’t pleased with the document when it was written.’

“‘Zam‘a speaks the truth,’ Abū al-Bakhtarī joined in. ‘We do not like or agree to what is written there.’

“Al-Mu‘ṭim b. ‘Adī then spoke up, ‘You are both right, and anyone denying that is a liar. We are innocent before God of the document and what is written on it.’

“Hishām b. ‘Amr then stated something similar.

“Abū Jahl observed, ‘This is something decided at night, something discussed elsewhere.’

“Meanwhile, Abū Ṭālib was seated to one side of the mosque.

“Al-Mu‘ṭim b. ‘Adī then arose to tear up the document but discovered that worms had already consumed it, all except for the words, ‘In your name, O God!’

“It was Manṣūr b. ‘Ikrima who had written it and, so they say, his hand had become paralysed.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Some scholars relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Abū Ṭālib, ‘Uncle, God has sent worms to work upon the document of Quraysh and they have left alone only names relating to God and have removed the evil, boycott and lies from it.’

“Abū Ṭālib asked, ‘Is it your Lord who told you this?’

“‘Yes,’ he replied.

“‘Well, I swear by God,’ Abū Ṭālib commented, ‘no one has come in to you.’

“Abū Ṭālib then went out to Quraysh and asked, ‘O Quraysh, my nephew has informed me of such-and-such things. Bring your document, and if it is as he says, then withdraw and remove the boycott. But if he is lying, I will hand my nephew over to you.’

“We’ll agree to that,’ they said, and so compacted.

“They then looked and found it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. But this only increased their malice.

“Thereupon the group of Quraysh men took their action to revoke the document.”

Ibn Ishāq stated that when it had been torn up and its contents revoked, Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses in praise of those who had taken action to annul the document:

“Has our Lord’s action reached our men at sea, despite their distance, for God is most kind to people,

And will tell them that the document has been torn up, and that all things that displease God come to nought.

Falsehood and deceit alternated and conjoined in it, but ultimately deceit is not bound to prevail.

Those uninvolved in it gathered together on a level plateau, while its fate remained undetermined.

It was an incident so worthy of being considered evil as to have arms and necks severed for it.

And for the people of all Mecca to leave in flight, their hearts quaking in fear of its evil,

The ploughman was left to ponder his options, whether because of it to head for low ground or for high,

So let him of Mecca’s people whose prestige intoxicates him know that our glory in Mecca’s heart is longer lived.

We grew up there when those there were few and we have always had our prestige and praise for us increase.

We fed our guests until they were forced to leave leftovers, and till the hands of those inundated with food began to give out.

God reward that group who united at al-Ḥajūn behind a chief who guides rightly and decisively,

Who sat on the heights at al-Ḥajūn as though they were kings, though even more noble and glorious than that.

Each hero helping in that, though walking with difficulty and impeded by his chainmail,

Courageously moving to great deeds, like a flame flaring in a torchbearer’s hands

Men of the most noble of Lu’ayy b. Ghālib whose faces burn in anger if they are insulted,

Men tall in stature, their swords reaching to the middle of their shanks, men for whom the clouds receive rain and bring joy.

Generous lords and sons of lords, urging their guests to eat, piling the food,

Constructing safety and paving the way for their tribesmen when we travel the country.

Every blame-free man strives to keep this peace; (every) leader of great renown for that reason.

They spent part of the night asleep then awoke quietly, while the rest still slept.

They sent back Sahl b. Bayḍā' well pleased, and Abū Bakr and Muḥammad were delighted by it.

When was it that other clans helped out in our affairs, though of old, before that, we have been well liked?

In former times we never acquiesced in injustice, and achieved our aims without using violence.

O Tribe of Quṣayy, will you not consider, and do you want what tomorrow will bring?

The relationship between you and me is like the saying, 'O Mt. Aswad, you could explain it, if only you spoke.'"

Al-Suhaylī stated, "Aswad is the name of a mountain where a man was killed without anyone discovering his murderer. And so the relatives of the dead man recited the line, 'O Mt. Aswad, you could explain it, if only you spoke.' That is, 'O Mt. Aswad, if you spoke you could explain to us who it was killed him.'"

At this point Ibn Ishāq quoted poetry of Ḥassān in praise of al-Muḥṭim b. 'Adī and Hishām b. 'Amr for their having torn up that damnable, sinful and iniquitous document.

And here too al-Umawī quoted many lines of verse, whereas we have thought what Ibn Ishāq transmitted to be sufficient.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "I asked Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 'When did the Banū Hāshim come out from the enclave?' They replied, 'In the tenth year, after the beginning of the mission that is, three years before the migration.'"

I add that in that year, following their release, Abū Ṭālib, uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, as also did his wife Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, God bless her. An account of all this will come hereafter, if God, Almighty is He, so wishes.

DIVISION

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related, following the account of the revocation of the document, many stories involving the enmity of Quraysh for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and how the Arab tribes and those making the lesser or the full pilgrimage to Mecca, or coming for some other reason, were driven away from (Muḥammad by the enemy). He also recounted how God made miracles happen through him to give proof of the veracity of the signs and guidance he brought, as well as to put to the lie the charges they were making against him of immorality, aggressiveness, deception and trickery, and accusations that he was mad, a magician, a soothsayer or a forger. But God was to give him victory.

Ibn Ishāq then related the story of al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr al-Dawsī, but with an incomplete chain of authorities.

Al-Ṭufayl was an honoured and respected man of Daws. He came to Mecca where he was met by the Quraysh chieftains, who warned him about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and forbade him to meet with him or to listen to him talk.

Al-Ṭufayl related, "By God, they kept on at me until I agreed not to hear him nor to speak to him. I even stuffed my ears with cotton when I went to the mosque to prevent myself hearing anything he said; I didn't want to listen to him.

"I went to the mosque, and there was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing in prayer at the *ka'ba*. I went over near to him, and God required me to hear some of what he said.

"And I heard wonderful speech. So I told myself, 'May my mother not be bereft! I swear, here am I, a man who is intelligent and a poet, and someone who can well distinguish good from bad! What prevents me from hearing what this man is saying? If what he says is good, I will accept it; if bad, I will reject it.'"

He went on, "So I stayed there until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off home and I followed him till he went inside his house. Then I went in to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, your people have told me such-and-such.'

He continued, "And I swear, they so scared me that I stuffed my ears with cotton so as not to hear what you say. But then God insisted on making me hear your words. And I heard fine speech. So explain your situation to me.'

Al-Ṭufayl continued, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) explained Islam to me and recited the Qur'ān to me and, I swear, I never heard words more sweet than those, nor any matter more just.

"And so I accepted Islam and bore true witness, saying, 'O Prophet of God, I am a man who is obeyed by his people. I am now returning to them and will invite them to Islam. Pray to God to give me a sign that will help me with them when I do so.'

"And so he said, 'O God, give him a sign.'

"I then left for home and travelled till I came to a pass that enabled me to look down on to my village. But then there appeared between my eyes a light like that of a lamp. I said to myself, 'O God, not right in my face, for I fear that they will think it some exemplary punishment that has struck my face for my abandoning my faith.'

"Then the light moved and alighted on the head of my whip. And the villagers watched that light atop my whip that resembled a suspended candle, and they continued to do so as I was descending to them from the pass, right until I was there among them.

"When I dismounted, my father, an aged sheikh, came over to me, but I told him, 'Off with you, father; you and I must have nothing to do with one another.'

"Why is that, my son?' he asked.

"I have accepted Islam, and adopted the religion of Muḥammad (ṢAAS).'

"Well, son, your religion shall be mine.'

"Then go and wash yourself, clean your clothing and come to me so that I can instruct you in what I have been taught."

"He did go and wash himself and cleaned his clothing. When he returned, I explained Islam to him and he accepted it.

"Then my wife came to me and I told her, 'Go away; you and I can have nothing to do with one another.'

"Why is that, my father and my mother be your ransom?"

"Islam has divided me from you; I have adopted the religion of Muḥammad (ṢAAS)."

"Well, your religion is mine," she said.

"I told her, 'Go to the *ḥimā*, the sacred shrine, of Dhū al-Sharā and purify yourself of it.' Dhū al-Sharā was an idol of Daws and the *ḥimā* was a shrine around it that they kept sacrosanct; it had a stream whose water descended from a mountain.

"She replied, 'May my father and mother ransom you, don't you fear something will happen to the children because of Dhū al-Sharā?'"

"Not at all; I guarantee that," I replied.

"She did go and wash herself and, when she returned I explained Islam to her and she accepted it.

"I then called upon the Daws tribe to accept Islam, but they resisted. I went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca. I told him, 'O Messenger of God, fornication has defeated me with Daws; say a prayer to God for them.'

"He said, 'O God, lead Daws aright.' Then he said to me, 'Return to your people, preach to them and be kind to them.'

"And so I remained in Daws territory asking them to embrace Islam until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), emigrated to Medina. Then the battles of Badr, Uhūd and the *khandaq*, the trench, took place. Thereafter I went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), taking those of my people who had become Muslims, while he was at Khaybar. I set up camp, with some 70 or 80 tents of Daws families at Medina, and then we joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar; there he gave us an equal share of the spoils, along with the other Muslims.

"I remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until God conquered Mecca through him. Then I asked him, 'O Messenger of God, dispatch me to burn Dhū al-Kaffayn, the idol of 'Amr b. Ḥumāma.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And he did leave to do so. As al-Ṭufayl set fire to the idol he spoke the verse,

'O Dhū al-Kaffayn, I am not one of your worshippers; our history is older than yours;

I have stuffed your heart with fire.'

"He then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and remained at Medina with him until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died.

“When the Arabs apostatized, al-Ṭufayl campaigned with the Muslims until they had subdued Ṭulayha and all of Nejd. Then he travelled with the Muslim forces to al-Yamāma, his son ‘Amr b. Ṭufayl accompanying him.

“On his way to Yamāma he had a vision and he asked his companions to interpret it to him. He recounted, ‘I saw that my head had been shaved, a bird came forth from my mouth, and a woman met me and placed me in her vagina. Then I saw my son frantically searching for me, but he was withheld from me.’

“‘Let’s hope it’s a good omen,’ they told him.

“He said, ‘I’m going to interpret it myself.’

“‘What, then?’ they asked.

“He explained, ‘The shaving of my head means its being laid down. The bird exiting it is my soul. The woman who placed me in her vagina is the earth that will be dug out for me, and into which I will disappear. As for my son’s searching for me, and then his being kept from me, I see him striving to have happen to him what has happened to me.’

“He was killed, God bless him, as a martyr in al-Yamāma, and his son was severely wounded but later recovered. Eventually he was martyred in the year of the battle of al-Yarmūk, during the caliphate of ‘Umar. God bless him.”

That was how Muḥammad b. Ishāq recounted the story of al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Amr, with an incomplete chain of authorities. There is testimonial to his account to be found in authenticated *ḥadīth* collections.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Wakī‘ related to us, saying, ‘Sufyān related to us, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-A‘raj, from Abū Hurayra, as follows, “When al-Ṭufayl and his companions came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Daws are being difficult’, he spoke the words, ‘O God, give guidance to Daws and bring them.’””

Al-Bukhārī related this from Abū Nu‘aym, from Sufyān al-Thawrī.

Imām Aḥmad also stated, “Yazīd related to us, Muḥammad b. ‘Amr informed us, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, God be pleased with him, as follows, ‘Al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Amr al-Dawsī arrived with his companions and they said, “O Messenger of God, Daws are being disobedient and difficult; say a prayer for them.””

Abū Hurayra said, “And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) raised up his hands and I commented, ‘Well, Daws are destroyed!’ But he spoke, ‘O God, give guidance to Daws and bring them (to Islam).’”

The chain of authorities for this is excellent, but the (other) scholars did not narrate it.

The Imām Aḥmad stated, “Ṣulaymān b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ḥajjāj al-Ṣawwāf, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Amr al-Dawsī came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, ‘O Messenger of God, don’t you wish you had an impregnable, inaccessible fortress?’ He replied, ‘Daws had a fortress during the *jāhiliyya*.’”

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rejected that idea because of the rewards God had in store for the *anṣār*, "the Helpers".

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) emigrated to al-Medina, al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr joined him, along with another of his people. They hated the town and (the second man, tr.) fell ill and, depressed, took an arrow head and used it to cut between his fingers. Blood streamed from his hands and did not stop until he was dead.

"Al-Ṭufayl saw the man in a dream in pleasant circumstances and observed that he had his hands covered. So he asked him, 'What did your Lord do?' He replied, 'He forgave me because I had gone to join His Prophet (ṢAAS).' Al-Ṭufayl asked, 'Why do I see you covering your hands?' He answered, 'I was told that what I had spoiled would never be restored!'"

The account continued, "And al-Ṭufayl recounted this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who spoke the words, 'O God, do forgive him for his hands.'"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, both of them giving as their source an account of Ibn Ḥarb.

If it were asked, "What is the connection between this *ḥadīth* and what is established in both canonical collections from al-Ḥasan, from Jundub", he replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Among those who preceded you there was a man who became afflicted and depressed and so he took a knife and cut open his hand with it, the blood streaming out until he died. And God, Almighty and Glorious is He, said, "He foisted himself too hastily on Me, so I denied him paradise."'"

And so the answer could have several aspects. One is that the one man might have been a polytheist, the other a believer.

And God may have made of this one action an independent cause of his entering hell. And though his disbelief might have been self-sufficient (to confine him to hell), God none the less made reference to this act so that His people give heed. The second possibility is that the one could have been knowledgeable of what was forbidden, while the other was not, since he had so recently accepted Islam.

The third is that the one could have been doing what he did thinking it permissible, while the other did it knowing it to be impermissible, and, indeed, in error.

The fourth is that the one could have intended to kill himself by his aforementioned action, whereas the other, in contrast, might not have intended to kill himself but have had some other purpose.

The fifth is that the one might have been someone of few good deeds which did not measure up to the gravity of his aforementioned sin and so went to hell, while the other might have been a man of many good deeds which did equal his sin and therefore he did not go to hell but was forgiven because of his having joined the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The damage, however, did remain, though only in his hands. The rest of his form was good and he only covered the damaged part of it. And so when al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr saw him covering his hands and asked him what was the

matter with him, he replied, "I was told that what I had spoiled would never be restored." When al-Ṭufayl told this story to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he prayed for him in the words, "O God, do forgive him for his hands." That is, "Do restore of them whatever was damaged."

What is certain is that God did respond to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concerning the companion of al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr.

The Story of A'shā b. Qays.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Khallād b. Qurra b. Khālid al-Sudūsī, and other sheikhs of Bakr b. Wā'il told me, from certain scholars, that A'shā b. Qays b. Tha'labā b. 'Ukāba b. Ṣa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intending to accept Islam. He spoke the following verses in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

'Did your eyes not close that night, O bleary-eyed one? You lay awake all night through restlessness.

And the sleeplessness was not for love of a woman, for before that you had forgotten your lover of Maḥdad,

But I see that fate, that traitor, spoils what my hands restore.

I have thus lost age, youth and wealth, for by God this fate, how it changes!

I have constantly pursued wealth throughout my progression from childhood to youth to maturity to old age.

Daily I raced fast red-grey camels across the distance between al-Nujayr and Ṣarkhada.

O you enquiring where she has gone, she has an appointment with the people of Yathrib.

And if you enquire about me, then (know that) there are many kind-hearted ones who ask about A'shā, enquiring where he went.

My mount stretches her swift legs and draws them back, carefully turning out her hooves, not splaying them.

Sprightly she is, even in noonday heat, when you would imagine even the afternoon chameleon bending its neck.

I swore I'd not assuage her fatigue nor her sore feet until she reached Muḥammad.

When she should kneel at Ibn Hāshim's door, only then would it rest and receive, through his munificence, some generosity.

(He is) a prophet who sees what you do not, whose fame, I swear, has spread high and low in the land.

He has gifts and favours that do not end, and his giving today does not prevent him giving tomorrow.

Did you not, I repeat, hear the advice of Muḥammad, the Prophet of God, when he preached and testified?

If you did not travel with cargo of piety and after death met with others who have done so,

You will surely regret not being like them; so, therefore, prepare for a fate that is definitely arranged.

Beware of carrion; do not approach it, and do not take the share of that which some weapon has already allotted (to others)

And do not venerate raised monuments, nor worship idols, but pray to God alone.

Do not go near a free woman; her privacy is forbidden you; marry or be celibate.

Do not cut off ties with your relatives for some motive, nor take them as captives under restraint.

And glorify God at evening and at morning; do not praise the devil; praise only God. Do not ridicule those suffering poverty, and do not consider wealth man's way to eternity.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "And when al-A'shā was in Mecca or near thereto, some Quraysh polytheists stopped him and asked what business he had there. He told them that he had come seeking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"One of the Quraysh commented, 'But Abū Baṣīr, he is forbidding sex!' Al-A'shā responded, 'I swear, that's no desire of mine.'

"But he's also forbidding wine,' the man objected.

"Well, that's something I do hold dear; I'll go off and have my fill of it for a year, then I'll come back and accept Islam!"

"And leave he did. But he died that same year without returning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Thus does Ibn Hishām tell this story here. He extracts a great deal from Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq, God bless him, and this is one thing added to his account by Ibn Hishām, God bless him!

Wine was not in fact forbidden in Medina until after the fighting with the Banū al-Naḍīr, as will be explained hereafter.

It is apparent that the decision of al-A'shā to accept Islam was taken only after the migration. There is evidence for this in his poetry. One verse reads,

"O you enquiring where she has gone, she has an appointment with the people of Yathrib."

It would have been more appropriate for Ibn Hishām to have recounted this anecdote within material relating to the post-migration period, rather than here. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "This is an error on the part of Ibn Hishām and those who follow him, for everyone agrees that use of wine was only prohibited in Medina after the battle of Uḥud."

He has also stated, "It is said that the person who spoke to al-A'shā was Abū Jahl b. Hishām in the house of 'Utba b. Rabī'a."

Abū 'Ubayda, however, related that the one who spoke to him thus was 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl in Qays territory while he was on his way to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

He stated, "And his saying '... then I will come to him and accept Islam' definitely does not bring him out of a state of disbelief. But God knows best."

Ibn Ishāq at this point recounted the story of the man from Irāsh and how he appealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Abū Jahl over the price of a camel he had sold him, and how God abased Abū Jahl and forced him to make payment for it at the agreed time.

We recounted this in the material relating to the beginning of the revelation and the consequent harm done by the polytheists.

The Story of the contest with Rukāna and how the Prophet (ṢAAS) showed him a tree that he summoned and it came to him.

Ibn Ishāq quoted his father, Ishāq b. Yasār, as having related to him as follows: "Rukāna b. 'Abd Yazīd b. Hashim b. al-Muttalib b. 'Abd Manāf was the strongest man of Quraysh.

"Once he was alone in one of the defiles of Mecca with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, 'Rukāna, won't you fear God and accept my invitation to you?'

"He replied, 'If I knew that what you say is true, I would follow you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, 'If I were to wrestle you down would you know that what I say is true?'

"Yes, I would,' Rukāna replied.

"Come on then, let's wrestle,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said.

"And so Rukāna did wrestle with him and when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went after him, he threw him down, powerless.

"Rukāna then said, 'Another round, Muḥammad!'

"Once again he threw him. Rukāna then said, 'Muḥammad, I swear, Muḥammad, this is amazing! Can you really throw me?'

"He replied, 'I'll show you something even more amazing, if you like, if you will fear God and follow me.'

"What is it?'

"I'll call out to that tree you see and it will come to me.'

"Call for it then.'

"He did so and it came and stood there right before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then he told it, 'Go back to your place!' And it did so.

"And so Rukāna went to his people and told them, 'O Banū 'Abd Manāf, you could have your man compete in magic with the whole world. I swear I've never seen a better magician than him.' He then recounted to them what he had seen and what he had done."

Ibn Ishāq related this story thus, with an incomplete line of transmission.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Tirmidhī related, from an account of Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿAṣḳalānī, from Abū Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Rukāna, from his father, Rukāna, who said he had wrestled the Prophet (ṢAAS) who had defeated him. Then al-Tirmidhī commented, "Strange! We know nothing of Abū al-Ḥasan, nor of Rukāna's son."

My comment is that Abū Bakr al-Shāfi'ī related, with an excellent chain of authorities, from Ibn 'Abbās, God bless them both, that Yazīd b. Rukāna wrestled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who threw him three times, each time for a wager of 100 sheep. The third time Rukāna said, "Muḥammad, no one has ever put my back on the ground before you, and no one was more hateful in my sight before this than you! I testify that there is no god but God, and that you are the Messenger of God." At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood up from him and gave him back his sheep.

As for the story of his calling out to the tree and its going to him, many accounts of that, from several excellent sources, will appear in the chapter on "Proofs of Prophethood" after this biography, if God wills it, and in Him is our trust.

Earlier on, it was reported from Abū al-Ashdīn that he (Rukāna) wrestled the Prophet (ṢAAS) who threw him.

After this Ibn Ishāq related the story of the arrival in Mecca of the Christians from Abyssinia, some 20 riders in number. They all embraced Islam. We gave this earlier, after the story of the Negus. And to God be all praise and credit.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to have some of his most vulnerable Companions sit close by him in the mosque, such Muslims as Khabbāb, 'Ammār, Abū Fukayha Yāsar, the freed-man of Ṣafwān b. Umayya and Ṣuhayb. Quraysh would ridicule these people, telling one another, 'These are his companions, as you see, but has God really chosen them from among us to receive guidance and the true religion? If what Muḥammad brought were any good, they would not have joined him first; God would certainly not have put them before us.'"

And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, "Do not drive away those who pray to their Lord morning and night seeking His face. You are not accountable for them in the least, nor are they for you. If you repulse them you will be acting unjustly. Thus have we put some to the test through others, so that they would say, 'Are they those of us whom God has favoured?' 'Does God not know best who gives thanks?' And when those who believe in our revelation come to you then say, 'Peace be upon you; your Lord has prescribed for Himself mercy so that if one of you does wrong in ignorance, then later repents and reforms – He is indeed merciful, forgiving'" (*sūrat al-An'ām*; VI, v.52–4).

He went on: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used often to sit at al-Marwa near the shop of a young Christian named Jabr, a slave of the Banū al-Hadramī. People would say, 'By God, it is merely Jabr who teaches Muḥammad most of what he says!'

"And so God Almighty revealed about their saying that, 'It is merely some mortal who teaches him. The language of him to whom they allude is foreign; yet this language is plain Arabic'" (*sūrat al-Nahl*; XVI, v.105).

Then Ibn Ishāq recounts how *sūrat al-Kawthar* (CVIII) was revealed concerning al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil when he said of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “He is without a male child, that is, he has no male offspring. If he dies, memory of him will be gone.” And so God Almighty stated, “He who hates you shall be childless.” That is, he would not be remembered after his death, even if he were to have thousands of offspring. For remembrance, reputation and credibility do not depend on multiplicity of children and offspring. We discussed this *sūrat* in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And to God be all praise.

It has been related from Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir that al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil said the above following the death of al-Qāsim, the son of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He had reached an age when he could ride a mule and sit on a thoroughbred mount.

Ibn Ishāq then related the revelation of the verse “... and they say, ‘Now if only an angel had been sent down to him.’ If We had sent down an angel, it would all have been finished!” (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.8).

This referred to Ubayy b. Khalaf, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith having said, “If only God had sent down for you an angel to tell the people about you.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so we have been told, passed by al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Jahl b. Hishām, and they insulted and mocked him. This angered him, and at that God Almighty revealed about them, ‘Prophets before you were mocked, but it was their mocking that trapped them’” (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.10).

I observe that God Almighty also stated, “Prophets before you were mocked. Yet they bore with fortitude the falsehoods and persecutions until Our help came to them. No one can change the words of God. And you have received information about the messengers sent” (*sūrat al-Anʿām*; VI, v.34). And the Almighty also said, “We will protect you against those who mock” (*sūrat al-Hajj*; XV, v.95).

Sufyān stated, quoting Jaʿfar b. Iyyās, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the “mockers” consisted of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth al-Zuhri, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib Abū Zamʿa, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAyṭil, and al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī and that: “Gabriel came to him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) complained to him about them, pointing out al-Walīd. And so Gabriel gestured to his fingertips and said, ‘So much for him!’

“He then pointed out to him al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib and Gabriel gestured towards his neck, saying, ‘So much for him!’

“He then pointed out al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth and Gabriel gestured to his head, saying, ‘So much for him!’

“He then pointed to al-Ḥārith b. Ayṭil and Gabriel gestured to his stomach, saying, ‘So much for him!’

“Then al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil passed by and Gabriel gestured towards the sole of his foot, saying, ‘So much for him!’

“As for Al-Walīd, he later stopped by a man from Khuzāʿa who was mounting feathers on an arrow for him, but the arrow struck his fingertips and severed them.

"Al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth had ulcers grow out of his head, and he died of them.

"Al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib went blind. The cause of that was that he once dismounted under a gum tree and began calling out, 'O Son, help, can't you protect me! I'm dead!' His companions responded that they could see nothing, but he repeated, 'O Son, can't you protect me? I'm perishing! I'm being pricked with thorns in my eyes!' Again they said they saw nothing, but he kept saying the same until his eyes were blind.

"Al-Ḥārith b. 'Aṭīl was afflicted with yellow bile in his stomach until his excrement emerged from his mouth and he died of that.

"Al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il one day had a thorn enter his head and caused it to be filled (with pus), and he died of this."

Others, however, narrate this account thus: "... and he rode to Ṭā'if on a donkey that let him down on to a thorn and it pierced the sole of his foot and killed him."

Al-Bayhaqī related this tradition in much the same way.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The chief men who engaged in ridicule, as I was told by Yazīd b. Rawmān, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, were five in number. They were all men of maturity and highly regarded among their people. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke a curse against al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib Abū Zam'a: 'O God, blind his sight and make him bereft of his son!'

"The others were al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il, and al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṭalāṭil."

He also recounted that Almighty God revealed about them, "Announce what you have been ordered, and turn aside from the polytheists. We will take care of the mockers for you, those who establish another god alongside God. They shall learn!" (*sūrat al-Ḥajar*, XV, v.94–6).

He related, "Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while these men were circumambulating the *ka'ba*. Gabriel stood up, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at his side, while al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib went by. Gabriel threw a green leaf into his face and he became blind.

"Al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth next passed and Gabriel pointed at his stomach. It became swollen and so he died of dropsy.

"Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra went by and Gabriel pointed at the scar of a wound at the base of his ankle that he had suffered years before when he had passed by a man of Khuzā'a re-feathering an arrow, the head of which had caught on his robe and slightly cut him. After this, however, it burst open and so he died.

"Al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il passed and Gabriel pointed to the underside of his foot. Al-'Āṣ later left on a donkey for Ṭā'if. The donkey threw him on to a thorn which pierced his foot and killed him.

"Al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṭalāṭil went by and Gabriel pointed at his head. It filled with pus and so killed him."

Ibn Ishāq then stated, "When al-Walid b. al-Mughira felt the approach of death he made a request of his three sons Khālid, Hishām, and al-Walid by name. He told them, 'Sons, I charge you with three tasks. My blood is on Khuzā'a, and do not leave it unrevenge. I well know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be maligned by it later. Thaqif have debts owing me. Don't leave them alone until you get paid. And my dowry money is with Abū Uzayhir al-Dawsī; don't let him keep it from you.' Abū Uzayhir had married al-Walid to a daughter of his but later had kept her from him and had not let him in to her up to the time he died. And he had taken the money al-Walid had paid for her, which was her dowry.

"When he died the Banū Makhzūm hastened to Khuzā'a seeking from them blood money for al-Walid. They said, 'It was an arrow of one of your men that killed him!' Khuzā'a refused and they spoke angry poetry against one another, and the situation deteriorated greatly between them. But then Khuzā'a did pay some of the blood-money, and they made peace and reconciled."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Then Hishām b. al-Walid attacked and killed Abū Uzayhir while he was at the Dhū al-Majāz market.

"He was a chief of his tribe and his daughter was Abū Sufyān's wife. This happened after the battle of Badr. Yazid b. Abū Sufyān went out and gathered his men against the Banū Makhzūm since his father was then absent. When Abū Sufyān returned he was angered by what his son Yazid had done and berated and struck him for it. He then paid the blood price for Abū Uzayhir and told his son, 'Did you plan to have Quraysh kill one another over one man from Daws?'

"Ḥassān b. Thābit wrote an ode goading Abū Sufyān over the spilling of Abū Uzayhir's blood. Regarding this poem, Abū Sufyān commented, 'It's a really bad idea of Ḥassān that we should kill one another, now, after our chiefs died at the battle of Badr.'

"When Khālid b. al-Walid accepted Islam and was present at Ṭā'if with the Messenger of God (SAAS), he asked the latter for payment of the interest due his father from the people of Ṭā'if."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Some scholars informed me that the following verses were revealed about this, 'O you who believe, fear God and give up whatever interest payments are due, if you are indeed believers'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II; v.278).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And we know of no vengeance taken by Abū Uzayhir's people up to when Islam put an end to conflict between these men. Although Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās al-Aslamī left with a group of Quraysh men into Daws territory. There they stayed with a woman named Umm Ghaylān, a freed-woman of Daws. She would comb the women's hair and prepare brides for marriage. The Daws wanted to kill the Quraysh for killing Abū Uzayhir, but Umm Ghaylān and some women who were with her stood in their way and protected the Quraysh men."

Al-Suhayli said, "It is said that she hid him inside her clothing."

Ibn Hishām said, "In the days when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ruled, Umm Ghaylān came to him, believing that Ḍirār was his brother. 'Umar told her, 'I am only his brother in Islam. I know of your favour to him. He gave her a gift as though she were a traveller.'"

He went on, "Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb met up with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb at the battle of Uḥud, and began striking him with the flat of his spear, saying, 'Save yourself, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, I shall not kill you!' 'Umar thus acknowledged this act of his after Islam. God bless them both.

DIVISION

Al-Bayhaqī related at this point the imprecation of the Prophet (ṢAAS) against Quraysh when they withheld from him, resulting in seven years similar to the seven in Joseph's case.

His account tallies with those in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections narrated through al-A'mash, from Muslim b. Ṣubayh, from Masrūq, from Ibn Mus'ūd. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, "Five things have come to pass; *al-lizām*, the punishment, the Romans, the 'smoke,' the conflict, and the moon."

There is an account from Ibn Mus'ūd saying, "When Quraysh rejected the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and refrained from accepting Islam, he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, 'O God, bring down upon Quraysh for me the seven years like those for Joseph!'"

The account went on, "And they were afflicted for a year until everything was completely ruined. They were reduced to eating carrion, and some, out of hunger, hallucinated so that they would imagine seeing smoke all the way to the heavens. Then he prayed, and God gave them relief. 'Abd Allāh (b. Mus'ūd) thereafter recited the following verse, 'We are withdrawing from you the punishment for a while; but you will revert' (*sūrat al-Dukhān*; XLIV, v.15). They did revert and disbelieved, and so were put off till Judgement Day. Or he said, 'and they were put off till the battle of Badr.' 'Abd Allāh said, 'If the reference were really to Judgement Day, he would not have exposed them to the words, '... the day when we confront them with the great conflict. We will take revenge!' (*sūrat al-Dukhān*; XLIV, v.16). He said, 'At the battle of Badr.'

In (another) account from him, he said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the people backing away, he said, 'O God, (inflict) seven years (of calamity) like those of Joseph.' And so they suffered a year so bad that they ate carrion, leather and bones. Abū Sufyān and other Meccans came to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, you claim to have been given your mission of mercy. Here your people are perishing. Pray to God for them.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did say a prayer and profuse rain descended on them. It poured down on them for seven days and people complained about the volume of rain. And so he said the words, 'O God, around

us, but not upon us!’ The clouds were then withdrawn from above his head, and the people around them were watered.”

He said, “The verse of *sūrat al-Dukhān* was mentioned earlier and it referred to the starvation that had afflicted them. This refers to God’s statement, ‘We are withdrawing from you the punishment for a while; but you will revert.’ And the verses of *sūrat al-Rūm* (XXX), and those referring to the ‘grievous hold’ (of *sūrat al-Dukhān*; XLIV, v.16), and the ‘splitting of the moon’ (of *sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.1), all came true at the battle of Badr.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “What he means, though God alone knows best, is that the ‘grievous hold’, ‘the smoke’ and the verse relating to the *lizām*, God’s punishment, all these (prophecies) came true at the battle of Badr.”

He said, “Al-Bukhārī made reference to this account. He then mentioned it through ‘Abd al-Razzāq from Ma‘mar, from Ayyūb, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, in the words, ‘Abū Sufyān came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seeking relief from the hunger because they had nothing to eat, even consuming spoiled meat. God Almighty then revealed the words, ‘We brought punishment down on them, but they would not submit to their Lord, nor were they humble’ (*sūrat al-Mu‘minūna*; XXIII, v.76). And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said a prayer for them, so that God gave them relief.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, “There is given in the story relating to Abū Sufyān material suggesting that it applied to the period after the migration. Perhaps it happened twice. God knows best.”

DIVISION

Then al-Bayhaqī related the story of the Persians and the Byzantines and Almighty God’s revelation of the verses: “Alif. Lam. Mim. The Byzantines have been defeated in the neighbouring territory, yet after their defeat they will overcome, after a few years. God makes the decision, both before and after. And on a certain day the believers will rejoice at God’s assistance. God assists whomever He wishes, for He is the Almighty, the Merciful” (*sūrat al-Rūm*; XXX, v.2).

He then related through Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ḥabīb b. Abū ‘Amr, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Muslims would have liked the Byzantines to be victorious over the Persians because the former were the ‘People of the Book’. The polytheists wanted the Persians to overcome the Byzantines because the former were idol worshippers. The Muslims mentioned this to Abū Bakr, who spoke about it with the Prophet (ṢAAS). The latter commented, ‘They will prevail.’ Abū Bakr related this to the polytheists who said, ‘Set a term for us and if they do prevail, then you get so-and-so while if our side wins we get so-and-so.’ Abū Bakr then related this to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, ‘So now I’ve made it a wager!’ He went on, ‘In less than ten (days).’ And thereafter the Byzantines were victorious.”

We gave various lines of transmission for this *ḥadīth* in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* and recounted that the one who engaged in the wager with Abū Bakr was Umayya b. Khalaf, that the bet was for five young ostriches and that it had a time limit. To this "the Trusting", Abū Bakr, made an increased bet on the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The victory did go to the Byzantines over the Persians and it occurred on the day the battle of Badr was fought. Or it may have been the day of the Ḥudaybiyya truce. God knows best.

It is also related through al-Walid b. Muslim, who said, "Usayd al-Kilābī related to us that he heard al-'Alā' b. al-Zubayr al-Kilābī relate from his father, as follows, 'I saw the victory of the Persians over the Byzantines and then that of the Byzantines over the Persians. I then saw the victory of the Muslims over both Rome and Persia, and their conquering of Syria and Iraq. And all of that over a period of 15 years!'"

Section: Concerning the isrā', the night journey, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca to Jerusalem, his ascent from there to heaven, and the signs he saw there.

Ibn 'Asākir related traditions about the night journey in materials telling of the early beginnings of the mission. Ibn Ishāq, however, gave them in this location, some ten years after the mission.

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhri whom he quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was taken on the night journey one year prior to his departure to Medina."

He said, "And Ibn Lahī'a related it thus, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa."

Also, Al-Ḥākim related, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Asbāṭ b. Naṣr, from Ismā'īl al-Suddī, who said, "The five daily prayers were enjoined upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Jerusalem the night of his journey there, 16 months prior to his emigration."

According to al-Suddī's statement, then, the night journey occurred in the month of Dhū al-Qa'da, whereas the reports of al-Zuhri and 'Urwa place it in Rabi' al-Awwal.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated, "Uthmān related to us, from Sa'id b. Mīnā', that Jābir and Ibn 'Abbās said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the year of the elephant, Monday the 12th of Rabi' al-Awwal, and on that same day and month he was appointed Prophet, was taken up to heaven, emigrated, and died.'"

The chain of transmission of the aforementioned *ḥadīth* is flawed. The *ḥāfiẓ* 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Surūr al-Maqdisī, however, included it in his biography, and he also quoted a tradition whose chain of authorities is unsound. We made mention of it in the material relating to the virtues of the month of Rajab. This tradition states that the night journey took place on the night of the 27th of Rajab. But God knows best.

There are some who claim that the night journey took place on the first Friday night of Rajab, this having been the “night of the *al-raghāʾib*”, the night of the great gifts, wherein the common system of prayer was first established. But there is no foundation for that. But God knows best. Some recite the following line concerning this:

“It was a Friday night when the Prophet was made to ascend, the night of Friday, the first of Rajab.”

This poetry is somewhat weak, but we have quoted it merely as testimonial for those who maintain this.

We gave reference to the traditions relating to this in detail regarding God’s words, “Glory be to Him who carried His worshipper on a journey by night from the *masjid al-ḥarām*, the ‘sacrosanct mosque’, to the *masjid al-aqṣā*, the ‘further mosque’, whose precincts We had blessed that We may show him Our signs. He it is who hears all, sees all” (*sūrat al-Isrāʾ*; XVII, v.1).

Let us then record herewith the lines of authority and the sources and the support for or criticism of these. This will be convincing and sufficient in itself. And all praise and credit goes to God.

We will give here the gist of the words of Ibn Ishāq, God bless him. Having recounted the earlier sections, he went on, “Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was taken by night from the *masjid al-ḥarām* to the *masjid al-aqṣā*, the latter being the holy temple of Aelia. By then Islam had spread in Mecca into Quraysh and all the Arab tribes.”

He continued, “Concerning the night journey of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I learned what follows from a *ḥadīth* that came down from Ibn Musʿūd, Abū Saʿīd, ʿĀʾisha, Muʾāwiya, Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, God bless them all, and al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan, Ibn Hishām al-Zuhri, Qatāda and other scholars. Individually they gave information that combines in this account.

“The night journey of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was filled with trials and tribulations and (instances) of God’s power and authority; it provides a lesson for men of intelligence, a guidance, a mercy and an affirmation for those with faith and belief. It was certainly an act of God.

“He carried him on this journey as and how He wished, to show him those of His signs He so desired. He thus surveyed some of the might of God, His will, power and authority by which He accomplishes His purposes.

“Abd Allāh b. Masʿūd would say, as I have been informed, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was brought *al-Burāq*, that being the name of a mount on which previous prophets were carried; its stride was such that it could place its hooves as far as it could see. He was borne away on it.

“His companion (Gabriel) then took him off to see the signs between heaven and earth. Eventually he reached Jerusalem, where he found Abraham, Moses and Jesus, in a company of prophets assembled for him. He led them in prayer.

"Then he was brought three vessels, containing milk, wine and water. He said that he drank the vessel of milk and was told by Gabriel, 'You have been given guidance, and so has your nation.'"

Ibn Ishāq related through al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but with an incomplete line of transmission, that Gabriel woke him up then conducted him to the door of the *masjid al-ḥarām*, where he set him upon *al-Burāq*, a white mount that was a cross between a mule and a donkey; on its flanks it had wings with which it set its feet in motion. It could place its hooves as far ahead as it could see. The account quotes the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, "He placed me upon it and then took me away, he not out-distancing me, nor I him."

I may add that in the *ḥadīth*, which came down from Qatāda, as related by Ibn Ishāq, it says that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to mount *al-Burāq*, it became restive and so Gabriel placed his hand upon its neck where the mane grows and said, "Now Burāq, aren't you ashamed to do that? I swear, no servant of God more noble than Muḥammad has ever ridden you." He commented, "And it was so ashamed it burst out in sweat, then quietened down until I mounted it."

Al-Ḥasan stated, in his *ḥadīth*, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed, Gabriel accompanying him, until they reached Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, Moses and Jesus among a group of prophets. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted as their Imām and led them in prayer."

He then explained his choice of the vessel of milk over that of the wine, and how Gabriel told him, "You have been given guidance, as has your nation, and you have been forbidden wine."

He went on, "And then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed for Mecca and set about telling Quraysh of all that."

He recounted that most of the people disbelieved him and that one group reneged after having previously accepted Islam.

Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", responded by expressing his belief and said, "I give him credence in communication from heaven, early in the day or in the evening, so how should I not believe him regarding Jerusalem?"

(In his account al-Ḥasan) recounts that Abū Bakr asked him to describe Jerusalem, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did so.

And, he states, "From that day on Abū Bakr was known as *al-Ṣiddiq*, 'the Trusting'."

Al-Ḥasan said, "And on that subject God revealed, 'And we rendered the visions we showed you nothing but a way of testing people'" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.60).

Ibn Ishāq related, quoting Umm Hānā as his source, that she said, "It was from nowhere but my home that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his night journey. He slept that night after having made the final evening prayer. When it

was just before dawn he woke us up and when it was morning we prayed together and he said, 'O Umm Hānī, last evening I prayed with you in this valley, then I went to Jerusalem and prayed there. And now here I am having said the morning prayer with you, as you see.'

"He then arose to leave, but I took hold of the hem of his cloak and said, 'O Messenger of God, do not make that statement to people; they will surely disbelieve you and do you harm.'

"But he replied, 'By God, I will certainly tell it to them!' And he did tell them and they did disbelieve."

Ibn Ishāq went on (and the Prophet (SAAS) told the sceptical, tr.) "And the proof of this is that I passed by the caravan of such-and-such a tribe in such-and-such a valley, and the sound of the animal (*al-Burāq*) startled them and so one of their camels ran away. I led them to it, being then on my way to al-Shām. Then I continued on until I reached ʔajanān, where I passed a caravan of such-and-such a tribe. I found the people asleep. They had a vessel with water in it that they had covered over with something. I took off the cover and drank the water and replaced its cover. And the proof of this is that their caravan is now making its way down from the pass at al-Tanʕim al-Bayḏā. Leading it is an ash-coloured camel on which are two sacks, one of which is black, the other black and white.

"On hearing this, people hurried to the pass. The first camel, which was as he had described to them, was insufficient proof for them, so they asked about the vessel and the camel, and those in the caravan did tell them just as the Prophet (SAAS) had recounted."

Yūnus b. Bukayr related, from Asbāt, from Ismāʕil al-Suddī, that the sun had almost set before that caravan arrived and so he prayed to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, who slowed it down until they came, just as he had described it to them.

He stated, "And the sun was never slowed for anyone except on that day for him, and also for Yūshaʕ (Joshua) b. Nūn."

Al-Bayhaqī related this account.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A source I do not doubt quoted Abū Saʕīd as having said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, "When I had finished in Jerusalem, the *miʕraj*, the ladder, was brought to me. Never before did I see anything finer; it is that to which your dying turn their eyes at the point of death.

"My companion (Gabriel) led me up it until I reached one of the gates of heaven known as the *bāb al-ḥāfiẓa*, 'the guards' gate'. It is overseen by an attendant who is an angel, and his name is Ismāʕil. He commands 12,000 angels, each of whom controls 12,000 more."

"He (Abū Saʕīd) stated, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) whenever he tells this *ḥadīth* recites, "And no one but He knows the armies of your Lord"' (*sūrat al-Muddaththir*; LXXIV, v.34).

He then recounted the remainder of the *ḥadīth* and it is very lengthy. We gave it in full with all its lines of transmission in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*, and discussed it there. It is one of the strangest of *ḥadīths*, and there is some weakness in its line of transmission.

The same is true of the text of the *ḥadīth* of Umm Hānī. What is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥayn* is the account of Shurayk b. Abū Nimr, from Anas, that the "night journey" took place from the mosque (the *ka'ba*), at the *ḥijr*, the sacred enclosure.

There are also several peculiarities in that text which we have discussed there. One such is his statement, "And this occurred before he received revelation." The fact is that their (the angels) coming on the first occasion was before he received revelation, but on that night nothing occurred. Then, on another night, the angels did come to him. So, he was not referring to the latter occasion when he said, "And that was before revelation came to him." In fact, he (Gabriel) came to him after he had received revelation.

The "night journey" certainly occurred after revelation (began), either shortly thereafter, as one group maintains, or much later, perhaps by as much as ten years, as others claim. And the latter is more likely.

The cleansing of his chest (by the angel) before the night journey was the second, or some say the third cleansing, and it was a prerequisite for the assembly on high and the Divine Presence.

He then rode upon *al-Burāq*, this being in veneration and honour of him. When he came to Jerusalem, he (Gabriel) inducted him into that circle by which the prophets were joined. He then entered Jerusalem and prayed at its prayer niche in salutation to that mosque.

Ḥudhayfa, God be pleased with him, denied his entry into Jerusalem, his tying up his mount, and his praying there. And this is strange. And a text that is affirmative is preferable to one that is negative.

There is also disagreement over his meeting the prophets and leading them in prayer, as to whether it was prior to his ascent to heaven, as the preceding account shows, or after his descent from there, as some accounts indicated. We will state that this latter view is to be preferred. But God knows best.

It is also said that his prayer with the prophets took place in heaven. Also there is disagreement over whether his making a choice between the vessels of milk, wine and water occurred in Jerusalem, as given above, or in heaven, as established in authentic traditions.

What is implied is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) finished in Jerusalem the *mi'rāj*, the ladder, was set up for him; this was the ladder he used to ascend to heaven. The ascent was not upon *al-Burāq*, as some people imagine. *Al-Burāq* was tethered at the door of the mosque in Jerusalem to take him back to Mecca.

He rose one heaven to another on the ladder until he passed over the seventh heaven. Whenever he reached a heaven its favoured attendants and the most important angels and prophets therein would meet him.

He made reference to major persons from among the *mursalin*, the messengers of God, like Adam in the nearest heaven, John and Jesus in the second, Idrīs in the fourth, Moses in the sixth, and Abraham in the seventh, leaning his back against the *bayt al-ma'mur*, the "eternal abode", that is entered each day by 70,000 angels who worship therein in prayer and circumambulation, and they do not return there again until Judgement Day.

He then ascended above their ranks and reached a level where the squeaking of pens could be heard.⁷ There the *sidrat al-muntahā*, the "lote tree at the boundary",⁸ stood high before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); its leaves were like the ears of an elephant, its fruit like summits of Mt. Hidjr, and covered all about by great deeds and many splendid colours, with angels perching upon it as numerous as starlings on a tree. And there was a canopy of gold, bathed in the light of our Lord, All-Glorious is He.

There also he saw Gabriel, peace be upon him. He had upon him 600 wings with the space between each two wings as great as that between heaven and earth. It is Gabriel of whom God Almighty spoke thus: "And he certainly saw him in another revelation, at the *sidrat al-muntahā*, at which is the garden of eternity. When the tree was shrouded in its covering, sight did not turn aside, nor did it exceed its bound" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.13–17). That is, it (i.e. sight, tr.) did not turn aside to the right or to the left, nor did it look up at that which was out of bounds.

This was both tremendous fortitude (on the part of Muḥammad) and a great show of respect (for God).

This second vision (that he had) of Gabriel, peace be upon him, in the natural form in which God created him, is in accord with the statements transmitted by Ibn Mus'ūd, Abū Hurayra, Abū Dharr and 'Ā'isha, God be pleased with them all.

The first vision (that Muḥammad had of Gabriel) was, in the words of the Almighty, when, "(an) all-powerful (angel) taught him, the one endowed with supreme power, who (appeared) in his natural form while in the highest point on the horizon. He then drew near and came close, until he was two bow lengths away, or closer. Then he made his revelation to His servant" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.6–10).

That took place at al-Abṭāḥ.⁹ Gabriel stretched out over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the enormity of his being dominating all between earth and sky, until there was only the space of a bow's length or two between them both.

7. A reference to the Islamic belief that angels, working as scribes in the service of God, record the fate and destiny of the universe as dictated to them by Him.

8. A tree believed to be positioned to the right side of God's throne.

9. The name of a place near Mecca.

This is what is authentic in the exegesis, as is affirmed by the words of the eminent Companions mentioned heretofore, God be pleased with them all. As for Shurayk's comment about Anas concerning the tradition relating to the night journey, "and then *al-Jabbār*, the Omnipotent, the Lord of Glory drew close and descended, becoming as close as a bow's length or two," this might be the understanding of the reciter, and so he inserted it into the *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

Even if this interpretation is correctly preserved, it is no interpretation of the holy verse, but relates to something quite different from that at issue. But God knows best.

It was on that night that God Almighty and Glorious enjoined the daily prayers upon His servant Muḥammad (God's peace and blessings be upon him and upon his nation); these were to number fifty prayers each day and night. Thereafter he repeatedly went between Moses and his Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, until finally the Lord, All Resplendent is He, and to Him is all credit due, decreed that they be five. He stated, "They are five and (yet) they are fifty, credit being ten times the number."

That evening speech came to him directly from the Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. The Imāms of the orthodox faith are unanimous regarding this. They differ regarding his seeing Him. Some consider that he saw God twice, in his heart. Ibn 'Abbās and his adherents maintain this. Ibn 'Abbās generalized (in discussion) about the vision, but others have offered a more narrow interpretation.

Those who spoke in general terms about the vision include Abū Hurayra and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, God be pleased with them.

Some authorities, however, state their conviction that the vision was by means of his eyes.

Ibn Jarīr preferred this and insisted upon it, being followed in this by others of the more recent authorities.

Among those considering that the sight occurred through the naked eyes included Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, as reported by al-Suhaylī and it is the preferred view of Sheikh Abū Zakariyyā' al-Nawawī in his *fatāwa*,¹⁰ his legal decisions.

One faction maintains that the vision never occurred, because of the *ḥadīth* in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from Abū Dharr. It states, "I said, 'O Messenger of God, did you see your Lord?' He replied, 'A light! How could I have seen it!'" In another account the words are, 'I saw a light'."

These scholars say that the sight of the Everlasting could never be through eyes that are ephemeral.

Therefore God Almighty said to Moses, as is reported in certain holy texts, "O Moses, no mortal being can see me until he dies, nor any dry thing until it moves."

10. The plural of *fatwa*, a term used to denote the pronouncements of a *mufī*, one who delivers formal legal opinions.

The dispute over this question perplexed the early scholars just as it does those who succeeded them. God alone knows best.

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back down to Jerusalem. And it seems clear that the prophets descended with him to express their respect for him on his return from the glorious Divine Presence, as is the custom for those who visit; visitors do not assemble with others before meeting that person to whom they have been summoned.

That is why when he passed by one of them Gabriel would say, as each approached to greet him, "This is so-and-so; greet him."

If he had met with them before his ascent he would not have needed introduction to them a second time.

Substantiation for this is given in his saying, "And when it was time for the prayer, I acted as their Imām." The only time for that, then, would have been the dawn prayer. He came forward as their Imām on the instruction of Gabriel, relaying what his Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, told him.

Some scholars deduce from this that the most eminent Imām takes precedence over the master of the house, since Jerusalem was their (the other prophets) place of residence.

He then left there, riding on *al-Burāq*, and returned to Mecca. Next morning he was back, in a state of complete security, peace and dignity.

That night he saw such signs and things as to make anyone else who saw them, even in part, either utterly amazed or even insane.

He, however, became merely sombre, quiet that is, and was fearful that if he started to tell his people what he had seen they would have promptly disbelieved him.

And so at first he told them calmly that he had been to Jerusalem that night.

That was when Abū Jahl, God damn him, saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the sacred mosque sitting in sombre silence and spoke to him, asking, "Well, anything new?" He replied, "Yes." "What is it?" Abū Jahl asked. "I was taken this night to Jerusalem."

"To Jerusalem?"

"Yes."

Abū Jahl asked, "If I were to call your people over to you for you to tell them, would you say to them what you said to me?"

"Yes, I would," he replied.

Abū Jahl wanted to assemble Quraysh to hear that from him, and so too did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also want to gather them to tell them and so give them information.

Abū Jahl then said, "Come, O tribe of Quraysh!" They gathered there from their assemblies. He then said, "Well, tell your people what you told me."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) related to them what he had seen, that he had gone to Jerusalem that night and prayed there.

Amidst clapping and whistling of disbelief and derision at this report, the news spread quickly over Mecca.

People then went to Abū Bakr, God bless him, and told him that Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was saying such-and-such a thing.

He responded, "You are telling lies about him!"

They replied, "No, we swear it, he is saying that."

"Well," said Abū Bakr, "if he said that, he spoke the truth."

He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was surrounded by the pagans of Mecca, and asked him about that. He told him of it all and Abū Bakr asked him to describe Jerusalem, so that the polytheists would hear him and recognize the veracity of what he had told them. In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection the account has it that it was the polytheists who asked the Messenger of God about that.

He said, "I then began telling them about His signs, and I became somewhat confused. And so God made Jerusalem clear to me until I could see it beyond 'Uqayl's house, and I described it to them."

He (Ibn Ishāq) went on, "In his description he was correct."

Ibn Ishāq recounted the information we gave earlier about him telling them of his having passed by their caravan and of having drunk their water.

And so God provided proof for them and illuminated the straight path for them. Some did believe because of their conviction from God, while others disbelieved despite the proof they had.

As God Almighty said, "And we only made the visions we have shown you as a test for the people" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.60). That is, they were a way of testing and trying them.

Ibn 'Abbās said, "These were visions perceived by the eye that were shown to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

This view, that of the majority of scholars both ancient and more recent, holds that the night journey was both a physical and a spiritual experience for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is shown in the clear accounts of his making a journey and of his ascending on the ladder, and such-like. God therefore stated, "Glory be to Him who took his servant by night from the 'sacrosanct mosque' to the 'further mosque' whose precincts we have blessed, to show him our signs" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.1). Such evocation of glory would only occur for truly great and extraordinary signs. And this proves that it was by both body and spirit, and the word "servant" gives expression to both of these together.

Also, if it had been a dream, the Quraysh polytheists would not have promptly expressed their disbelief and outrage. For that would not have been so important a matter. And so it shows that he did tell them that he had been taken on his night journey while awake, not asleep.

And then there is the statement of Shurayk, from Anas: "Then I awoke and found myself inside the *ḥijr*, the sacred enclosure." This is either to be considered an error of Shurayk, or it must be concluded that the movement from the one state to the other is to be noted as "wakefulness".

This will also be suggested in the *ḥadīth* from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Ṭāʾif but they disbelieved him. (In it) he said, “I returned in a state of depression, and I only came out of it at Qarn al-Thaʿālib.”

Also there is the *ḥadīth* of Abū Usayd, when he brought his son to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the *tahnik* ceremony.¹¹ He placed him in the lap of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was engaged in conversation with the people. So Abū Usayd lifted his son up. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), *istayqaza*, he “awoke or became aware”, and did not find the boy there. He asked about him, and they said he had been lifted off; and so he named the boy *al-Mundhir*, the rooster or awakener.

This interpretation is preferable to considering it an error. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq related as follows, “A member of Abū Bakr’s family related to me that ʿĀʾisha, “mother of the believers”, used to say, ‘The body of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was never found to be missing, but God did journey away with his spirit.’”

He also said, “Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba related to me as follows, ‘When he was asked about the night journeys of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Muʿāwiya would say, “These were true visions from God.”’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “That is not refuted by the statement of both these authorities, according to the words of al-Hasan, to the effect that, “The following verse was revealed on that subject: “and We only made the signs We have shown you as a test for the people.””

Similarly Abraham, peace be upon him, said, “O my son, I see in my sleep that I am sacrificing you” (*sūrat al-Sāffāt*; XXXVII, v.102). And in the *ḥadīth* literature there is the statement: “My eyes are asleep while my heart is awake.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “God knows best which of that it was. He did go there and did see there what he saw of God Almighty, whether he was asleep or awake. All of that is, however, factual and true.”

My own comment is that Ibn Ishāq stopped at that point, having combined both possibilities in one whole. But one thing beyond doubt or disagreement is that he was certainly awake, for all the reasons given above.

It is not necessary to interpret the words of ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, that it was not his body, but his spirit that made the journey, as implying that he was asleep, as Ibn Ishāq understood it. The journey might well have in fact occurred for his soul while he was awake and not asleep; he could have ridden *al-Burāq*, gone to Jerusalem, ascended into heaven and seen all he did while awake and not asleep.

11. This is an ancient Islamic custom of blessing a new-born by chewing dates and rubbing therewith the palate of the baby.

This may well be the purpose of 'Ā'isha, "mother of the believers", God bless her, as well as of those who agreed with her, and not what Ibn Ishāq understood, which is that thereby they all implied that he was asleep. But God knows best.

I observe that we do not deny the occurrence of sleep visions before the experience of the night journey, as happened thereafter. For whenever he had visions they came (clearly) like the breaking of dawn. The *ḥadīth* dealing with the beginnings of revelation contained material to this effect. In such cases, what he saw when awake happen to him he had previously seen when asleep. That prior vision had been for the purpose of laying the foundation, making an introductory step, and giving him a sense of security and ease. But God knows best.

There is also disagreement among scholars over whether the night journey and the ascent took place on one night or whether each occurred on a different night. And some claim that the night journey came while he was awake and the ascent while he slept.

Al-Muhallab b. Abū Ṣufra has told, in his exegesis of al-Bukhārī's *ḥadīth* compendium, about some scholars maintaining that the night journey occurred twice, once with his spirit while he slept and once with both his body and his spirit when he was awake.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī related this, from his teacher, the jurist Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "This view combines the accounts. In the *ḥadīth* of Shurayk, from Anas, are the words, 'And that related to what his heart saw while his eyes slept. His heart was not asleep.' At the end of his account the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Then I awoke and found myself in the *ḥijr*.'"

This was sleep. Something else would suggest wakefulness.

There are some who also claim that there were several journeys while he was awake. One scholar stated, "There were four night journeys." Some claim that some took place in Medina.

Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, God bless him, tried to reconcile the differing interpretations of the night journey by grouping them variously. He concluded that there were three night journeys. One was from Mecca specifically to Jerusalem, mounted on *al-Burāq*. One again was from Mecca to heaven also upon *al-Burāq*, according to the *ḥadīth* of Ḥudhayfa, and one was from Mecca to Jerusalem and thereafter to heaven.

We comment that if it is merely the differences in the accounts that leads him to these three views, then the wording relating thereto differs even more than these three.

Anyone wishing to understand these matters should peruse the research materials we compiled in our book of exegesis relating to the words of the Almighty, "Glory be to Him who took his servant by night" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.1).

Even if one concluded that such division was restricted to three possibilities relating to Jerusalem and to heaven, such mental computations have no impact on actual events. But God knows best.

It is strange that Imām Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī, God be pleased with him, gave the account of the night journey after recounting the death of Abū Ṭālib. He was thus in accord with Ibn Ishāq in referring to the ascent to heaven in the later materials, but differed with him in reporting it after the death of Abū Ṭālib.

Ibn Ishāq positioned his account of the death of Abū Bakr after the description of the night journey. But God alone knows how it really was.

This means that al-Bukhārī made a distinction between the night journey and the ascent. Each of these he therefore dealt with in a separate section.

His text reads, *Section on the night journey and the statement of God Almighty, ‘Glory be to Him who took His servant by night.’*

“It was related to us by Yahyā b. Bukayr quoting al-Layth, from ‘Uqayl, from Ibn Shihāb who said that Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān related to him as follows, ‘I heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, “When Quraysh expressed their disbelief in me I was in the *hijr*. And God made clear Jerusalem to me and so I set about telling them its distinctive features while I viewed it.”’”

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā’ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama from Jābir.

Muslim, al-Nasā’ī and al-Tirmidhī also related it from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) in similar terms.

Al-Bukhārī’s text goes on, *Section on the Ascent:*

“It was related to us by Hudba b. Khālīd, from Hammām and Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālīk, from Mālīk b. Ṣaṣ’a, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) related to them as follows about the night he was taken on a journey, ‘While I was lying down there in the *ḥatīm*¹² – or he may well have said the *hijr* – ‘an apparition came to me and began cutting.’ I (Mālīk b. Ṣaṣ’a, tr.) then heard him say, “And he split open from this to this.” I asked al-Jārūd who was by my side, “What does he mean by that?” And he replied, “From the hollow of his neck down to his pubic hair.” And I heard him say, from “his breastbone down to his pubic hair.”’

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on, ‘Then he withdrew my heart and a basin of gold filled with faith was brought to me. He then washed my heart and it was stuffed and replaced. After that I was brought a white mount that was smaller than a mule but larger than a donkey.’

“Al-Jārūd asked, ‘Was that *al-Burāq*, Abū Ḥamza?’ Anas responded, ‘Yes’.

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) continued, ‘It could span with its stride as far as it could see. I was mounted upon it and Gabriel led me away until he reached the lowest heaven. He asked for me to go in and a reply came, “Who is this?” “Gabriel,” he replied. “And who is with you?” He replied, “Muḥammad”. “And

12. The semi-circular walled area next to the *ka’ba*.

has he been given a mission?" "Yes," Gabriel answered. "Then welcome to him! His arrival is a pleasure!"

"And so he opened up. When I went in I found Adam therein. Gabriel said, "This is your father Adam; greet him!" I did so and he saluted me in return, saying, "Welcome to my pure son, to the pure Prophet!"

"I was then taken up to the second heaven and when he asked to go inside, he was asked who it was. The same responses and questions as before followed and when I went in there were John and Jesus, who were cousins on the maternal side. Gabriel again introduced me and we exchanged the same greeting as with Adam.

"Then I was taken up to the third heaven where Gabriel again asked entry and was met with the same questions and responses. When I went in, there was Joseph, whom I greeted, and I received welcome from him as before.

"Taken to the fourth heaven, there were the same questions and responses and when I went in I found Idris there, exchanged greetings, and he welcomed me as before.

"Brought up to the fifth heaven, the same questions and responses were made, and when I entered there was Aaron, with whom I exchanged greetings and from whom I received welcome.

"Then at the sixth heaven the same questions and responses were made and when I entered, there was Moses, with whom I exchanged greetings and who made me welcome.

"And when I went further on, he wept. When he was asked why, Moses replied, "I weep because a young man who has received his mission after me will have a greater number of his nation enter paradise than will of mine."

"I was then taken to the seventh heaven where the same questions and responses were made. When I went in there was Abraham, with whom I exchanged greetings and who welcomed me.

"Then I was raised up to the *sidrat al-muntahā*; there were four rivers, two open to see, two hidden. I asked Gabriel, "What is this, Gabriel?" He replied, "The two hidden rivers are those of paradise, while the two visible ones are the Nile and the Euphrates."

"Then the *bayt al-ma'mur* was raised for me to see, wherein each day 70,000 angels enter. I was then brought a vessel of wine, another of milk, and a third of honey. I took the milk. Gabriel said, "That is *al-fitra*¹³ that you and your nation follow."

"Prayer was then enjoined on me, 50 prayers each day. Then I went back and when I passed by Moses, he asked, "What orders were you given?"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "I was ordered to pray 50 times each day."

"Moses commented, "Your nation can't manage 50 prayers a day. I swear, I put people to the test before your time and I made some very severe requirements

13. The word has connotations of "God's way of creating", and therefore His plan or purpose. See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

of the people of Israel. Return to your Lord and ask him for some relief for your nation.”

“And so I did return and ten prayers were lifted from me.

“I went back to Moses, he said as he had before, I returned and ten more were removed.

“Again back to Moses, I returned once more and ten more were removed.

“Once more to Moses, he said as before, and I returned and was ordered to make ten prayers each day.

“Moses then spoke as before, and again I returned and was ordered to make five prayers each day.

“When I went back to Moses, he asked, “What were your orders?” I replied, “To make five prayers each day.”

“He commented, “Your people can’t manage five prayers each day. I tried my people before your time and made severe requirements of the people of Israel. Return again and ask your Lord for some alleviation for your nation.”

“I replied, “I have already made such requests of my Lord as to make me ashamed; therefore I’d much rather accept and be satisfied.” As I passed on, a voice called out to me, “I have completed my decree. I have alleviated the burden upon my servants.””

Thus al-Bukhārī related this *ḥadīth* here. He also recounted it in other places of his compendium and so did Muslim, al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasā’ī through various chains from Qatāda, from Anas, from Mālik b. Ṣaṣ’a.

We gave it by the account from Anas b. Mālik from ‘Ubay b. Kaḇ, as well as by the account of Anas from Abū Dharr. And we gave it by several paths from Anas, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

We related all that in detail with its various chains of transmission and phraseology in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

In this text there is no mention of Jerusalem. It is as though some of the sources omit some information because of the broad knowledge of it. Or they forgot it, or mention only what are in their views the most important matters. Sometimes they elaborate and give the entire account in detail, while at others they omit selectively to stress what they consider most useful. Those who make each account of the *isrā’* a separate experience, as we have indicated of some above, have strayed too far from the truth. This is so because each of these accounts includes reference to the greeting made to the prophets, and in each the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is introduced to them. Also in each one prayer is made obligatory for him. How is it possible to claim that all these would have occurred several times? This is extremely unlikely and implausible. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, “Al-Ḥumaydi related to us, that Sufyān narrated to him from ‘Amr, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who commented as follows about the words of God Almighty, ‘And we only made the signs we have shown

you as a test for the people.' He (Ibn 'Abbās,) said, 'These were visions seen by the eye, shown to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night he was taken to Jerusalem.' And of the *shajarat al-ma'ūna*, the 'accursed tree', mentioned in the Qur'ān he said, 'It is the *al-zaqqūm* tree.'"¹⁴

DIVISION

On the morning following the night of his journey, Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at about noon. He then explained to him the manner of prayer and its times.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his followers to assemble and Gabriel led him in prayer all that day until the next, with the Prophet (ṢAAS) acting as the Imām of the Muslims, and following the example of Gabriel. This is told in the *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās and Jābir, "Gabriel led me in prayer twice at the house (of God)."¹⁵

He thus explained to him the two times, the beginning and the end, that is, of the five daily prayers. The expanse of time between them is called the *al-waqt al-muwassa'* the 'extended period', but he made no mention of such an extension of time for the prayer at sunset.

This is affirmed in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā, Burayda and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, all of which are in the compendium of Muslim. Discussion of this occurs in our book *al-Aḥkām (The Regulations)*. And to God is all praise.

Also affirmed in the *ḥadīth* of the compendium of al-Bukhārī is the statement brought down from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When prayer was first prescribed it was just two *rak'āt*,¹⁶ prostrations; this was subsequently established only for the prayer on travel, with more *rak'āt* being added for prayer when in residence."

Al-Awzā'ī related it thus, from al-Zuhri, and al-Sha'bi gave it from Masrūq back to 'Ā'isha.

This is problematic in view of the fact that 'Ā'isha used to perform the prayer in its entirety while travelling, as also did 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. We discussed this matter with regard to God's words, "And if you journey in the world there is no blame on you if you shorten the prayer if you fear incitement from those who disbelieve" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.101).

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī held the view that prayer while resident when first prescribed was made to be four *rak'āt*. He similarly referred to it, through a *ḥadīth* with an incomplete chain of authorities, regarding the prayer made by the Prophet (ṢAAS) on the morning after the night journey,

¹⁴ A tree said to produce bitter, poisonous fruit.

¹⁵ A reference to the *ka'ba* in Mecca.

¹⁶ In Islam the daily prayers are made up of liturgies and physical movements that are divided into cycles each of which is called a *rak'a* (plural *rak'āt*).

namely to the effect that there should be four *rak'āt* at midday, four in the late afternoon, three at sunset, with the prayers of the first two being recited aloud, four at night with just two being recited aloud, and two in the morning, both recited aloud."

My own view is that 'Ā'isha may have meant that before the night journey the prayer consisted of two *rak'āt*, recited twice, separately, and then, when the five were made compulsory they were kept the same while in residence, and that permission was given that two *rak'āt* be prayed while travelling, as had been the case previously. Based on this explanation, there would be no controversy at all. But God knows best.

Section: Concerning the splitting of the moon in the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

God did provide the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with a sign to prove the veracity of the guidance and religion of truth he brought, and that was at the time of his pointing (to the moon).

God Almighty spoke the following in His noble book, "The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away, saying, 'Just more trickery!' They call it deceit and follow their fancies, while all things are pre-determined" (*sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.1–3).

Muslims are agreed that this did occur in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); traditions with complete lines of transmission, through numerous paths, provide decisive proof for those who examine it and comprehend it.

We will provide some of those easily available traditions, if God wills it and in Him is all faith and reliance. We detailed this in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*, and there gave the various chains of authorities and differences in phraseology verbatim. Here we will refer to some aspects of these and will attribute them to well-known texts, with the power and strength from God.

That is related from Anas b. Mālik, Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm, Ḥudhayfa, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, God be pleased with them all.

Regarding the *ḥadīth* of Anas, Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Razzāq related to us that Ma'mar related to him, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The people of Mecca asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) for a sign. And so the moon over Mecca was split twice. And he spoke the words, "The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder"'" (*sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.1).

And Muslim related this, from Muḥammad b. Rāfi' from 'Abd al-Razzāq.

This is one of the texts known as the *mursalāt al-ṣaḥāba*.¹⁷ And it is plain that he received it from a large mass of the Companions, or from the Prophet (ṢAAS), or from everyone.

17. A statement of a Companion of the Prophet, and not of the Prophet himself.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim related this *ḥadīth* on a path through Shaybān. In his line of transmission al-Bukhārī added Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba. Muslim added Shu'ba to his. All three (sic) of them drew from Qatāda, from Anas. The tradition states that the people of Mecca asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to show them a sign. He showed them the moon in two parts, so that they could see Mt. Hira' between them both.

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhārī.

Regarding the traditions quoted by Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm, the Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad b. Kathīr related to us, that Sulaymān b. Kathīr related to him, from Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm, from his father, who said, 'The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and became two parts; one was over this mountain, the other over that mountain. People said, "Muḥammad has performed a trick on us." Then they said, "He may have tricked us, but he can't trick everyone."'"

Aḥmad alone gives this *ḥadīth*.

Ibn Jarīr reported it similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl and others, from an account of Ḥusayn.

Al-Bayhaqī related it through Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān and Hushaym, both of them from Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Jubayr b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm, from his father and grandfather. His account adds one further man to the chain of transmission.

As for Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān's tradition, Abū Nu'aym related in the *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), on a line through 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, as follows: "Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān made an address to us at al-Madā'in. He gave thanks and praise to God and then said, 'The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder. Yes indeed, the time is near. And yes, the moon did split. The world really is close to partition. Today we have the race-track, and the race is tomorrow!'"

"The next Friday I went with my father to the mosque. Again he praised God and repeated what he had said, adding, 'And yes, indeed, the winner is he who comes first on Fridays.'

"On our way back, I asked my father what he had meant when he said, 'the race is tomorrow!' He replied, 'For who first reaches paradise.'"

Regarding the tradition of Ibn 'Abbās, al-Bukhārī stated, "Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to us that Bakr related to him, from Ja'far, from 'Irāk b. Mālik, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uṭba, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The moon did split during the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

Al-Bukhārī also, along with Muslim, related this from a *ḥadīth* of Bakr, who was Ibn Naṣr, from Ja'far. Regarding "... the time is near and the moon has split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away, saying 'Just more trickery!'" He said, "That time is past. That was before the *hijra*. The moon did split, and people could see both parts of it."

Al-ʿAwfi related it thus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, God bless him, this being one of his *mursal*¹⁸ traditions.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym stated, “Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us, quoting Bakr b. Suhayl, quoting ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd, quoting Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAtāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās – also, it came from Muqātil, from al-Daḥḥāk, from Ibn ʿAbbās – with reference to God’s words, ‘The hour has drawn near and the moon has been split asunder’ as follows, ‘The polytheists gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); they included al-Walid b. al-Mughira, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil, al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām, al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, along with many other such men.

“‘They said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), ‘If you are telling the truth, then split the moon for us into two parts, one half over Mt. Abū Qubays, the other over Mt. Quʿayquʿān.’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked them, ‘If I did so, would you believe?’ ‘Yes, we would,’ they replied. It was a night of full moon, and so he asked God the Almighty and Glorious to grant him what they requested. That evening the moon did have one half removed and placed over Mt. Abū Qubays, the other being above Mt. Quʿayquʿān, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, ‘O Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asād, and al-Arqam b. al-Arqam, be a witness (to this event).’”

Moreover, Abū Nuʿaym stated, “Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us, quoting al-Ḥasan b. al-ʿAbbās al-Rāzī, from al-Haytham b. al-ʿUmān, as did Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭā, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, ‘The people of Mecca went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Is there some sign by which we can know that you are the Messenger of God?’”

“‘Gabriel then came down and said, ‘O Muḥammad, tell the people of Mecca that they will rejoice this night when they will see a sign and benefit thereby.’”

“‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) informed them what Gabriel had said and they all went outside on the night of the splitting, that of the 14th, and the moon split into two halves, one above Mt. al-Ṣafā, the other over Mt. al-Marwa. They looked, turned away and wiped their eyes, then looked once more, saying, ‘O Muḥammad, this is nothing more than the trickery of a monk!’”

“‘Then God revealed His words, ‘The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder’” (sūrat al-Qamar; LIV, v.1–3).

Al-Daḥḥāk related from Ibn ʿAbbās as follows, “Rabbis came from the Jews to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, ‘Show us a sign so we may believe in you.’

“He asked his Lord, and He showed them the moon split into two parts, one over Mt. al-Ṣafā, the other above Mt. al-Marwa. It remained so between early evening until night, with them looking on, and then it disappeared. They commented, ‘This is just magic, a trick.’”

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī said, “Aḥmad b. ʿAmr al-Razzāz related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Qitaʿi, quoting Muḥammad b. Bakr quoting

18. A *mursal ḥadīth* is a statement of a Companion that he or she has not attributed to the Prophet himself.

Ibn Jurayj quoting 'Amr b. Dīnār, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'In the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the moon was eclipsed and people said, "The moon is bewitched!" And so the words were revealed, "The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away saying, 'Just more trickery!'"' (sūrat al-Qamar; LIV, v.1-3).

This has a fine chain of authorities; it states that the moon was eclipsed that night; perhaps its splitting occurred on the night of its eclipse and this is why what happened to it was hidden from most of the earth's inhabitants. However, this was in fact witnessed in many parts of the world. It is said that in some parts of India that became a point for dating, and that a building was constructed that night which was dated by the night when the moon split.

Regarding the tradition of Ibn 'Umar, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "We were informed by Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, and by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī as follows: 'Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm related it to us, as did al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, as did Wahb b. Jarīr, from Shu'ba, from al-A'mash, from Mujāhid.'"

Muslim said, "It is like the account of Mujāhid from Abū Ma'mar, from Ibn Mas'ūd."

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan* and *ṣaḥīḥ*."¹⁹

Regarding the tradition quoted by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, the Imām Aḥmad said, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Abū Najih, from Mujāhid, from Abū Ma'mar, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said, "The moon split into two parts during the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) so that everyone looked at it. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Bear witness!"'"

(Both of these authorities) drew this from an account of Sufyān, he being Ibn 'Uyayna. And from a *ḥadīth* of al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm, from Abū Ma'mar, from 'Abd Allāh b. Samra, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said, "The moon split asunder while we were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Minā. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'Bear witness!' And one piece of the moon went off towards the mountain."

This phraseology is from al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bukhārī then said, "Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk narrated it from Masrūq, from 'Abd Allāh in Mecca, and Muḥammad b. Muslim followed him, from Ibn Abū Najih, from Mujāhid, from Abū Ma'mar, from 'Abd Allāh, God bless him."

Abū Ḍa'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī gave support to the *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who said, "The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Quraysh said, 'This is the trickery of Ibn Abū Kabsha.' They commented, 'See what travellers say to you! Muḥammad can't trick everyone.'

"He said, 'And travellers did arrive, and they said the same.'"

19. These are among the categories that *ḥadīth* scholars use to describe the soundness of a chain of transmission; the words mean "good" and "true".

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Abū ‘Abd Allāh the *ḥāfiẓ* informed us, quoting Abū al-‘Abbās, quoting al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, that Sa‘īd b. Sulaymān related to us, that Hushaym related from Mughira, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘The moon split asunder in Mecca, into two parts.’”

“And the unbelievers of Quraysh told the people of Mecca, ‘This is magic. The son of Abū Kabsha has tricked you by it. Look to travellers arriving. If they saw what you say, then he is correct, but if they did not see what you did, then it is magic he has tricked you with.’”

“He went on, ‘So travellers were questioned, and,’ he said, ‘they came from all directions. And they reported, “We did see it.”’”

Abū Nu‘aym reported this the same way from a *ḥadīth* of Jābir, from al-A‘mash, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from ‘Abd Allāh.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Mu‘ammil related to us, that Isrā‘īl related, from Simāk, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ‘Abd Allāh, he being Ibn Mas‘ūd, who said, ‘The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); I could see the mountain between the two splits in the moon.’”

Ibn Jarīr related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Asbāṭ from Simāk.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu‘aym stated, “Abū Bakr al-Ṭalḥī related to us, quoting Abū Huṣayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wādī‘ī, as did Yaḥyā al-Ḥimmānī, as did Yazīd, from ‘Aṭā’, from Simāk, from Ibrāhīm, from ‘Alqama, from ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘We were with the Prophet (ṢAAS), at Minā, when the moon split until it was in two parts, one of which was behind the mountain. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, “Bear testimony! Bear testimony!”’”

Abū Nu‘aym stated, “Sulaymān b. Aḥmad related to us, quoting Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Qalānīsī, as did Ādam b. Abū Iyās, as did al-Layth b. Sa‘d, as did Hishām b. Sa‘d, from ‘Utba, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utba, from Ibn Mas‘ūd, who said, ‘The moon split while we were in Mecca. I saw one of its two pieces over the mountain at Minā while we were at Mecca.’”

“Aḥmad b. Ishāq related to us, as did Abū Bakr b. Abū ‘Āṣim, Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, and Mu‘awiya b. ‘Amr, from Zā‘ida, from ‘Āṣim, from Zirr, from ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘The moon split at Mecca and I saw it in two parts.’”

He then related from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd b. Masrūq, Mūsā b. ‘Umayr related to us, from Manṣūr b. al-Mu‘tamir, from Zayd b. Wahb, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, who said, “I saw the moon, I swear by God, split in two parts, with Mt. Ḥirā’ between them both.”

Abū Nu‘aym related, through al-Suddī al-Saghīr, from al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The moon split into two halves, one of which left while the other remained.”

Ibn Mas‘ūd stated, “I saw Mt. Ḥirā’ between the two halves of the moon. One half left and the people of Mecca were amazed at this, and said, ‘This is just some faked-up trick; it will pass.’”

Layth b. Abū Sulaym reported Mujāhid as having said, "The moon split into two pieces in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said to Abū Bakr, 'Bear testimony, Abū Bakr!'"

"And the polytheists said, 'He has bewitched the moon so that it split apart!'"

These various lines are strong in their links and provide decisive proof for those who consider them and the probity of these men. The version told by some storytellers, that the moon fell down to earth and entered one sleeve of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and came out of the other, has no foundation; it is a lie, an invention and untrue.

When the moon split it did not leave the sky. However, when the Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured towards it, it reacted by splitting and became two halves. One of these passed over until it was beyond Ḥirā' and they saw the mountain between that one and the other. This is how Ibn Mas'ūd related that he had witnessed it.

What we find in the account of Anas in the compendium of Aḥmad to the effect that, "The moon split 'twice' in Mecca" is controversial. Obviously he meant "into two parts". But God knows best.

Section: The death of Abū Ṭālib, uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and thereafter that of Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, and the wife, may God be pleased with her, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Some say that she preceded him in death, but the reverse is commonly known.

These were both sympathizers, he publicly, she privately. He remained a disbeliever while she was trusting and a believer; may God be pleased with her and please her.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Thereafter Khadija and Abū Ṭālib both died, in one year.

"After the death of Khadija troubles fell upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in quick succession. She had been his trusted adviser in all his troubles and he would seek reassurance from her. The death of his uncle Abū Ṭālib meant he had lost a source of support and protection against his people.

"This occurred three years before his emigration to Medina.

"When Abū Ṭālib died, Quraysh harmed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to an extent they would never have dared during Abū Ṭālib's life; one fool of Quraysh even went so far as to throw dirt on his head.

"Hishām b. 'Urwa related to me, from his father, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into his house with the dirt still on his head. One of his daughters went to him, washing him off and weeping, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her, "Don't weep, child. God is your father's protector," while he also commented, "Quraysh never treated me so badly before Abū Ṭālib died."'"

Ibn Ishāq previously reported that they might toss something harmful into his cooking pot when it was set up for him. When they did that, he stated, quoting 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh from 'Urwa, he would lift out on a stick whatever they had

put there and take it to his door, saying, "O Banū ʿAbd Manāf, what kind of protection is this?" Then he would throw it out into the street.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Abū Ṭālib became sick and Quraysh learned of his serious state, they noted how Ḥamza and ʿUmar had accepted Islam and how the prestige of Muḥammad had spread through the Quraysh tribes, so they decided to go to Abū Ṭālib to get him to reconcile his nephew to them. Otherwise, they concluded, he might subvert their authority completely.

"Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿbad related to me, from a member of his family, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'When they went to Abū Ṭālib and spoke to him, the Quraysh leaders, including ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa, Shayba b. Rabiʿa, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, along with others, said, "O Abū Ṭālib, you know what standing you have with us, and that your serious condition, of which you are aware, greatly concerns us. You also know of the dispute between us and your nephew. Would you now call him and reach a compromise by which he will do us no harm nor we him; let him tolerate our religion and we will his."

"Abū Ṭālib sent for him and when he came, he told him, "O Nephew, these leaders of your people have gathered to reach a compromise with you and you with them."

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, "You all just need to say one word, uncle, and through it you can rule the Arabs and have the non-Arabs subject to you."

"“Oh yes, I swear by your life,” answered Abū Ṭālib, “along with ten words more!”

"He told him, "Say, 'There is no god but God.' And repudiate whatever gods you worship besides Him!"

"Those present clapped their hands and commented, "O Muḥammad, do you want to make all the gods into one? How strange."

"Then they said to one another, "This man is not going to give us any part of what we want. We should leave and continue in the religion of our fathers until God decides between us and him." They then dispersed.

"At that Abū Ṭālib said, "I swear, nephew, I don't think you asked anything excessive."

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) had high hopes of him now and said to him, "O Uncle, if you were to say it I would intercede for you on Judgement Day."

"Recognizing the eagerness of the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abū Ṭālib replied, "O Nephew, I swear that were it not for fear of the curses there would be on you and your relatives after me, and the fact that Quraysh would think that I had only said it out of fear of death, I would say it. I will not say it only to please you thereby."

"When death approached Abū Ṭālib, al-ʿAbbās saw that he was moving his lips and so he put his ear close to hear. Then he said, "O Nephew, I swear my brother did say the word you asked of him!"

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “I did not hear.”

“And God Almighty revealed about that group of men, “*Ṣād*. By the Qur’ān of fine repute! Those who disbelieve act in pride and arrogance”” (*sūrat Ṣād*; XXXVIII, v.1).

We have discussed this in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), and to God go all praise and credit.

Various scholars of the Shī’a and other extremists hold the view that Abū Ṭālib died a Muslim because of what al-‘Abbās said in this *ḥadīth*, that is, “O Nephew, my brother did speak the word you told him to say: “There is no god but God.””

There are many ways to respond to this. One is that there is some question relating to the chain of authorities that includes one link defined as “a member of his family” about whom nothing is known. The doubt here rests on ignorance of both the person and his circumstances. Such a tradition is normally regarded as an *ḥadīth mawqūf*,²⁰ if it remains unsubstantiated.

Imām Aḥmad, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Jarīr gave much the same chain, through Abū Usāma from al-A‘mash (who said), “‘Abbād related to us, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr ...” He gave the account without, however, mentioning the words of al-‘Abbās.

Al-Thawrī also related it, from al-A‘mash, from Yahyā b. ‘Ammāra al-Kūfī, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās. He gave it without the addition of the words of al-‘Abbās.

Al-Tirmidhī related it and stated it to be a good tradition, as did al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Jarīr.

The wording of the tradition on the line given by al-Bayhaqī through al-Thawrī, from al-A‘mash, from Yahyā b. ‘Ammāra, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, quotes Ibn ‘Abbās as saying, “Abū Ṭālib fell sick and men of Quraysh and the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived at his home and there was a seat for one person at the head of Abū Ṭālib’s bed. Abū Jahl arose to prevent him sitting there, all the while protesting to Abū Ṭālib about Muḥammad. He asked, ‘Nephew, what is it you want from your people?’

“He replied, ‘Uncle, all I want from them is a statement through which the Arabs will submit to them and which will bring them tribute from the non-Arabs. Just one statement.’

“And what is that?’

“‘There is no god but God,’ he replied.

“They commented, ‘What, make all the gods into one? That’s ridiculous!’

“He went on, ‘And God revealed about them, “*Ṣād*. By the Qur’ān of fine repute! ...” and so on to the words, “... nothing but a forgery!”” (*sūrat Ṣād*; XXXVIII, v.7).

Moreover Ibn Ishāq’s account is contradicted by one more authoritative, namely that of al-Bukhārī, who said, “Maḥmūd related to us, that ‘Abd al-Razzāq

20. The term implies that the *ḥadīth* has an unknown person in its chain of transmission; it is therefore regarded as unsound.

related to them that Ma'mar informed them, from al-Zuhri, from Ibn al-Musayyab, from his father, God bless him, that Abū Ṭālib was close to death when the Prophet (ṢAAS), along with Abū Jahl, went in to see him. He (the Prophet) said, 'Uncle, say, "There is no god but God!" One statement; (and) I will plead with God thereby on your behalf.'

"Abū Jahl and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Umayya then said, 'O Abū Ṭālib, are you leaving the faith of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?' And they both continued talking to him until he spoke his last words to them, namely, '... in the faith of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'I will seek forgiveness for you for as long as I am not restrained from doing so.'

"And so there was revealed, 'It is not appropriate for the Prophet and for those who believe to seek forgiveness for the polytheists, even though near relatives, after it has become plain to them that they would inhabit hell' (*sūrat al-Tawba* (or *al-Barā'a*); IX, v.113). And there was also revealed, 'You cannot give guidance to those you love'" (*sūrat al-Qaṣāṣ*; XXVIII, v.56).

Muslim related this account from Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm and 'Abd Allāh, from 'Abd al-Razāq.

They also drew it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from his father in similar words. In it he states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued to suggest this to him while the other two repeated their words until he spoke his final words, '... in the faith of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.' And he refused to utter the words "There is no god but God.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'I will seek forgiveness for you.' And so God sent down, thereafter that is, the words, 'It is not up to the Prophet and those who believe to seek forgiveness for the polytheists, even though near relatives.'"

Concerning Abū Ṭālib, it was revealed, "You cannot give guidance to those you love."

Imām Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Kaysān, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "When death was near for Abū Ṭālib, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to him and said, 'Uncle, say "There is no god but God" and I will testify for you about it on Judgement Day.'

"He replied, 'If it were not for Quraysh insulting me and saying that it was only fear of death that made me say it, I would do so, and please you. I would not, however, say it only to please you.'²¹

"And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, 'You cannot give guidance to those you love.'"

'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar, Mujāhid, al-Sha'bi, and Qatāda all stated that the above verse was revealed about Abū Ṭālib when the Messenger of God

21. The passage could also be translated, "Were it not for Quraysh insulting me by saying that it was only fear of death that induced me to say so, or that I did so in order to please you, I would have uttered this statement; but only to please you."

(ṢAAS) suggested to him that he say, "There is no god but God" and he refused to do so. Instead, he said that he subscribed to the faith of the elders. The last thing he said was that, "He is following the religion of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."

All this is affirmed by al-Bukhārī's narration from Musaddad, who related from Yaḥyā, from Sufyān, from 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith who said, "Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib related to us that he said, 'I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "What benefit were you to your uncle? He used to protect and defend you."

"He replied, "He is in a shallow stream of hell-fire; if it were not for me, he would be in its lowest depths."'"

Muslim related this same account in his compendium by various paths, from 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr.

Both these scholars narrated it in both their works from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, as follows, "Ibn al-Hādd related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. Khabbāb, from Abū Sa'īd, that he heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say when someone mentioned his uncle, 'Perhaps my intercession may help him on Judgement Day, and he will be placed in a shallow stream of hell-fire that will reach up to his ankles and cause his brain to boil.'"

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhārī. In one account the words used are, "... cause *umm dimāghihī*", the centre of his brain, instead of "*dimāghuhū*", his brain, to boil.

Muslim related, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from 'Affān, from Hammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Abū 'Uthmān, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Abū Ṭālib receives more lenient punishment than any other inhabitant of hell; he wears two shoes of fire that cause his brain to boil."

In the *Maghāzī*, the history of the conquests, by Yūnus b. Bukayr, the statement given is "... and from them (his shoes) his brain will boil so that it streams down over his feet." Al-Suhaylī makes mention of this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his compendium, "Amr – he being the son of Ismā'īl b. Mujālid – related to us, saying that his father related to them, from Mujālid, from al-Sha'bi, from Jābir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked, "Have you been of benefit to Abū Ṭalib?"

"He replied, "I drew him forth from hell-fire into a shallow stream of it."'"

Al-Bazzār alone gives this tradition.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "However, the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not accept the testimony of al-'Abbās that his brother (Abū Ṭālib) had made the said statement and replied, 'I did not hear it because al-'Abbās was at that time an unbeliever, from whom a testimony was unacceptable.'"

My comment is that this account thereof is in itself not to be considered authentic because of the weakness of its chain of transmission, as stated earlier.

Evidence for that is provided by the fact that he (al-'Abbās) asked the Prophet (ṢAAS) thereafter about Abū Ṭālib and he told him what is stated above.

If, however, we accepted the argument for the authenticity of the aforementioned statement of Abū Ṭālib, we would, none the less, aver that he only said what he did upon seeing the angel after the death-rattle, when expression of faith cannot be of use to a soul.

But God knows best.

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated, “Shuʿba related to us, that Abū Ishāq said, ‘I heard Nājiyya b. Kaʿb say, ‘I heard ‘Alī say, ‘When my father died, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, ‘Your uncle has died.’ He replied, ‘Go and bury him.’ I said, ‘He died a polytheist.’ So he replied, ‘Go and bury him and do not cause (a scene), then return to me.’”

“““‘I did so, returned to him and he told me to wash.’”””

Al-Nasāʾī related this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba.

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān, from Abū Ishāq, from Nājiyya, from ‘Alī who said, “When Abū Ṭālib died, I said, ‘O Messenger of God, that misguided old man your uncle has died. Who will bury him?’”

“He replied, ‘Go and bury your father. Do nothing to cause (a scene), then return to me.’”

“When I returned to him he told me to wash, and I did so. He then said some prayers for me that gave me more pleasure than would have anything else on earth.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī said, “Abū Saʿd al-Mālinī informed us, Abū Aḥmad b. ‘Adī related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Ḥumayd, quoting Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abū Razma, quoting al-Faḍl, from Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Jurayj, from ‘Aṭā, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) returned after attending the funeral for Abū Ṭālib and said, ‘May your family ties be secure, and you be well rewarded, uncle.’””

He (al-Bayhaqī) went on to say that it was related from the Prophet (ṢAAS), though with an incomplete chain, with the addition “... and he did not stand at his grave.”

He (al-Bayhaqī) also said, “This man, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who is mentioned in the context of the chain of authorities for this account, is that same al-Khawārizmī about whom there has been some controversy.

I note that several persons have related traditions from him, including al-Faḍl b. Mūsā al-Sinānī and Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Bikandī. Nevertheless Ibn ‘Adī said, “He is not well known. And the traditions others have quoted from him are not sound.”

We have already given accounts of the support and protection given by Abū Ṭālib to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), how he defended him and his followers. We also quoted from the verses he spoke in their praise and of the love and sympathy for them these verses express, as well as the criticism and blame they contain for those who opposed and ridiculed them. These verses exemplify the

eloquence, skill and fluency of the Hāshim and Muṭṭalibī clans, an ability to use the language that could not be matched, rivalled or excelled by any Arab.

In all of this he knew that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was truthful, innocent and right-guided, but his heart, nevertheless, did not believe.

There is a difference between the heart knowing and believing. We have affirmed this fact in our exegesis of the *Book of Faith* in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

Evidence for this is given in the words of the Almighty, "Those to whom we have brought the Book know it as they do their sons; (however) a group of them conceal the truth, while knowing it" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.146).

Regarding Pharaoh's people, the Almighty said, "... and they denied them, though their souls were convinced ..." (*sūrat al-Naml*; XXVII, v.14). And Moses said to the Pharaoh, "You know that it is only the Lord of the heavens and the earth who sent clear proofs, and I believe you, Pharaoh, to be damned!" (*sūrat al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.102).

Some of the *salafī* or early authorities consider the Almighty's words "... they defend him yet reject him" (*sūrat al-An'ām*; VI, v.26) to relate to Abū Ṭalīb, since he used to defend the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from harm even though he rejected the guidance and true religion he brought.

(This opinion) is related as from Ibn 'Abbās, al-Qāsim b. Mukhaymīra, Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, 'Aṭā' b. Dīnār, Muḥammad b. Ka'b and others and it is open to question. But God alone knows best.

Preferable, though God knows best, is the other account from Ibn 'Abbās to the effect that the verse refers to those who prevented people from believing in Muḥammad (ṢAAS). Mujāhid, Qatāda, al-Daḥḥāk and others held this view. It is also the choice of Ibn Jarīr; though God knows best. Its implication is that this verse emphasizes the blame for the polytheists for preventing others from following him while themselves not benefitting from him either.

The Almighty therefore stated, "There are from among them those who listen to you over whose hearts we have placed covers that prevent them understanding, and holes in their ears; even if they see all signs they fail to believe in them. Even when they come to you to argue with you, those who disbelieve say, 'These are just legends of the ancients.' And they forbid others from (believing in it), and themselves keep away from it. It is only themselves they destroy, yet they do not sense this" (*sūrat al-An'ām*; VI, v.25).

The phrase here: "... and they ..." indicates reference to a group. As for "they" as referred to in the subsequent comment, "... it is only themselves they destroy, yet they do not sense this", this gives evidence of the totality of the blame.

Such could not apply to Abū Ṭalīb. On the contrary, he restrained people from harming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his followers, using all action, speech, moral support and money available to him.

Nevertheless, God did not decree faith for him, in all His mighty wisdom, nor did He furnish him with the clear, irrefutable and decisive proofs whereby (one) is compelled to believe and submit.

And were it not for God's having forbidden us seeking forgiveness for disbelievers, we would certainly seek such forgiveness and mercy for him.

DIVISION

On the death of Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid and reference to some of her qualities and virtues, may God bless and please her and make the gardens of paradise her place of dwelling and repose. And He has indeed done that in a reference made by him who is truthful and believed, in which he announced her being in a home in paradise made of pearl shell where there is neither discord nor distress.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān said, "Abū Ṣāliḥ related to us, from al-Layth, who said that 'Uqayl related to him from Ibn Shihāb, as follows, 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said, "Khadija had died before the prayer was made obligatory."'"

This was related also in another path from al-Zuhri which had him say, "Khadija died at Mecca before the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for Medina, and before the prayer was made obligatory."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "Khadija and Abū Ṭālib died in the same year."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "I was informed that Khadija died three days after the death of Abū Ṭālib. It was 'Abd Allāh b. Mandah who mentioned this in his book *al-Ma'rifa (Knowledge)*, as did our sheikh Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "Al-Wāqidi claimed that Khadija and Abū Ṭālib both died in the same year they came out of the enclave, that is, three years before the emigration, and also that Khadija died 35 days before the death of Abū Ṭālib."

My comment is that they mean before the five daily prayers were made obligatory, on the "night journey".

It would have been more appropriate for us to make reference to the deaths of Abū Ṭālib and Khadija before the account of the "night journey", as al-Bayhaqi and others did. We have postponed it till after the "night journey" for a reason that you will see shortly. Discussion of this will effectively harmonize and order this section, as you will find, if God so wills it.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān, from 'Umāra, from Abū Zur'a, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, "O Messenger of God, this is Khadija who has brought a vessel of shortening — or food and drink. When she comes to you greet her from her Lord and from me and give her news of a house in paradise made of pearl shell and where there is neither discord nor distress."'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* transmitted from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Musaddad related to us, from Yahyā, from Ismā'īl, who said, 'I asked 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, "Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) give glad tidings to Khadija?" He replied, "Yes, of a house of pearl shell devoid of discord or distress."'"

Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim, in lines from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "He only announced good news of her having a house made of *qaṣab*, pearl shell, in paradise, because she had won the *qaṣab*, the first prize, (in the race) to faith. There was to be 'no discord or distress' there because she never raised her voice to the Prophet (ṢAAS), never once caused him trouble or was discordant with him, and never harmed him."

Both scholars gave it in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father that 'Ā'isha, God bless her, said, "The only one of the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) of whom I was jealous was Khadija – who died before he married me – and this was because of how I would hear him mention her.

"And God ordered him to announce to her the tidings of a house of pearl shell for her in paradise; and if he slaughtered a sheep he would present to her friends as much of it as they wanted."

These are the words of al-Bukhārī.

In another version from 'Ā'isha, she said, "I was never so jealous of any woman as I was of Khadija; this was due to the frequency with which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would mention her. He married me three years after (her death). And his Lord, or Gabriel, ordered him to announce the tidings of her having a house of pearl shell in paradise."

In another of his variant wordings, she said, "I was never so jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) as I was of Khadija. I did not see her, but he talked often of her. He sometimes slaughtered a sheep then would cut off its limbs for her and send them off to Khadija's women friends. I would say, 'Why, it's as if Khadija were the only woman in the world!' and he would reply, 'She was what she certainly was, and I had a son by her.'"

Then al-Bukhārī stated, "Ismā'īl b. Khalīl related to us, 'Alī b. Mushīr informed us, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, that 'Ā'isha said, 'Hāla, daughter of Khuwaylid, Khadija's sister, asked to come in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he thought of it as Khadija's asking for entry; he was confused, then said, 'O God, it's Hāla!'"

'Ā'isha went on, "And so I was jealous and commented, 'Why think back on some red-mouthed old woman of Quraysh who died long ago and whom God has replaced for you with someone better!'"

Muslim related this thus, from Suwayd b. Sa'īd, from 'Alī b. Mushīr.

This comment gives clear evidence that 'Ā'isha was better than Khadija, either in her personal or in her wifely qualities, for he did not contradict her or answer her back, as is obvious from the course of the account of al-Bukhārī, God bless him!

However, Imām Aḥmad said, "Mu'ammīl Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Abd al-Malik – he being Ibn 'Umayr – from Mūsā b. Ṭalha, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'One day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) referred to Khadija and began speaking excessive praise for her. I was overcome

by that jealousy that affects women and I said, "O Messenger of God, God has awarded you with better than a red-mouthed old Quraysh woman!"'''

His account proceeds, "The face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) underwent such a change as I only ever saw when revelation happened or when he was imagining something and not knowing whether the outcome would be mercy or punishment."

He related it similarly on a path from Bahz b. Asad and ʿUthmān b. Muslim, both of these giving as authorities for it Ḥammād b. Salama, back to ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr.

After the words, "red-mouthed" this last account added the phrase "who died ages ago". And then she said, "His face then flushed in such a way as I only ever saw when revelation came or he was imagining something that might mean either mercy or punishment."

Aḥmad alone gave this version. Its chain of authorities is excellent.

Imām Aḥmad also stated, and quoted Ibn Ishāq as having said, "Mujālid related to us, from al-Shaʿbī, from Masrūq, that ʿĀʾisha said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) mentioned Khadija he would speak of her with the finest of praise. One day I got jealous and commented, "How often you refer to that old, red-mouthed woman; God has given you better than her in exchange!"'"

"He replied, "God has not given me better than her in exchange. She believed in me when the people disbelieved, and trusted me when they distrusted. She shared her wealth with me when others denied me. And God endowed a son to me from her, yet He withheld from me having sons with other women."'"

Aḥmad is also alone in giving this tradition. Its chain of authorities is fair. Muslim frequently gave Mujālid as a source, and he is controversial. But God knows best.

Perhaps this statement, I refer to his saying "God endowed a son to me from her yet He withheld from me having sons with other women" was before the birth of Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet (ṢAAS) by Mary, and may have actually been before her arrival. This is clearly so, for all the sons of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as we have seen and will report hereafter, were born to Khadija, except for Ibrāhīm who was born to Mary, God bless her, the Egyptian Coptic woman.

A number of scholars refer to this statement as evidence of the superiority of Khadija over ʿĀʾisha, God be pleased with her and make her content.

Other scholars have questions about its chain of authorities.

Yet others interpret this matter as referring to ʿĀʾisha as having been better in intimacy. This is likely or even obvious. The reason for this is that ʿĀʾisha's closeness involved her youth, beauty and the pleasure of intimacy with her. She had not implied by her words, "God has given you better than her in exchange" that she considered herself more pure and virtuous than Khadija. For this is a matter that is the prerogative of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. As He stated, "Do not attribute purity to yourselves; He knows best who is the most pious" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.32). And God Almighty also stated, "Have you not seen

those who attribute purity to themselves? It is God who attributes purity to whomever He wishes" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.49).

This is an issue subject to much debate among scholars old and new. On one side of it there are those versions to which members of the Shī'a and others restrict themselves, considering no woman equal to Khadīja because of the greetings made to her by the Lord and because the only sons of the Prophet (ṢAAS), except for Ibrāhīm, were born to her. Also they refer to the fact that he married no other woman until she died, and out of his respect for her acceptance of Islam, and for her having been of those who trusted. She has the status of having believed at the beginning of the mission and of devoting herself and her wealth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

There are also *sunni*, orthodox, scholars who take extreme positions and attribute to each of them special virtues, as is well-known. However, the strength of their orthodoxy leads them to prefer 'Ā'isha for having been the daughter of al-Ṣiddīq, Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", and to her having been more knowledgeable than Khadīja. For in no nation was there ever any woman the like of 'Ā'isha in her ability to memorize, in her knowledge, eloquence or intelligence. Moreover, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not love any of his wives as much as he did her. And affirmation of her innocence came down from above the seven heavens. And she related after he had died a great deal of excellent and highly valued knowledge of him, to such an extent that many people make reference to the well-known *ḥadīth* "Take one half of your religion from al-Ḥumayrā'."²²

The truth is that both of them have virtues so evident as to amaze and dazzle anyone who might have witnessed them. It is therefore best to defer this matter to God almighty.

One who possesses irrefutable proof, or is inclined to one view in this regard, ought to speak on the basis of such knowledge.

Anyone who is hesitant about any such matter will find that the best and the straightest path is for him to say, "God knows best".

Imām Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related, through Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, God bless him, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The best of their women was Mary, daughter of 'Imrān, and the best of *their* women was Khadīja, daughter of Khuwaylid.'" By this he meant the best women of their eras.

Shu'ba related, from Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, that his father Qurra b. Iyyās, God be pleased with him, stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'There have been many perfect men, but only three perfect women. These were Mary, daughter of 'Imrān, Āsiyya, the wife of Pharoah, and Khadīja, daughter of

22. Apparently a nickname applied to 'Ā'isha. The word, a diminutive form, means high born, of great excellence, or fair-skinned.

Khuwaylid. The greater virtue of ʿĀʾisha over other women is like that of *al-tharīd*²³ over other foods.”

Ibn Mirdawayh related this in his *Tafsir (Exegesis)*, and this chain of authorities is good back to Shuʿba and beyond.

Scholars agree that the quality shared by these three women, Āsiyya, Mary and Khadija is that each of them vouched for a prophet sent by God, gave them the best of companionship, and believed when they were given their mission.

Mary gave the most complete and full support and credence to her son when he received his mission.

Khadija wished to have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) marry her and gave her wealth for that, as we have stated previously. She also had full faith in him when revelation came down to him from God, Almighty and Glorious is He.

His statement “the greater virtue of ʿĀʾisha over other women is like that of *al-tharīd* over other foods” is also firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* compendia through Shuʿba, from ʿUrwa b. Murra, from Murra al-Ṭayyib al-Hamdānī, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘There have been many perfect men, but of women there were only Āsiyya, Pharoah’s wife, and Mary, daughter of ʿImrān; and the greater virtue of ʿĀʾisha over other women is like that of *al-tharīd* over other foods.’”

Al-tharīd is a dish made of bread and meat mixed together. It is the finest food of the Arabs. As some poets have said:

“When bread is enriched with meat, that, by God’s good grace, is *al-tharīd*.”

His statement, “The greater virtue of ʿĀʾisha over other women” has the implication of being comprehensive and encompasses all those women mentioned as well as others; but it may apply equally to all women, excluding (the aforementioned three). The discussion about her (ʿĀʾisha’s) status as compared to those three women would then remain undecided, with the probability of there being equality among them. Anyone wanting to express a preference for one of these over the others would therefore need extrinsic proof. But God knows best.

Section: On his marriage after the death of Khadija, God bless her, to ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr, and to Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa, God bless them both.

What is true is that he contracted marriage first with ʿĀʾisha, as will be shown.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his chapter on his marriage to ʿĀʾisha as follows, “Muʿallā b. Asad related to us, quoting Wuhayb, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) told her, ‘You have twice been shown to me in my sleep dressed in a silk cloth. And he (Gabriel) says, “This is your wife.” And when I uncover her, it is you! And so I say that if this be God’s will, then may He bring it about!’”

23. The word refers to a culinary dish the base of which is bread to which may be added marrow, eggs, meat and spices.

The text of al-Bukhārī reads, "*Chapter on Marriage to Virgins*. Ibn Abū Mulayka stated, 'Ibn 'Abbās said to 'Ā'isha, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) married no virgin other than yourself."'

"Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh related to us, as did his brother, from Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who stated, 'I said, "O Messenger of God, do you think that if you were to go down into a valley where there was one tree whose fruit had previously been eaten from, and another that had not been eaten from, at which of them would you graze your camel?" "At the one never eaten from." This implied that the Prophet (ṢAAS) married no other virgin but her.'

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this tradition.

He then stated, "Ubayd b. Ismā'īl related to us, that it was related to him by Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, that 'Ā'isha said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, "You were shown to me in my sleep being brought in a cloth of silk by an angel who said to me, 'This is your wife.' I withdrew the cloth from your face and it was you! So I said, 'If this be God's will, then may He bring it about!'"'"

In one account the wording is, "You were shown to me three nights in my sleep."

According to al-Tirmidhī Gabriel brought him her image in a piece of green silk and said, "This is your wife in this world and the next."

Al-Bukhārī's text reads, "*Chapter on Marriage between the Young and the Old*. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to us, as did al-Layth, from Yazīd, from 'Irāk, from 'Urwa, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Abū Bakr for 'Ā'isha's hand in marriage. Abū Bakr replied, 'But I'm your brother!' (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) responded, 'You are my brother in God's religion and His Book, and she is permitted to me.'"

The text of this tradition clearly suggests it to be *mursal*, incomplete,²⁴ even though al-Bukhārī and the authorities consider it uninterrupted. This is because it is a *ḥadīth* of 'Urwa from 'Ā'isha, God bless her. This is a tradition narrated by al-Bukhārī alone, God bless him.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married 'Ā'isha three years after (the death of) Khadija. At that time (of the contract) 'Ā'isha had been a girl of six. When he married her she was nine. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when 'Ā'isha was a girl of eighteen."

This tradition is considered *gharīb* (unique in this line).

Al-Bukhārī had related, from Ubayd b. Ismā'īl, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who said, "Khadija died three years before the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He allowed a couple of years or so to pass after that, and then he contracted marriage with 'Ā'isha when she was six, thereafter consummating marriage with her when she was nine years old."

24. This is so because 'Urwa, the narrator, is transmitting a conversation to which he was not a party, as is clear from the text. Also, he was too young to have witnessed this meeting.

What ʿUrwa stated here is *mursal*, incomplete, as we mentioned above, but in its content it must be judged as *muttaṣil*, uninterrupted.

His statement, "He contracted marriage with ʿĀʾisha when she was six, thereafter consummating marriage with her when she was nine" is not disputed by anyone, and is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of traditions and elsewhere.

He consummated marriage with her during the second year following the emigration to Medina.

His contracting marriage with her took place some three years after Khadija's death, though there is disagreement over this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated, "Al-Ḥajjāj related to us, that Ḥammād related to him, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with me (after) Khadija's death and before his emigration from Mecca, when I was six or seven years old. After we arrived in Medina some women came to me while I was playing on a swing; my hair was like that of a boy. They dressed me up and put make-up on me, then took me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he consummated our marriage. I was a girl of nine.'"

The statement here "*muttawaffā Khadija*", "Khadija's death" has to mean that it was shortly thereafter. Unless, that is, the word *baʿda*, "after", originally preceded this phrase and had been omitted from the account. The statement made by Yūnus b. Bukayr and Abū Usāma from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, is, therefore, not refuted. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Farwa b. Abū al-Maghraʾ related to us, that ʿAlī b. Mushir related to him, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, that ʿĀʾisha said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with me when I was six. We went to Medina and took up residence with the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. I fell ill and my hair was cut short so that all I had was a head of hair like a boy's. My mother, Umm Rūmān, came to me when I was on a swing in the company of my friends. She shouted to me and so I went to her not knowing what she wanted. She took me by the hand and sat me down at the door of the house; I was panting, but settled down somewhat. Then she took some water and, having wiped my face and head, led me into the house. There I found a number of the wives of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and they addressed me with the words, 'Blessings, good health and happy news!' Then she delivered me to them and they tidied me up. To my surprise it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who came to me that morning. They gave me over to him; at the time I was nine.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated in the *musnad*,²⁵ of ʿĀʾisha, "the mother of the faithful", that "Muḥammad b. Bishr related to him, from Bishr and Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, who was told the following by Abū Salama and Yaḥyā: 'When Khadija died, Khawlā, daughter of Ḥakīm, the wife of ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, came and said, 'O

25. The word connotes a collection of *ḥadīth* arranged in accord with the names of the persons in their chains of transmission.

Messenger of God, wouldn't you like to get married?" He replied, "To whom?" "To either a virgin or to someone previously married, as you wish."

"“And who would the virgin be?” He asked. She replied, “That creation of God you enjoy above all others, ‘Ā’isha, daughter of Abū Bakr!”

"“And who would the previously married woman be?” he asked. “Sawda, daughter of Zam‘a,” she answered. “She has expressed belief in you and has become your follower.”

"“You may go,” he told her, “and make mention of me to them.”

"“She entered Abū Bakr’s house and said to his wife, “Umm Rūmān, what goodness and blessings God brings you!” “How do you mean?” she enquired. “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask to become engaged to ‘Ā’isha!”

"“See Abū Bakr when he comes in,” she replied.

"Abū Bakr did come and Khawlā said, “O Abū Bakr, what goodness and blessings God brings you!”

"“How so?” he asked.

"“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask to become engaged to ‘Ā’isha!”

"“And would she be proper for him? After all, she is his brother’s daughter,” he responded.

"“So I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him that and he replied, “Go back and tell him ‘I am your brother, and you are mine, in Islam. Your daughter would be proper for me.’”

"“So I went back and told him this, and he replied, “Wait” and left. Umm Rūmān told me, “Muṭ‘īm b. ‘Adī has asked for her in marriage to his son; and, I swear, Abū Bakr never before broke an agreement he had made.””

"Abū Bakr went in to see Muṭ‘īm b. ‘Adī who had his wife, Umm al-Ṣabī, with him. She commented, “Well, son of Abū Quḥāfa, are you perhaps having our friend change his religion and join yours if he gets married into your family?” Abū Bakr asked Muṭ‘īm b. ‘Adī, “Is this how you respond?” He replied, “It’s she who said that.”

"And so Abū Bakr left, God having relieved him of the promise he had made to Muṭ‘īm. He returned home and told Khawlā, “Call for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to come to me.” She did so and he agreed to her marriage to him, ‘Ā’isha at that time being six years old.

"Khawlā then left and went in to see Sawda, daughter of Zam‘a, saying, “What goodness and blessings God brings you!” “How do you mean?” she asked. “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask you to marry him!” “I would like that,” she replied. “Go in and tell Abū Bakr of that.”

"He was an elderly man, too old to have gone on the pilgrimage, so she went in to him and gave him the salutation used before the coming of Islam. “Who is that?” he asked. “The Messenger of God” (ṢAAS) she told him, “has sent me to arrange his marriage with Sawda.” “A fine match! What does your lady say?” he

responded. "She would like that," she replied. "Well, call her in to me," he told her. She did so and Abū Bakr said to Sawda, "My child, this woman claims that Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, has sent asking to become engaged to you. It's a fine match. Would you have me marry you to him?" "Yes, I would," she replied. "Then call for him," he said.

"And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came, he did marry him to her.

"Her brother 'Abd b. Zam'a then returned from the pilgrimage, his head covered with dirt. After greetings, he commented, "By your life, what a fool I am! The same day I cover my head with dirt²⁶ the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) marries Sawda, daughter of Zam'a!"

"Ā'isha stated, "We moved to Medina and took up residence among the Banū al-Hārith b. Khazraj in al-Sunḥ. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came into our house where he had a meeting with some of the men and women of the *anṣār*,²⁷ 'the Helpers'. My mother came to me while I was on a swing, going to and fro between two date-palms. She took me down from the swing; my hair was short like a boy's and she parted it, washed my face with some water and then led me over to the door. I was out of breath and (stopped) there until I became calmer. Then she took me in and there was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seated on a bed inside our house, in the company of a group of the *anṣār*, both men and women. She sat me down in his lap and said, 'These are your family; may God bless you by them and they by you.' The men and women then jumped up and left. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated our marriage there in our house; no camels or sheep were slaughtered for me. Eventually Sa'd b. 'Ubadā sent us a bowl of food such as he would provide whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was visiting his wives. At that time, I was nine.'"

This account, though seemingly incomplete is to be considered comprehensive.

This is an account of the same circumstances related by al-Bayhaqī through Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, as follows, "'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Azdī related to us, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥātib who reported, 'Ā'isha said, "When Khadija died Khawlā, daughter of Ḥākim, came and said, 'O Messenger of God, would you like to be married?' 'To whom?' he enquired. 'It could, if you wish, be to a virgin or to a woman previously married,' she replied. 'Which virgin, and which previously married woman?' he asked. 'The virgin could be the daughter of that creation of God whom you love best; the previously married woman would be Sawda, daughter of Zam'a. She has expressed belief in you and become your follower.' 'Make mention of me to them,' he told her.'"

The account hereafter relates the *ḥadīth* essentially as above.

26. Apparently placing dirt on the head was part of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage ritual in which he had engaged.

27. This refers to the people of Yathrib (later Medina) who accepted Islam and assisted the Muslim migrants from Mecca.

This tradition firmly establishes that his betrothal to 'Ā'isha preceded his marriage to Sawda, daughter of Zam'ā.

However, he *did* consummate marriage with Sawda in Mecca, whereas that with 'Ā'isha was postponed until Medina, in the second year (after the hegira) as indicated above and hereafter.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Aswad related to us, that it was related to him from Shurayk, from Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'When Sawda grew old and she gave to me the day assigned to her, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shared the day given to me (by her) with his other wives. She was the first woman with whom he contracted marriage after myself.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū al-Naḍr related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Ḥamid, Shahr and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to a woman from his people whose name was Sawda; she was a woman with many children, having some five or six from her husband who had died. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked her, 'Is there something holding you back from me?' She replied, 'O Prophet of God, nothing prevents you from being the most beloved of mankind to me. But I would do you honour by preventing these boys from being at your head morning and night!'

"Does anything else keep you from me?' he asked. 'No, I swear,' she replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told her, 'God have mercy on you! The best of women ride on old camels; isn't that appropriate? The women of Quraysh are kind to a boy when young and they also take care of their husband however they can!'"

I observe that her husband before him was al-Sakrān b. 'Amr, brother of Suhayl b. 'Amr. He had accepted Islam and gone into exile to Abyssinia, as we reported before. He had then returned to Mecca and died there before the emigration, God be pleased with him!

All these accounts indicate that the marriage contract with 'Ā'isha was prior to that with Sawda, this being the statement of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqayl. Yūnus also related this from al-Zuhri.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr preferred the contract with Sawda to have preceded that with 'Ā'isha; he related this from Qatāda and Abū 'Ubayd.

He stated, "Uqayl related it from al-Zuhri."

DIVISION

Reference has previously been given to the death of Abū Ṭālib, the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to his having been a supporter and defender of his, with all the moral, financial, verbal and practical help he could give.

When he died, foolish men of Quraysh were emboldened and engaged in such actions against him that they had not previously been able to undertake.

As al-Bayhaqī reported from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm: "Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-San'ānī related to us, from Yūsuf b. Bahlūl, from 'Abd Allāh b. Idris,

from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from someone else who told him, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said, ‘When Abū Ṭālib died, a foolish fellow of Quraysh stood in the way of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and threw dirt at him. He, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then returned home and one of his daughters came and wiped the dirt from his face, weeping. He told her, “Don’t cry, daughter; God will protect your father.”’”

He is supposed to have said during this conversation that Quraysh did not engage in any reprehensible actions against him until the death of Abū Ṭālib, at which point they began (to harass him).

Ziyād al-Bakāʿi related this from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, with an incomplete chain of authorities. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī also related, from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-Aʿamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Quraysh remained cowards until Abū Ṭālib died.”

He then related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aʿamm, from ʿAbbās al-Dūrī, from Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, who said, “We were related by ʿUqba al-Majdar, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘Quraysh remained cowards until Abū Ṭālib died.’”

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī related with a chain of authorities from Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuqayr and Ḥākim b. Ḥizām who both said, “When Abū Ṭālib and Khadija died, five days apart, he suffered two tragedies together. He kept to his house and rarely went out. Quraysh treated him worse than they would have ever intended before.

“News of this reached Abū Lahab, who came to him and said, ‘O Muḥammad, pass on freely as you want. Do whatever you did when Abū Ṭālib was alive. No, by al-Lāt, I swear no harm will befall you before I die.’

“Ibn al-Ghayṭala insulted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so Abū Lahab went to him and punished him and he went off yelling, ‘O tribe of Quraysh, Abū ʿUtba has become a Ṣabian!’ Quraysh men then came and stood before Abū Lahab. He told them, ‘I have not left the faith of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. But I will prevent my nephew from being harmed and ensure his own freedom of action.’

“They commented, ‘You have done well and right, and maintained your family ties.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereafter spent a period of some days coming and going without interference from Quraysh who respected Abū Lahab. But eventually ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ and Abū Jahl went to Abū Lahab and asked him, ‘Has your nephew told you where your father has been sent?’

“Abū Lahab then asked him, ‘Muḥammad, where has ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib been sent?’

“He replied, ‘With his people.’ So Abū Lahab went out to ʿUqba and Abū Jahl and told them, ‘I did ask him. And he replied, “With his people.”’

"The two men commented, 'Well, he's claiming that he is in hell-fire then!'

"Abū Lahab then asked him, 'Muḥammad, is 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the fire?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Whoever dies in the state 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was in does go into hell-fire.'

"Abū Lahab – God curse him – then announced, 'By God, I shall always be your enemy for your claiming that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is in the fire!'

"At that Abū Lahab and the rest of Quraysh intensified their attacks upon him."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The group of men who used to harm the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his house were Abū Lahab, al-Ḥakam b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya, ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayt, ʿAdī b. al-Ḥamrā, and Ibn al-ʿAsdā' al-Hudhālī.

"These were neighbours of his; the only one of them to ever accept Islam was al-Ḥakam b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ.

"It is said that one of them would throw a sheep's uterus over him while he was praying, or toss it into his cooking pot if set up for him. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take a position near a wall when praying and when they threw some such thing at him he would carry it outside on a stick, stand at his door and say, 'O Banū 'Abd Manāf, what kind of neighbourliness is this?' Then he would toss it out into the street."

My own view is that most of the matter being related here occurred after the death of Abū Ṭālib. Though God knows best. It is certainly very appropriate to mention them here. These incidents included the throwing of a camel's placenta over his shoulders while he prayed, as Ibn Masʿūd related, and of Faṭīma's having come and removed it from him and having gone off and reviled them; when he had finished praying, he said prayers against seven of them. A similar incident was the account of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ of their having severely throttled him until Abū Bakr intervened, saying, "Would you murder a man merely for saying God is my Lord?" And there is the case of the intent of Abū Jahl, God damn him, to tread on his neck while he prayed, and of this being prevented.

Section: On his departure to the people of Ṭāʾif to call them to Almighty God, and to come to the aid of His faith; how they refused him this and he returned to Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Abū Ṭālib died, Quraysh treated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worse than had ever been the case during the life of his uncle Abū Ṭālib.

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Ṭāʾif seeking help from Thaqif and their protection from his people. He hoped they would accept the message he brought them from God Almighty.

"He went to them alone.

"Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād related to me, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Kuraẓī, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Ṭāʾif, he made for a group of Thaqif, their leaders and nobles, who were three brothers. They were 'Abd

Yālil, Masʿūd and Ḥabīb, all sons of ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr b. ʿAwf b. ʿUqda b. Ghiyara b. ʿAwf b. Thaḳīf. One of these was married to a Quraysh woman of the Banū Jumāḥ.

“He sat with them and invited them to God, asked them to help Islam and himself against those of his people who were opposing him. One of them replied, “He would tear off the covering of the *kaʿba* if it were God who had sent you!” Another said, “Did not God have anyone but you to send?” The third commented, “By God, I will never speak to you. If you were a messenger from God, as you claim, you are far too important for me to argue with, and if you are lying against God, then it would certainly not be appropriate that I talk to you.”

“And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and left them, despairing of any good from Thaḳīf. I have been told that he had asked them, “Since you have so behaved, at least keep it secret for me.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not want his people to hear about this, since it would have encouraged them to oppose him.

“However, they did not agree, and incited their fools and slaves to revile him and to shout out after him. A crowd gathered against him and forced him to seek refuge in a garden belonging to ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa and Shayba b. Rabiʿa, they both being there at the time. The Thaḳīf fools who had been following him then withdrew.

“He made for the shade of a grape vine, where he sat down, while the two sons of Rabiʿa watched him, having seen his ill-treatment by the Thaḳīf fools.

“As I have been told, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had met the woman from the Banū Jumāḥ and had told her, “Well, how is it we’ve been so treated by your husband’s family?”

“When he felt secure, as I have been told, he spoke the prayer, “O God, I complain to You about my weakness and inadequacy before the people. O You, most Merciful of all, You who are Lord of the oppressed, You who are my Lord, to whom would You entrust me, to those far away who greet me with displeasure, or to some enemy to whom You entrust me? As long as You are not angry with me, I will not care, but I would prefer your favour.

““I take refuge with the light of Your face that brightens the shadows, repairs the troubles of this world and the hereafter, ensuring that Your anger or discontent not alight upon me. May You be content and be pleased; all power and strength stem from You.”

“When Rabiʿa’s two sons ʿUtba and Shayba saw what had happened to him, they felt compassion for him. They summoned a Christian servant they had called ʿAddās and told him, “Take a cluster of grapes, place it on a plate, then go over to that man and tell him to eat it.”

““Addās did this; he placed it before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him to eat.

“As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his hand upon it, he spoke the words, “In the name of God” then he ate. ʿAddās looked into his face and said,

"By God, people of this land do not say these words." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "Where are you from, 'Addās, and what is your religion?" He replied, "I am a Christian, and I come from Nineveh."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "You mean from the village of that pious man Jonah, son of Amittai?"

"'Addās asked, "How do you know of Jonah, son of Amittai?"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "That man was my brother; he was a prophet and I am a prophet."

"'Addās bent low over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), kissing his head, hands and feet.

"The two sons of Rabī'a said to one another, "He's already corrupted our servant!"

"When 'Addās came back to them, they commented, "What was wrong with you, 'Addās? Why did you kiss the head, hands and feet of that man?"

"On all earth there is none finer than this man; he has told me of something that no one but a prophet could know," he told them.

"Be careful", they warned him, "you don't let him turn you from your faith. Your religion is better than his.""

Mūsā b. Uqba related this similarly but did not include the prayer and added the words, "The people of Ṭā'if positioned themselves in two lines along his path and as he passed by every time he raised and put down a foot they threw stones at it until his feet began to bleed. His feet streaming with blood, he withdrew and made his way beneath the shade of a palm tree, completely overcome. In that garden were 'Utba and Shayba, the two sons of Rabī'a. He disliked being at their place because of their enmity towards God and His Messenger."

Mūsā then related the story of 'Addās the Christian much as above.

Imām Aḥmad recounted from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba as follows, "Marwān b. Mu'awiya al-Fazārī related to us, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭā'ifi, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. Abū Jabal al-'Adwānī, from his father, that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the winter quarters of Thaḳīf standing on a staff or a bow, having gone to them seeking their help. The source said, 'I heard him say, "By the heavens and he who comes by night" (*sūrat al-Ṭāriq*; LXXXVI, v.1) up to its end."

He went on, "So I became aware of it in the *jahiliyya*, before Islam, while I was a polytheist, then I recited it after accepting Islam.

"Thaḳīf summoned me and asked, 'What did you hear from that man?' so I recited it to them. One of the Quraysh men there with Thaḳīf said, 'We are very well acquainted with him; if we knew that what he says is true, we would follow him.'"

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb, who said, "I was told by Yūnus b. Yazīd from Ibn Shihāb, who told him, 'It was related to me by 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'Ā'isha related to him that she said to

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Has any day been harder on you than that of the battle of Uhūd?"

"He replied, "The worst I suffered from your people was the day of *al-ʿaḳaba*, when I presented myself to Ibn ʿAbdu Yālil b. ʿAbd Kalāl, and he refused my request to him. I wandered off, dazed and depressed, and only came to myself at Qarn al-Thaʿālib. I raised my head and there above me was a cloud. Looking up, I saw Gabriel in it, and he called out to me, saying, 'God has heard what your people said to you, and how they rejected you. He has sent to you the angel of the mountain for you to order him to do with them whatever you like.'

"Then the angel of the mountain called out to me in greeting and said, 'O Muḥammad, God has sent me. God has heard what your people said to you. I am the angel of the mountain; your Lord has sent me to you to order me to do whatever you wish. If you wish, you can bring down the two mountains the *Akhshabayn* upon them.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I hope that God will bring forth from their loins those who will worship God and associate no other god or person with Him.'"

DIVISION

Muḥammad b. Ishāq told how the *jinn*, the spirits, overheard the recitation made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) upon his return from Ṭāʾif when he spent the night at Nakhla and said the morning prayer with his Companions. The *jinn* who had been dispatched to him heard his reciting there.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "They were seven in number. Concerning them God Almighty revealed His words, 'And when We dispatched towards you a group of *jinn*'" (*sūrat al-Aḥqāf*; XLVI, v.29).

My own comment is that we spoke about this in detail in the *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*, and included some material relating to it above. But God knows best.

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on his return from Ṭāʾif and came under the protection of al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī. His people increased their anger and antagonism towards him and became ever bolder in their opposition. God is the one from whom to seek help, and reliance must be upon Him.

In his work on the *maghāzī*, the early military engagements, al-Umawī related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Urayqit to al-Akhnas b. Sharif and asked him to give him protection in Mecca. But he replied, 'An ally of Quraysh cannot give protection for one of their own.'

"He then sent to Suhayl b. ʿAmr to give him protection, and he responded, 'The Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy cannot give protection against those of the Banū Kaʿb b. Luʾayy.'

"He then sent him to al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī for his protection, who agreed, saying, 'Yes; tell him to come.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did go to him and spent that night with him. When morning came, he and his six or seven sons, all wearing swords,

went out with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They entered the mosque and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Make your circumambulations.' And they sat, with their legs drawn up over their belted swords in the *maṭāf*, the space around the *ka'ba* for the circumambulations.

"Abū Sufyān came over to Muṭ'īm and asked him, 'Are you giving protection or are you a follower?'"

"He replied, 'No, I'm just protecting.'

"Then you'll not be watched,' Abū Sufyān told him.

"He then sat with him until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his circuits, and when he left al-Muṭ'īm and his men went with him. Then Abū Sufyān went off to his seat."

The account went on, "This continued for a few days, then he was given permission to make the *hijra*, to leave for Medina.

"Shortly after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left Mecca for Medina, al-Muṭ'īm b. 'Adī died. Ḥassān b. Thābit said, 'By God, I shall certainly eulogize him!' And part of what he spoke were the following verses:

'If honour could today render any one person
everlasting, his honour would today select Muṭ'īm.

You protected the Messenger of God from them and they
became your slaves for as long as pilgrims don the *iḥrām* and
shout "*labbayka*".

If all Ma'add, Qaḥṭān or all the rest of Jurhum
were asked about him,

They would say, "He fulfils defence of his neighbour and
protects if he takes on a difficult duty,"

The shining sun above them does not look down on his like
among them, one greater or more noble.

Resolute if refusing, but kind by nature, sleeping well
even if the night is dark and he protecting another.'

I observe that this is why the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, on the day the prisoners were taken at Badr, "If al-Muṭ'īm b. 'Adī were alive now and asked me about these stinking people, I would have given them over to him."

Section: On the call of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the Arab tribes during the pilgrimage seasons to help and support him against those persecuting and denying him. None of them agreed, since God Almighty had reserved that great honour to the anṣār (the "Helpers" or "Partisans") of Medina, may God be pleased with them.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Mecca, where his people were even more antagonistic to him and his religion than before, except for a few persons of no power who did believe.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would present himself at the fairs when they were held, addressing the Arab tribes and inviting them to God, Almighty

and Glorious is He. He would tell them that he was a prophet who had been given a mission, and would ask for their belief and their protection so that he could explain what God had entrusted to him."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "One of our fellow scholars, a man in whom I trust, related the following to me, from Zayd b. Aslam, from Rabī'a b. 'Ibād al-Du'ālī, and another person from whom Abū Zinād had narrated. I was also related this by Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abbās, who said, 'I heard Rabī'a b. 'Ibād being addressed by my father who said, "I was once, when a young lad, with my father at Minā when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would stop at the camps of the Arab tribes and say to them, 'I am the Messenger of God to you. I tell you to worship God and to associate no other with Him and to abandon those others you revere; and you should have faith and belief in me and protect me so that I make evident that with which God sent me.'"

"Behind him stood a squint-eyed, neatly dressed man, his hair in two braids and wearing a cloak from Aden. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his prayer and address, that man would say to the tribe, "This man is only trying to get you to strip al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā off your necks, along with your allies the *jinn* of the Banū Mālik b. Uqaysh in favour of the wrongful innovation he himself brings. Do not obey him and do not listen to him."

"I asked my father, "Who is that man who follows behind him and contradicts what he says?"

"He replied, "That is his uncle, 'Abd al-Uzzā b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Lahab.'"

Imām Aḥmad recounted this *ḥadīth* from Ibrāhīm b. Abū al-'Abbās saying, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Zinād related to us, from his father, who said, 'A man named Rabī'a b. 'Ibād of the Banū al-Dīl informed me – he having been a polytheist before Islam who converted – as follows, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the market of Dhū al-Majāz in the period before Islam was accepted; he was saying, 'O people, say, "There is no god but God" and you will prosper.' As people gathered around him there was one man with a handsome face, squint-eyed and wearing two plaits who would say, 'He's a Ṣabian; a liar.' And he would follow behind him wherever he went. I asked about him and was told he was his uncle Abū Lahab.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this, through Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Rabī'a al-Dīlī, as follows, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the market of Dhū al-Majāz following people into their homes and inviting them to God. Behind him came a squint-eyed man with flaming-red cheeks who was saying, 'Do not let this man lead you astray from your religion and that of your forefathers.' I asked who he was, and I was told that this was Abū Lahab."

Abū Nu'aym related this similarly in the *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, through Ibn Abū Dhī'b and Sa'īd b. Salama b. Abū al-Husām, both of them relating a similar account from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir.

Al-Bayhaqī also related it through Shu'ba, from al-Ash'ath b. Salīm, from a man of Kināna, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the market of Dhū al-Majāz and he was saying, 'O people, say, "There is no god but God" and you will prosper.' And there was a man behind him tossing dirt at him. This was Abū Jahl and he was saying, 'O people, do not let this man lead you astray from your religion. He only wants you to give up worship of al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā.'"

According to this account, these were words of Abū Jahl. This supposition might be illusory or it might sometimes have been Abū Jahl and sometimes the other, Abū Lahab. They might have taken turns in doing such harm to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the tribe of Kinda, visiting them in their homes, including one of their leaders named Mulayḥ. He invited them to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and offered himself to them, but they refused him."

Ibn Ishāq said, "Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the Banū Kalb in their homes in a valley of theirs where they were called the Banū 'Abd Allāh. He called them to the path of God and offered himself to them, saying, 'O Banū 'Abd Allāh, God named well indeed your forefather 'Abd Allāh' (i.e. 'the slave or servant of God'). But they could not accept from him what he proposed to them.

"Some of our friends related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the Banū Ḥanīfa in their homes, called them to the path of God and offered himself to them. None of the Arabs gave him so rude a rejection as they did.

"Al-Zuhri related to me that he went to the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a and called them to the path of God, offering himself to them. One of their men, named Bayḥara b. Firās, replied to him, 'I swear, if I were to have this brave man of Quraysh, I could eat up the Arabs with him.' He then said to him, 'If we were to follow your orders and then God gave you victory against those opposing you, would we have power after you were gone?'

"He replied, 'God controls power and places it where He wishes.'

"Bayḥara commented in reply, 'Are we to present our throats to the Arabs in your defence and then, if God gave you victory, see power go elsewhere than to us? We'll have nothing to do with you!' And so they refused him.

"When the people there dispersed, the Banū 'Āmir returned to a sheikh of theirs who, being elderly, was unable to attend the fairs with them. When they returned home they would tell him what had occurred at the fair. That year on their return he asked them who had been at the fair. They told him, 'A man of Quraysh, of the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, came to us claiming to be a prophet and he asked us to defend him and aid him and take him back to our territory.'

"The old man put his hand to his head and said, 'Could your mistake be put right? Can its consequences be reversed? I swear no descendant of Ishmael ever made such a claim falsely. It has to be true. Where did your good judgement go?'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, quoting al-Zuhri, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would for the period of those years, present himself to the Arab tribes at each fair, speaking with each tribal leader but asking them only for their protection and support. He would say, 'I don't wish to force any one of you to do anything. Any of you who agree to what I ask may do so, but I would not compel anyone not so wishing. All I want is to guard myself against those wanting to kill me, so that I may fulfil my Lord's mission and carry out whatever decree He wishes regarding myself and those who support me.' But not one of them accepted him. Every one of those tribes reached the following conclusion: 'The man's own tribe knew him best; how could we accept as suitable for us someone who has subverted his tribe and whom they have expelled.'

"This rejection too was due to the honour God had in store for the *anṣār* (the 'Helpers') of Medina."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nuʿaym related through ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ and Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī, who both took their information from Muḥammad b. al-Saʿīb al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'I don't consider myself receiving protection from you or from your brother. Would you take me to the market tomorrow for us to stay in the homes of some of the tribespeople?' It was the time for the gathering of the Arab tribes.

"He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) went on, 'These are Kinda and those who mix with them. They are the best of those from Yemen who make the pilgrimage. Those are the homes of Bakr b. Wāʾil; those belong to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Choose for yourself.'"

ʿAbbas continued "He began with Kinda, asking them, 'From whom are you?' 'From Yemen,' they replied. 'From which tribe?' he asked. 'From Kinda.' 'From which sub-tribe?' he next enquired. 'From the Banū ʿĀmir b. Muʿāwiya,' they told him.

"Would you like to achieve good?"

"How would that be?" they asked.

"You would bear witness that there is no god but God, and would engage in prayer and believe in God's message."

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ quoted his father as having said, on the authority of the elders of his people, that Kinda replied to him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "If you are successful, will you grant us power after yourself?"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Power rests with God; He places it where He wishes."

They responded, "We don't need what you bring."

Al-Kalbī went on to state, "And they (Kinda) said, 'have you come to us to keep us from our gods and have us go to war with the Arabs? Remain with your people. We have no need of you!'"

"He then left them and went to Bakr b. Wā'il. He asked, 'Who are these people?' 'They are part of Bakr b. Wā'il.' 'From which sub-tribe?' he asked. He was told, 'From the Banū Qays b. Tha'āba.'

"How many are they?" he asked.

"Very numerous," he was told.

"How would their protection be?" he asked.

"They replied, 'We border on Persia; we have no protection from them or for them.'

"He told them, 'Grant God custody over yourselves and He will keep you safe until you descend upon their homes, marry their women and enslave their children. Then give praise to God three and thirty times, then give thanks to Him three and thirty times, and say He is most great four and thirty times.'

"Who are you?" they asked.

"I am the Messenger of God," he replied. Then he left.

"When he had left," al-Kalbī said, "his uncle Abū Lahab had been following him and telling people, 'Do not accept what he says.' When he passed by them, they asked, 'Do you know this man?' He replied, 'Yes, he's from our élite. What about him makes you ask?' They told him what he had offered them, saying, 'He claims to be the Messenger of God.' Abū Lahab commented, 'Take no account of whatever he says. He's crazy, and talks off the top of his head.'

"We saw that," they commented, "when he spoke as he did about Persia!"

Al-Kalbī stated, "Abd al-Rahmān al-Āmirī told me that elders of his tribe said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) came to us when we were at the Ukāz fair. He asked, 'From whom are these people?' We replied, 'From the Banū Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a.' 'From which sub-tribe?' he asked.

"We responded, 'From the Banū Ka'b b. Rabī'a.'"

"He asked, 'How would protection be with you?'"

"We replied, 'The best imaginable; we are invincible.'"

"He stated to them, 'I am the Messenger of God, and I am coming to you to protect me until I fulfil the mission of my Lord. I would not force any of you to anything.'"

"They asked him, 'From which part of Quraysh are you?'"

"From the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib," he replied.

"What are your relations with the 'Abd Manāf?" they asked.

"They were the first to deny and to drive me away," he told them.

"Well, we will neither drive you away nor believe in you; but we will protect you until you fulfil your Lord's mission."

"So he took residence with them while they were attending the fair. And then Bayḥara b. Firāsh al-Qushayrī came to them and said, 'Who is this man I now see with you; I don't know him?'"

““He is Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh, of Quraysh,” they replied.

““And what do you have to do with him?” he asked.

““He claims to be the Messenger of God and he has asked us to protect him until he fulfils his Lord’s mission,” they replied.

““And how did you respond?” he enquired.

““We made him very welcome,” they told him. “We said we would take him to our own territory and protect him as we do ourselves.”

“Bayhara commented, “I know of no one at this fair going back home with anything worse than you are. You have begun a policy that will alienate people; the Arabs will attack you in unison. His people know him very well; if they had perceived good in him, they would have been most delighted with him. Will you support a man cast out and denied by his own people and give him shelter and aid? Your policy is dreadful.”

“He then approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, “Get up and join your people. I swear if you weren’t here among my kin, I would strike you down!”

“And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) got up and mounted his camel. That evil man Bayhara then prodded the mount in its flank and it darted away with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and threw him.

“With the Banū ‘Āmir on that day was Dabā’a, daughter of ‘Āmir b. Qart; she was one of the women who had accepted Islam with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca. She had come on a visit to the Banū ‘Āmir. She spoke out, “O people of ‘Āmir, you’re not ‘āmir (i.e. civilized, cultured) to me! Could this really happen to the Messenger of God, right here among you without any one of you protecting him?”

“Three of her relatives then attacked Bayhara, while two assisted him. Each man fought with another, her supporters beating the others to the ground, sitting on their chests and slapping their faces.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke, “May God bless these men and damn the others!”

“The three who had aided him later embraced Islam and died as martyrs in battle. These were Ghaṭīf and Ghaṭfān, two sons of Sahl and ‘Urwa – or ‘Udhra – b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Salama. God be pleased with them.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* Sa‘īd b. Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Umawī related this *ḥadīth* from his father in its entirety in his book of the *maghāzī*, the military campaigns.

The other men all perished. These were Bayhara b. Firās, Ḥazn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Salama b. Qushayr and Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Abbāda, one of the Banū ‘Uqayl, may God damn them utterly.

This is a curious tale; we give it here for its strangeness. But God knows best.

Abū Nu‘aym related a similar account, from a *ḥadīth* of Ka‘b b. Mālīk, God bless him, relating to the story of ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa’a and the rudeness of their reply to him.

Even stranger and lengthier than that was what Abū Nu'aym, al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī related; the text was given by Abū Nu'aym, may God be pleased with them all. It comes from a *ḥadīth* of Abān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajalī, from Abān b. Ṭaghlib, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who quoted 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib as having said, "When God ordered His Messenger to present himself to the tribes of the Arabs, he left, along with myself and Abū Bakr, for Minā. There we were present at a *majlis*, a reception, given by the Arabs.

"Abū Bakr, God bless him, went forward and made his greetings. He was in the very vanguard of good, and an expert in genealogy. He asked, 'From whom do you people come?' 'From Rabī'a,' came their reply.

"'From which Rabī'a are you, from its mainstream or from a branch?'

"'From its greatest mainstream.'

"Abū Bakr asked them, 'Is 'Awf of you, of whom it was said, "There is no *ḥarr*, no heat, in the 'Awf valley?'"

"'No,' they told him.

"'Do Bisṭām b. Qays Abū al-Liwā' and Muntahā al-Aḥyā' belong to your tribe?'

"'No,' they replied.

"'Is al-Ḥawfazān b. Shurayk, the killer of kings and robber of their souls, a kinsman of yours?'

"'No,' they replied.

"'Is Jassās b. Murra b. Dhuhl, the protector of honour and defender of the neighbour, from you?'

"'No,' they said.

"'Is al-Muzdalif, he of the unique turban, from you?'

"'No,' they replied.

"'Are you related to the kings of Kinda?' he asked.

"'No,' they replied.

"'Are you related to the kings of Lakhm?' he asked.

"'No,' they replied.

"Abū Bakr, God bless him, then commented, 'So you're not from its mainstream, but from a branch.'

"At that a youth named Dagħfal b. Ḥanzala al-Dhuhli, his beard beginning to sprout, jumped up and grabbed the bridle of Abū Bakr's camel, reciting, 'Those who ask of us will be asked of; as for the burden (of proof) we neither know it nor bear it (as a responsibility).'

"He also commented, 'Hey, you, you asked and we replied, hiding nothing from you. We want to ask you something; who are you?'

"He replied, 'A man of Quraysh.'

"The youth commented, 'Well said! You are a people of leadership and power, the vanguard and guide of the Arabs. What part of Quraysh?'

"He replied, 'I'm of the Banū Taym b. Murra.'

"The youth asked again, 'So you shot the Bowman right through his mouth! Is Quṣayy b. Kilāb, he who killed at Mecca those trying to conquer it, a kinsman

of yours? That man, Quṣayy, who drove the rest of them away and brought in his own people from all over and settled them in Mecca, took over the temple and set Quraysh in the dwellings? The man who was therefore known as "the unifier", and about whom a poet spoke the verse,

"Was it not your father who was called 'the unifier',
by whom God brought together the tribes of Fihri?"

"Abū Bakr replied, 'No.'

"Were not 'Abd Manāf, the ultimate giver of advice, and Abū al-Ghaṭārīf, the great leader, of your stock?"

"Abū Bakr replied, 'No.'

"And 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf Hāshim, who prepared bread and meat into the dish *al-tharīd* for his people and all of Mecca, was he not of you? The one of whom the poet said,

"Amr al-Ulā prepared the *al-tharīd* for his people,
while the men of Mecca were destitute and under famine,
To him they attribute both the journeys, that of the
winter and that of the summer,
Quraysh were as an egg which when split open came to have
its best part, its yoke, as the 'Abd Manāf.
(They are) the wealthy, as is no other known, and they
are those who say 'come on in' to the guests.
They are those who strike down pure-white sheep, those
who protect the innocent with their swords.
How fine for you, if you stay at their abode; they will
protect you from all ills and accusations."

"No," responded Abū Bakr.

"Then," the youth continued, 'you must be related to 'Abd al-Muṭīb, that venerable man of much praise, controller of the Mecca caravan, and feeder of the birds of the skies and the wild beasts, of the lions in the desert, he whose face shines forth like a moon on a dark night?'

"No," said Abū Bakr.

"Then you must be of those who have the privilege of the *ifāda*?' (The signalling to the pilgrims to move from Arafāt to Minā.)

"No," said Abū Bakr.

"Perhaps of those who have the privilege of the *ḥijāba*?' (The guardianship of the holy places.)

"No," said Abū Bakr.

"Then those with the privilege of the *nadwa*?' (Making an address to the pilgrims.)

"No," said Abū Bakr.

"Then you must be of those who have the privilege of the *siqāya*?' (The provision of drink for the pilgrims.)

"No," said Abū Bakr.

"Are you then of those with the privilege of providing the *rifāda*?" (The provisioning of the pilgrims.)

"No," replied Abū Bakr.

"Are you then of those who give bounteous aid?"

"No," said Abū Bakr and he pulled his bridle out of the hands of the youth, who then quoted the line,

'Sometimes it happens that distinction is moved on
down, at other times up.'

"Then he commented, 'Well, I swear, O Brother of Quraysh, if you had continued to hold out I would have proven you to belong to the lowest class of Quraysh, not to its élite!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) now came over to us, smiling," 'Ali went on, "and I commented to Abū Bakr, 'Well, this bedouin has turned out to be a disaster for you!' 'Yes indeed, Abū al-Ḥasan,' Abū Bakr replied, 'And, there's never a catastrophe without another that follows, and calamity is compounded by words.'"

'Ali continued his account, "We then went on to a meeting underway marked by calm and dignity. There were sheikhs of high rank and fine appearance there. Abū Bakr went forward and made greeting." "And," 'Ali commented, "Abū Bakr was always in the vanguard of good.

"Abū Bakr asked them, 'From whom are you?' They replied, 'We are of the Banū Shaybān b. Tha'labā.'

"Abū Bakr turned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and commented, 'I swear, no one has more *izz*, power, in their people than these do.'"

In other accounts the words *udhr*, responsibility, and *ghurar*, experience, are substituted for the word *izz*, power, in the preceding sentence.

'Ali's account goes on, "Among this group were Mafrūq b. 'Amr, Hānī b. Qabīṣa, al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha and al-Nu'mān b. Shurayk.

"The man most comparable to Abū Bakr was Mafrūq b. 'Amr; he was their most eloquent. He wore his hair in two braids that came down to his chest. He sat closest to Abū Bakr.

"Abū Bakr asked him, 'How many are you in number?'

"Mafrūq replied, 'We are more than 1,000 strong; and "a few men can't beat 1,000", as they say.'

"And how would protection be with you?'

"We go to the limit; and "every people has a forefather," (i.e. "we are proud and noble"),' Mafrūq responded.

"Abū Bakr asked, 'And how is it when you make war with your enemies?'

"Mafrūq answered, 'When we meet in battle, we are the angriest of men. We take greater pride in our steeds than our sons, care more for our swords than our sperm; victory rests with God. Sometimes He grants us victory, sometimes others victory over us. You seem to be a member of Quraysh?'

“Abū Bakr answered, ‘If you have heard of him who is the Messenger of God, this is he here.’

“‘We have heard,’ Mafrūq answered, ‘that he says he is.’

“He then turned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked, ‘What do you propound, O Brother from Quraysh?’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then came forward and sat down, while Abū Bakr arose and stood shading him with his cloak. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke, ‘I call upon you to bear witness that there is no god but God alone who has no associate, and that I am the Messenger of God. I ask you to shelter and protect me until I can carry out what God has ordered me to do. Quraysh have come out against God’s commands and have denied His Messenger. They have sided with wrong against right. But God is All-Powerful, All-Praised.’

“‘What else do you propound, O Quraysh brother?’ he asked.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then recited to him, ‘Say: Come! I shall recite for you what it was your Lord forbade you: that you must not associate another with Him, and that you must treat your parents with kindness’ up to the words ‘That He enjoined upon you that you might be pious’ (*sūrat al-An‘ām*; VI, v.152–4).

“Mafrūq asked, ‘And what else do you propound, O Quraysh brother? I swear these are not words of any earthly mortal; if they were, we would know them to be.’

“Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited to them, ‘God enjoins justice, compassion and charity to your relatives. He forbids adultery, immorality and oppression. He exhorts you so that you will take heed’ (*sūrat al-Naḥl*; XVI, v.90).

“Mafrūq commented, ‘I swear, Quraysh brother, you are certainly advocating ethical conduct and good behaviour; and yet your people have denied, rejected and opposed you.’

“Apparently Mafrūq wanted to involve Hānī b. Qubayṣa in the discussion and said, ‘This is Hānī b. Qubayṣa, our sheikh and religious leader.’

“Hānī said, ‘I heard what you said, O Quraysh brother, and believed what you said. I consider that our abandoning our religion and following you in yours because of one meeting we are having with you which had neither introduction nor follow-up, and without our giving it full consideration nor examining what the consequences would be of what you suggest – that would be a lapse in judgement, rashness and inadequate consideration for consequences. Lapse of judgement only comes with haste. We have behind us a people for whom we should be reluctant to make any pact. You should retire, as we should too; you should think it over, as we should.’

“Apparently Mafrūq wanted also to involve al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha in the discussion, for he then said, ‘This is al-Muthannā, our sheikh and military leader.’

"Al-Muthannā then spoke, 'I heard and liked what you said, O Quraysh brother. I was impressed by your words. But our answer should be that of Hānī b. Qubayṣa; for us to leave our religion and follow you after one sitting with us would be like us taking residence between two pools of stagnant water, one al-Yamāma and the other al-Samāwa.'

"The Messenger of God asked (ṢAAS), 'And what might those pools of stagnant water be then?'

"Al-Muthannā replied, 'One of these is where land extends to the Arab world, and the other is that of Persia and the rivers of Chosroe. We would be reneging on a pact that Chosroe has placed upon us to the effect that we would not cause an incident and not give sanctuary to a troublemaker. This policy you suggest for us is such a one that kings would dislike. As for those areas bordering Arab lands, the blame of those so acting would be forgiven and excuses for them be accepted, but for those areas next to Persia, those so acting would not be forgiven, and no such excuses would be accepted. If you want us to help and protect you from whatever relates to Arab territories alone, we should do so.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Your reply is in no way bad, for you have spoken eloquently and truthfully. (But) God's religion can only be engaged in by those who encompass it from all sides.'

"He then asked, 'Supposing it were only shortly after now that God were to award you their lands and properties and furnished you their young women, would you then praise God and revere Him?'

"Al-Nu'mān b. Shurayk replied, 'Would to God you could accomplish that, Quraysh brother!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then recited to them, 'We have sent you as a witness, to bring good news and to warn, and to invite unto God, with His permission, and as a light-giving lantern.' (This quotation combines *sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII, v.8 with *sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.46.)

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose, holding on to the hand of Abū Bakr."

'Ali went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned to us and said, 'Ali, what fine character the Arabs used to have, in the *jahiliyya*; how noble a time that was; they sought refuge in the life of this world.'"²⁸

'Ali went on, "We proceeded on to a meeting being held by the Aws and the Khazraj. We remained with them until they pledged allegiance to the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

'Ali continued, "And they were true, steadfast friends. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was delighted at the knowledge of Abū Bakr, God bless him, about their genealogies.

"Soon thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to address his Companions, telling them, 'Give much praise to God. For today the sons of

28. That is, from ignominy and boorishness.

Rabīʿa have triumphed over the people of Persia. They have killed their kings, and captured their troops and it was by me that they were given victory.’”

‘Ali went on, “And the battle occurred at Qurāqir, by the side of Dhū Qār. And about this victory al-Aʿshā spoke the verses,

‘My camel be a ransom for the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān and
its rider at the clash, for it bore its burden well.

They struck blows at the *hinw*, the bends of Qurāqir,
against the vanguard of al-Hāmurz, until they fled.

Glory be to the eyes that beheld those knights, like
Dhuhl b. Shaybān, when they were in command.

They rose up, and we did so too, with friendship
between us, though we were overcome by the hardships of
battle, clearly evident.’”

This *ḥadīth* is very strange. We have included it for its evidences of the proofs of the prophethood, its references to ethics and moral behaviour and its examples of the eloquence of the Arabs.

It also comes down through another line. It states, in that version, that when they battled against the Persians and met them at Qurāqir, a place near the Euphrates, they made their battle cry the name of Muḥammad (ṢAAS), and that it was thereby that they were made victorious over the Persians. Thereafter they converted to Islam.

Al-Wāqidī stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Wābiṣa al-ʿAbsī, told us, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to us in our houses at Minā while we were staying there near the first *jamra*²⁹ which is next to the Khayf mosque. He was riding on his mount with Zayd b. Ḥāritha seated behind him. He called out an invitation to us, but we made no response to him; we were not given to make a good choice.

“‘We had heard of him and of his preaching at the fairs; he stood and made a presentation and invitation to us, but we did not respond. We had with us Maysara b. Masrūq al-ʿAbsī and he said to us, “I swear by God, if we had believed this man and had taken him off to inside our territory, we would have triumphed. I swear by God, he will succeed and ultimately achieve all his objectives.”

“‘But our people replied, “Leave us alone. You’ll not involve us in that over which we have no power.”

“‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had high hopes of Maysara and spoke to him. Maysara replied, “How fine, how enlightening your words are! But my people oppose me. All a man has is his own people. And if they don’t stand by him, then enmity is more extensive.”

“‘So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left and people went off to their families. Maysara told them, “Let’s turn off to Fadak. There are Jews there whom we can ask about this man.”

29. One of three pillars at Minā at which pilgrims cast stones.

“So they did go off to the Jews. They brought out a book of scriptures they had, put it down and studied. It made mention of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the *ummi*, unlettered, Arab prophet who would ride an ass, reward himself with a piece of bread, a man neither tall nor short, neither curly nor straight-haired, with a redness to his eyes, and light in complexion. “If,” (the Jews concluded) “it is he who appealed to you, then respond to him and enter his religion. We envy him and will not follow him. We will suffer greatly from him. All Arabs will follow him or fight him, so be among those who follow him.”

“Maysara said, “O people, this matter is very clear.”

“His people replied, “We will return to the festival and meet him.” They then went home to their lands, but their elders refused to allow their return, and so none of them did follow him.

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) migrated to Medina and performed the “farewell pilgrimage” Maysara met with him and he recognized him. Maysara asked, “O Messenger of God, I swear I’ve continued wanting to follow you ever since that day you dismounted with us. But, as you see, God saw fit to delay my accepting Islam. All those who were with me at that time have since died; where have they been taken, O Messenger of God?”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “All those who died in any other state than Islam are now in hell-fire.”

“Maysara commented, “Praise be to God who saved me!” He then accepted Islam fully and he was treated with respect by Abū Bakr.”

Imām Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-Wāqidi has examined closely and related individually details about those tribes to which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented himself. These included the tribes of ‘Āmir, Ghassān, the Fazāra, the Murra, the Ḥanifa, the Sulaym, the ‘Abs, the Naḍr b. Hawāzin, Tha‘laba b. ‘Ukāba, Kinda, Ka‘b, al-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b, ‘Udhra, Qays b. al-Ḥaṭīm, and others.

The accounts of all these are very extensive; we have given here a goodly part of them, and to God belong all praise and credit.

Imām Aḥmad also stated, “Aswad b. ‘Āmir related to us, quoting Isrā’īl, from ‘Uthmān – meaning Ibn al-Mughīra – from Sālīm b. Abū al-Ja‘d, from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to present himself to the tribes at the assembly at ‘Arafa, and say, “Will any man of you take me to his own people? For Quraysh have prevented me from delivering the words of my Lord. Almighty and Glorious is He!”

“A man from Hamdān came to him thereafter and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, “From whom are you?”

““From Hamdān,” he replied.

““And do your people grant protection?”

““Yes.”

“Thereafter the man feared that his people might be watching him, so he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, “I will go to them and tell them, then I’ll come to you next year.”

““All right,” the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) agreed.

“The man then left, and in the month of Rajab the delegation of the *anṣār*, (the Helpers), arrived.”

This *ḥadīth* is reported, by various paths, by scholars of all four of *al-sunan al-arbaʿa*,³⁰ from Isrāʿīl. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “It is *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, good and authentic.”

DIVISION

On the arrival of the delegation of the *anṣār*, the Helpers, year after year, and their pledging their loyalty to him time after time. And thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away to them in Medina, residing there among them, as will be explained in detail, if God wills it and in Him is all trust.

An Account from Suwayd b. Ṣāmit, the Anṣārī.

His full name was Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit b. ʿAṭiyya b. Ḥuṭ b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws; his mother was Laylā, daughter of ʿAmr al-Najāriyya, the daughter of Salmā, daughter of ʿAmr, the mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim. This Suwayd was the son of the maternal aunt of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued as he had for some time; whenever people met for the festival, he would go to them and invite the tribes to God and into Islam, presenting himself to them and the message of guidance and mercy he brought. Whenever he heard of any Arab of good repute coming to Mecca, he would meet him, invite him to God Almighty and present him his message.”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “ʿĀsim b. ʿAmr b. Qatāda informed me that the sheikhs of his tribe said that Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, a brother from the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf came to Mecca, either for the *ḥajj*, the ‘greater pilgrimage’, or the *ʿumra*, the ‘lesser pilgrimage’. Suwayd was known among his people as *al-Kāmil*, ‘the perfect’, for his strength, his poetry, his honour and his fine lineage. It was he who spoke the lines,

‘Many men there are you call friends who would shock
you to see the lies they tell of you in your absence.

There before you his words may be sweet as honey, while
in your absence they are an old sword at the base of your
neck!

What he shows you pleases you, while under his skin he’s
an amulet of deceit exploding behind your back.

30. A technical term used to identify the four compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* traditions, excluding al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

The eyes show you with suspicious glances what spite and hatred he conceals.

"Feather" me well; for long you have weakened me; the best allies are those who "feather" without weakening.'

"Having heard of him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to see him and invited him to God and to Islam. Suwayd replied, 'Perhaps what you have is like what I have.'

"What is it you have?" asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The *majalla* of Luqmān,' he replied. By this word he meant the 'wisdom' of Luqmān.

"Present it to me,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, and when Suwayd had done so, he commented, 'These words are fine. But what I have is better – a Qurʾān that God has sent down to me to be a guide and a light.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then recited the Qurʾān to him and invited him into Islam. Suwayd did not draw away, but said, 'Those words were wonderful.'

"Suwayd then left and later came to Medina with his tribe. Shortly thereafter he was killed by the Khazraj tribe, though some of his own people say that he was a Muslim at the time of his death. His killing occurred before the battle at Buʿāth."

Al-Bayhaqī related this, from al-Hākim, from al-Aṣamm from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, in a shorter form.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY IYĀS B. MUʿADH.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Al-Huṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Muʿadh related to him, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, saying, "When Abū al-Ḥaysar, Anas b. Rāfiʿ came to Mecca, accompanied by other men of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, including Iyās b. Muʿadh, seeking a pact with Quraysh against the Khazraj tribe, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of their coming and went to them. He sat down among them and asked, 'Would you like something better than what it was you came for?' 'What would that be?' they asked.

"He replied, 'I am the Messenger of God to all mankind. And I invite them to worship God and to associate none other with Him. 'And,' he told them, 'the book has been revealed to me.' He then told them of Islam and recited the Qurʾān to them."

The account goes on, "Iyās b. Muʿadh, who was a young man, spoke up, saying, 'My people, I swear this is better than what you came for.'

"Abū al-Ḥaysar Anas b. Rāfiʿ then took up a handful of dirt from the river bed and threw it into the face of Iyās b. Muʿadh, saying, 'Clear off! We came for something different.'

"Iyās remained silent, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left them, and they returned into Medina. The battle of Buʿāth was between the Aws and the Khazraj tribes.

“And shortly thereafter Iyās b. Mu‘ādh died.

“Maḥmūd b. Labīd said, ‘Some of his tribesmen who were present told me that they heard him constantly praising, glorifying and exalting God until he died. They did not doubt that he had died a Muslim. He had become conscious of Islam at that assembly when he had heard what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had to say.’”

My own comment is that this occurred on the day of the battle of Bu‘āth, the name of a site at Medina. A major battle took place there which led to the death of a large number of the leaders of the Aws and the Khazraj; few of their prominent men survived it.

Al-Bukhārī related in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from ‘Ubayd b. Ismā‘īl, from Abū Umāma, from Hishām, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, “The battle of Bu‘āth was one that God gave to His Messenger. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina when their leadership was divided, their elite having been killed.”

Chapter: The commencement of the acceptance of Islam by the anṣār, the “Helpers” of Medina, God bless them.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When God wished to display His religion, exalt His Prophet and fulfil His promise to him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out in that season of the pilgrimage in which he met a number of the *anṣār*. He presented himself to the Arab tribes as he had been doing in previous seasons. While he was at al-‘Aqaba he met a group of the Khazraj tribe for whom God had good in store.

“‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda related to me that some of the leaders of his people said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met them he asked them, “Who are you?” “We are men of al-Khazraj,” they replied. “Are you allies of the Jews?” he asked.

““Yes,” they replied.

““Would you sit down so that I may talk with you?” he invited them, and they agreed.

“So they did sit down and he called them to the path of God, explaining Islam to them. He also recited the Qur’ān to them.

“One way in which God facilitated their (acceptance) of Islam was that the Jews were there with them in their country. These were followers of Scriptures and men of knowledge, though they themselves were polytheists and idol worshippers. They had previously attacked these Jews in their territories and whenever dispute had arisen, the latter had told them, “A prophet will now be sent. His day is coming. We will follow him and give you the same fate as that of the peoples of ‘Ād and Iram.”

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed these people, and invited them to God, they told one another, “This has to be the prophet the Jews fore-saw; we should not let them get to him first!”

"They therefore responded to his call for them to believe in him and accepted Islam, saying, "We have left our own people, for they have such discord and dissension between them not found in any other. Perhaps God may unite them through you. We will go forth among them and invite them to join you, presenting to them this religion we have accepted from you. If God should unite them around you, then no one will be dearer to us than you." They then left, returning to their territory, believing in him and the faith."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "These men, so I have been told, were six in number. Of the Khazraj there was Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra b. 'Uds b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'laba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār. According to Abū Nu'aym, he was the first of the *anṣār* of the Khazraj to accept Islam.

"From al-'Aws there was Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān. It is said, however, that the first of them to accept Islam were Rāfi' b. Mālik and Mu'adh b. 'Afrā'. But God knows best.

"Also there were 'Awf b. al-Hārith b. Rifā'a b. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, he being the son of 'Afrā', both these last being Najjāris; Rāfi' b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlan b. 'Amr b. Zurayq al-Zurqī; Quṭba b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadīda b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawwād b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama b. Sa'd b. 'Alī b. Asad b. Sārīda b. Yazīd b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj al-Sulamī. From the Banū Sawwād; 'Uqba b. 'Āmir b. Nābī b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b. Ka'b b. Salama, also of al-Sulam, and then from the Banū Ḥarām; Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh b. Rī'ab b. al-Nu'mān b. Sinān b. 'Ubayd b. 'Adiyy b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama, also of al-Sulam, then from Banū 'Ubayd. God be pleased with all these men."

It is similarly related from al-Sha'bī, al-Zuhri and others that those there that night were six men of the Khazraj.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba recounted, from al-Zuhri and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, that at the first meeting between them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they were eight in number and consisted of Mu'adh b. 'Afrā', As'ad b. Zurāra, Rāfi' b. Mālik, Dhakwān, he being Ibn 'Abd Qays, 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣamit, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yazīd b. Tha'laba, Abū Haytham b. al-Tihān, and 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida. These all accepted Islam and made an appointment for the following year.

They then returned to their people and called on them to accept Islam. They also sent Mu'adh b. 'Afrā' and Rāfi' b. Mālik to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to send to them someone who could give them religious instruction. He responded by sending Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, who went and stayed with As'ad b. Zurāra.

This account goes on to conclude as Ibn Ishāq's and more fully than that of Mūsā b. 'Uqba. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And when these men arrived in Medina to their people they told them of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and invited them to Islam. Eventually news of him spread among them to such a degree that not a single home of the *anṣār* was without knowledge of him.

"The following year 12 of the *anṣār* kept to their appointment to attend the festival (of the *hajj*); they were Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra and 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith, mentioned above, along with his brother Mu'adh, both these being sons of 'Afrā', and Rāfi' b. Mālik, also mentioned above.

"Then there were Dhakwān b. 'Abd Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhlid b. 'Āmir, the son of Zurayq al-Zurqī. (Ibn Hishām said that he was a Helper who had also migrated from Mecca.)

"Also there were 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit b. Qays b. Aṣram b. Fihir b. Tha'ābā b. Ghanm b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, along with their ally Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yazīd b. Tha'ābā b. Khazma b. Aṣram al-Balawī, al-'Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Naḍla b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān b. Yazīd b. Ghanm b. Sālim b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj al-'Ajlānī, 'Uqba b. 'Āmir b. Nābi, mentioned before, and Quṭba b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadīda, mentioned before.

"These men were from Khazraj.

"From Aws there were two men, 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida and Abū al-Haytham, Mālik b. al-Tayhān." Ibn Hishām stated that al-Tayhān could also be spelled al-Tayyihān, as in the words *mayt*, dead, and *mayyit*.

Al-Suhayli stated, "The full name of Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayhān was Mālik b. Mālik b. 'Atayk b. 'Amr b. 'Abd al-A'lam b. 'Āmir b. Za'ūr b. Jusham b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aws." And he also stated, "It is said that he was an Irāshī or a Balawī." But neither Ibn Ishāq nor Ibn Hishām give him such a relationship. He also said, "The word *al-haytham* refers to an eaglet; it is also a type of plant."

By this he shows that these 12 men attended the festival that year with the intent of meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); they did so at al-'Aqaba, where they pledged allegiance to him with a pledge known as the "women's pledge"; this occurred at the first (meeting) at 'Aqaba.

Abū Nu'aym related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited to them God's words in *sūrat Ibrāhīm*, "And when Abraham said, 'O my Lord, render this country secure' (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*; XIV, v.35).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Marthad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yazani, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Usayla al-Ṣunābihi, from 'Ubāda, he being Ibn al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'I was among those who attended the first (meeting at) 'Aqaba. We were 12 men. We pledged allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by the so-called "women's pledge". That was before war was enjoined. It was to the effect that we would not associate any other with God, we would not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill our children, nor make false accusations, nor disobey him in anything good. "If you keep to this," he told us, "you shall go to paradise. But if you commit any of these, then God will decide your fate; if He wishes He will either punish you or forgive you."'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim related this *ḥadīth* through al-Layth b. Sa'd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb in much the same terms.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri recounted, from 'Ā'idh Allāh Abū Idrīs al-Khawlanī that 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit related to him, saying, 'We pledged to

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the night of the first (meeting at) 'Aqaba, that we would not associate any other with God, that we would not steal, commit fornication, kill our children, make false accusations, nor disobey him in anything good. (He told us) "If you keep to this, you shall have paradise. But if you give up any of this, and you are punished for it in this world, then that will provide atonement for you. But if it is overlooked until Judgement Day, it will be up to God to decide whether to punish or forgive you."'''

This *ḥadīth* is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere with paths from al-Zuhri in much the same version.

The words here, the "women's pledge", are a reference to the similarity between this and the revelation relating to the pledge later made by women in the year of the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya. And on that occasion the revelation accorded with what had been revealed regarding the pledge he had required of his Companions on the night of al-'Aqaba. This is not strange, for a Qur'ānic revelation sometimes came in more than one location, as was affirmed by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, as we have explained in both his biography and in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And since this pledge resulted from revelation that was not recited,³¹ it makes the aforementioned observation all the more plausible. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the group left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to them Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr b. Ḥāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. He told him to recite the Qur'ān to them, to teach them Islam and to instruct them in the faith."

Al-Bayhaqī reported, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, who said, "Āsim b. 'Umayr b. Qatāda related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only sent Muṣ'ab when they wrote to him asking that he send him to them. It was he who was mentioned by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, as given above, even though in that case he applied to the first of the meetings what is here said of the second."

Al-Bayhaqī commented, "The account of Ibn Ishāq is more complete."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr used to say, 'I don't know what this "first (meeting at) 'Aqaba" means.'" Ibn Ishāq then commented, "Certainly, I swear it, there was an 'Aqaba meeting, and then another one."

All authorities agree that Muṣ'ab took up residence with As'ad b. Zurāra and that he was known in Medina as the *muqrī*, the reciter.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that he used to lead the prayer for them. This was because the Aws and the Khazraj disliked that they be led in prayer by one who belonged to the other tribe. God be pleased with them one and all."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Abū Umāma b. Sahl b. Ḥunayf related to me, from his father, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik who said, 'When my

31. This refers to a genre of revelation different from that of the Qur'ān. It is therefore not *matlū*, recited, as liturgy in the Muslim daily prayers.

father had lost his sight, I used to lead him. When I would take him out to the Friday meeting, and he heard the call to prayer there he would say a prayer for Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra.’”

The account goes on, “‘This went on for some time; he never heard the Friday call to prayer without praying for him and asking forgiveness for him. I told myself it was weakness on my part not to ask him why this was and said, “Why is it, father, that whenever you hear the Friday call to prayer, you pray for Abū Umāma?” He replied, “My son, he was the first to unite us in Medina at the *hazm al-nabit*, in the quarter of the Banū Bayāḍa, in *al-baqiʿ*, the plain, known as the *baqiʿ al-Khaḍimāt*.” “And how many were you there that day?” I asked. “We were 40 men,” he replied.’”

Abū Dāʿūd and Ibn Māja told this *ḥadīth* through Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, God bless him.

Al-Dārquṭnī related, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr telling him to establish the Friday prayer. But there is some peculiarity in the line of transmission he gives. God knows best.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Mughīra b. Muʿayqib related to me, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, that Asʿad b. Zurāra went off with Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr to visit the homes of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and the Banū Zāfir. Saʿd b. Muʿadh was the son of the maternal aunt of Asʿad b. Zurāra. He took him inside one of the gardens of the Banū Zāfir at a well known as the ‘Maraq well’. They sat there and received visits from some of the men who had accepted Islam.

“Saʿd b. Muʿadh and Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr were at that time leaders of their people of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; both were polytheists practising their nation’s religion.

“When they heard of him, Saʿd said to Usayd, ‘Go to those two men who have come to our homes to make fools of our weakest elements; rebuke them and forbid them from entering our quarters. If Asʿad b. Zurāra were not related to me, as you know, I’d save you the trouble. But he is my maternal aunt’s son, and I can’t approach him’

“And so Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr took his spear and went to them. When they saw him, Asʿad b. Zurāra said to Muṣʿab, ‘This is his tribe’s chief who has come to you; trust God through him.’

“Muṣʿab said, ‘I will speak to him if he sits down.’

“Usayd stood glowering at them and asked them, ‘Why did you both come here and make fools of our weak? Keep away from us if you value yourselves.’

“Mūsā b. ʿUqba said, ‘At this point a youth commented, “It’s you who have come to our homes with this strange threatening of yours to have our weak elements behave stupidly and advocate it to others.”’”

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “Muṣʿab replied to him, ‘Why not sit down and listen to us. If you like what you hear, you can accept it; if you dislike it you can ignore it.’

"He replied, 'You have spoken fairly.' He then put down his spear and sat with them. Muṣ'ab then spoke to him about Islam and recited the Qur'ān to him.

"According to what is reported, they both said, 'By God, we recognized Islam in his face, from its radiant calm, even before he spoke.'

"Usayd then said, 'How beautiful, how wonderful that is! What does one do to enter this faith?'

"They told him, 'You wash, and clean yourself and your clothes. You then give testimony to the truth and say prayers.'

"Usayd then arose, washed, cleaned his clothes and made testimony to the truth. He then performed two prayer prostrations and told them, 'Behind me there is a man who if he follows you, will not leave behind any one of his people. I will send him to you now. He is Sa'd b. Mu'adh.'

"He then took his spear and left for Sa'd and his people who were sitting in their assembly. When Sa'd b. Mu'adh saw him coming, he commented, 'I swear by God, Usayd is coming back to you with an expression quite different from when he left you.'

"When Usayd stopped at the assembly, Sa'd asked him, 'Well, what did you do?' He replied, 'I spoke to both men and, I swear, I saw no harm in them. I warned them and they replied, "We will do whatever you wish." And I was informed that the Banū Hāritha had gone off to kill As'ad b. Zurāra; that was because they knew that he is your aunt's son and wanted to harm you.'

"Sa'd b. Mu'adh arose angrily at this, anxious because of what they had said about the Banū Hāritha. He took the spear in his hand and said, 'I can see, by God, that you have accomplished nothing!'

"Sa'd then left to go to the two men and when he saw them to be untroubled, he realized that Usayd had merely wanted him to listen to them. He came to a stop, in a rage, and said to As'ad b. Zurāra, 'By God, Abū Umāma, if we weren't relatives, you wouldn't behave this way to me. Will you behave in our very homes in ways that offend us?'

"As'ad had told Muṣ'ab, 'I swear, a leader has come to you who has such influence that if he follows you, no two others will hold back from you.'

"Muṣ'ab therefore told him, 'Would you sit and listen; if you hear what you like, you can accept it; if you dislike it, we'll not bother you with it again.'

"Sa'd replied, 'You speak fair.' He then put down his spear and sat. Islam was then explained to him, and the Qur'ān was recited to him."

Mūsā b. Uqba recounted that it was the first part of *sūrat al-Zukhruf* (XLIII) that was recited to him.

"The account continued, 'And, I swear, we recognized Islam in his face even before he spoke, from its radiant calm.'

"Sa'd then asked them, 'What does one do to accept Islam and enter this religion?'

"They told him, 'You wash, and clean yourself and your clothes. Then you give testimony to the truth and make two prayer prostrations.'

"Sa'd arose, performed the ablutions, washed both his garments, gave testimony to the truth and then performed two prayer prostrations.

"After that Sa'd took his spear and returned to his people's assembly, Usayd b. al-Ḥudayr accompanying him. When his people saw him coming, they said, 'My God, Sa'd is returning with quite a different expression from when he left.'

"When he stood there before them, he said, 'O Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, how do you view my position among you?'

"They replied, 'You are our leader, the wisest man among us, and the man with the happiest disposition.'

"Sa'd told them, 'It is forbidden for any man or woman among you to speak to me until you believe in God and His Messenger.'

"The account continues, 'And, I swear, by that evening every single man and woman there in the quarters of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal had become Muslims.'

"Sa'd and Muṣ'ab then returned to the home of As'ad b. Zurāra and remained there calling upon people to join Islam until there was not a single one of the homes of the *anṣār* that did not have Muslims living there. Except, that is, for the homes of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd, Khaṭma, Wā'il and Wāqif. These were of the Aws, that is, al-Aws b. Hāritha.

"This is because they had among them Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, known as Ṣayfi. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said, 'His name was al-Hārith, but also it was said to be 'Ubayd Allāh. His father's name was al-Aslat 'Āmir b. Jusham b. Wā'il b. Zayd b. Qays b. 'Āmir b. Murra b. Mālik b. al-Aws. Al-Kalbī gave him the same genealogy. He was a poet and a leader of theirs; they would listen to him and obey. He kept them from Islam until after the battle of *al-khandaq*, "the battle of the trench".'

I observe that this Abū Qays b. al-Aslat has poetry quoted by Ibn Ishāq that is eloquent and good and reminiscent of the poetry of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafi.

Ibn Ishāq commented concerning the above, "As news of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spread among the bedouins and the towns, this was reported in Medina. No Arab quarter was more knowledgeable about the affairs of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), both before and after he became the subject of report, than this territory of the Aws and the Khazraj. This was because of what they had heard from the Jewish rabbis.

"When circumstances developed in Medina for him as they did and people discussed the dispute between him and Quraysh, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, brother of the Banū Wāqif spoke some verses."

Al-Suhaylī gave his name as Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abū Anas. The full name of Abū Anas was Qays b. Ṣirma b. Mālik b. 'Adī b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār. And he said, "It was about him and 'Umar that the following verse was revealed, 'It has been made lawful for you to visit with your wives on the night of the fast'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.187).

Ibn Ishāq commented, "He greatly liked Quraysh. He was a son-in-law of theirs, his wife being Arnab, daughter of Asad b. 'Abd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy. He had spent some years living among Quraysh with his wife.

"He spoke an ode in which he extolled sacrosanctity and advised Quraysh against war. In it he referred to their good qualities and their aspirations and reminded them of how God had tested them and how He had repelled from them those of the elephant and all their strategies. He also told them to leave the Messenger of God (SAAS) alone. In these verses, he said,

'O rider, if you do not object, then carry this message
from me to the tribe of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib.

The messenger of a man upset by your enmity, sad at the
distance between you, tired of it,

I had a place to stop at for my troubles, yet I did not
by it fulfil my needs and wishes.

Your abode, however, has two factions, each one clamouring
noisily, like the sound made by kindling and wood burning,

I bid you take refuge with God from your evil deeds, from
the evil of your desires and from the scorpion's sting,

From the display of bad morals, from evil plottings like
the prick of an awl, having great impact,

And remind them firstly of God and at the sanctioning of
things forbidden, like wombs of young maidens.

And tell them, "And God will make His judgement; abandon
warfare and let it depart from you."

When you incite it, you arouse something blameworthy; it
is an evil spirit for those related to you or not.

It severs family ties, can destroy a nation, use up the
fat from a camel's hump and withers.

For it fine, thin clothes are exchanged for coats of
chainmail and the rust-spotted garb of the warrior,

While musk and camphor are exchanged for clouds of dust,
the chain-links looking like locusts' eyes.

Beware lest war attach itself to you, for it is a pool
whose water is unhealthy and bitter to drink.

It seems attractive to nations, then they see its
consequences reveal it as an ugly old woman.

It burns up rather than cooks those who are weak, and
diverts your nobles to certain death.

Do you not know how it was in the war of Dāḥis; give
thought; and to the war of Ḥaṭīb too.

How many great leaders were then struck down, fine,
up-standing men whose guests were never disappointed,

Great men, like fine charcoals, men to be revered, men of
pure character, of exemplary nobility,

Like water spread out in a waste-land as though poured
there by the winds of East or South,

Of which you are told by a truthful man who has knowledge of its events, knowledge based on experience.

Buy weapons from a warrior, and remember well your account, for God is the best accountant.

A man's patron is He, and chose a religion; and let there be no guardian over you but the Lord of the stars.

Establish a *ḥanif* religion for us, for You are a goal for us, and one can be guided by great peaks.

And You are a light and protection for this people; You are a refuge they go to, and dreams do not disappoint.

And if the people find a jewel, to You goes the credit (lit. for You are the valley's centre, the rabbit's nose).

You ensure noble and ancient lineage, lines that are refined and blemish-free.

Those in need see moving towards your abodes groups of those destroyed, leading other groups.

Those most righteous have learned that your heights are in all ways the best of all abodes.

It is the most wise and the best in conduct who, among all the processions, are most given to the truth.

And so arise and pray to your Lord, and touch the pillars of this temple amidst the mountains.

For among you from Him has come a favour and a proof on the day of Abū Yaksūm, leader of the phallanges.

His forces will march over the plain, and his men will traverse the clefts of the high mountains.

When the assistance of the Throne-possessor comes to you armies of angels will repel them, raising dust and stones,

And they shall turn tail and flee, and only a few groups will return from captivity to their people.

And if you perish, so let us die, along with festivals long lived by; so will a man say who will not lie.'"

The war of Dāḥis mentioned by Abū Qays in his poetry was famous and occurred in the *jāhiliyya* period. According to Abū 'Ubayd Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā and others, its cause was as follows: Qays b. Zuhayr b. Judhayma b. Rawāḥa al-Ghaṭafānī owned a mare called Dāḥis, and he ran her in a race with a mare called al-Ghabrā' owned by Ḥudhayfa b. Badr b. 'Amr b. Ju'ayya, also of Ghaṭafān. Dāḥis came in first but Ḥudhayfa ordered it to be struck in the head. Mālik b. Zuhayr jumped up and struck al-Ghabrā' in the head. At that Ḥamal b. Badr struck Mālik. After, Abū Junaydab al-'Absī met 'Awf b. Ḥudhayfa and killed him. Then a man of the Banū Fazāra met and killed Mālik. And so war erupted between the Banū 'Abs and Fazāra. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, his brother Ḥamal b. Badr and other groups were killed. A great deal of poetry, which it would take much time to quote and explain, was written concerning this.

Ibn Hishām stated, “Qays started Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā' in the race, while Ḥudhayfa started al-Khaṭṭār and al-Ḥanfā'.” The former account is more accurate.

As for the war of Ḥāṭib, the reference is to Ḥāṭib b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Haysha b. al-Ḥārith b. Umayya b. Mu'āwiya b. Mālik b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mālik b. al-Aws who had killed a Jew who was under the protection of the Khazraj. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Mālik b. Aḥmar b. Ḥāritha b. Tha'āba b. Ka'b b. Mālik b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, he being known as Ibn Fushūm, went out after this man Ḥāṭib, accompanied by a group of his men of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj. They killed Ḥāṭib and this led to a war between the Aws and the Khazraj. The fighting was very fierce and ultimately the Khazraj were victorious. At that time al-Aswad b. al-Ṣāmit al-Awsī was killed by al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād, an ally of the Banū 'Awf b. al-Khazraj. This led to further wars between them that would be lengthy to relate.

The point is that Abū Qays b. al-Aslat gained nothing from all his knowledge and understanding when Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr came to Medina and called upon its people to accept Islam, many of whom agreed.

So that, as has been said, not a house there was without a Muslim man or woman except that of the Banū Wāqif, Abū Qays's tribe, who held them back from Islam. It was also he who spoke the verses:

“O Lord of mankind, some things have given pain,
significant and trivial matters combined,
O Lord of mankind, if we should have gone astray, then
guide us to the proper path.
Were it not for our Lord, we would be Jews, and the
religion of the Jews lacks proper form.
Were it not for our lord, we would be Christians, with
the monks up in the mountains of Galilee.
But when created, we were made *ḥanīfs* from many
generations back.
We lead the camels to slaughter, passive and in shackles,
their necks bare, but wearing saddles.”

The gist of what he says is that he was undecided as to how to react to what he had heard about the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so he prevaricated despite his learning.

The person who kept him back from Islam initially was 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, after Abū Qays had informed him that the person who had announced his coming was a Jew; and so he dissuaded him from accepting Islam.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “He did not accept Islam up to the time of the conquest of Mecca, he and his brother, and so he left.”

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār denied that Abū Qays accepted Islam. As did al-Wāqidi, who stated, ‘He had intended to accept Islam when first the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) invited him to do so. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, however, criticized him for this and he pledged that he would not accept Islam until the next year. But he died in the month Dhū al-Qa‘da.”

Others, as related by Ibn al-Athir in his work *Usūd al-Ghāba* (*The Jungle Lions*) state that when death was close for him, the Prophet (ṢAAS) invited him to Islam and he was heard to say, “There is no god but God.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to us, that Ḥammād b. Salama related to him, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited an *anṣār* man and said, ‘O *khāl*, “maternal uncle”, say, “There is no god but God.”’ He replied, ‘Do you say *khāl*, maternal uncle or ‘*amm*, paternal uncle?’ ‘No, I say *khāl*,’ he replied. The man asked, ‘So it is best for me to say, “There is no god but God?”’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘Yes.’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

‘Ikrima and others related that when he died, his son wanted to marry his father’s widow, Kabīsha, daughter of Ma‘an b. ‘Āṣim. She asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about this and God revealed, “Do not marry those same women your fathers married” (*surat al-Nisa*; IV, v.22).

Ibn Ishāq stated, as did Sa‘īd b. Yahyā al-Umawī in his work on the *maghāzī*, the military campaigns, “This man Abū Qays became a monk during the *jāhiliyya* period before Islam and adopted wearing a hair-cloth gown. He abandoned the idols, washed after being in a state of ritual impurity and kept away from menstruating women. He thought of adopting Christianity but then refrained. He took a house and made it into a mosque where he allowed no menstruating women entrance nor anyone in a state of ritual impurity. He said, ‘I worship the God of Abraham when he had abandoned and expressed hatred for the idols.’

“This went on until the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then accepted Islam and became a good Muslim.

“He was a respected elder and man of truth who glorified God in that *jāhiliyya* period, before Islam, in which he lived. He spoke fine verses on the subject. It was he who said,

‘Abū Qays, about to leave, says, “Perform all you can of this my advice.

I commend God to you, righteousness, piety and honour, but devotion to God comes first.

If your people lead, do no envy them; if you attain leadership, then be just.

If a disaster should befall your people, then place yourselves in front of your tribe.

If a disastrous loss afflicts them, keep them company and bear up beneath whatever it is they place on you.

If hardship afflicts you, remain pure, and if wealth should come to you, then be generous.”

"Abū Qays also said,

'Glorify God at dawn each day His sun rises, and at every crescent moon.

He knows both what is plain and secret; nothing our Lord says is misguided.

The birds are His that stray far away then return to their nests in the safety of the mountains.

The wild beasts of the deserts are His; you see them in the sand tracts and the shades of the dunes.

The Jews pray to Him and perform every ritual out of fear of disaster.

The Christians bow down to Him and offer all feasts and celebrations to their Lord.

The hermit monk is His; you see him live in poverty though formerly in ease.

O my people, do not sever kinship's ties, but ever join the short to the long.

Fear God when treating weak orphans; sometimes what is forbidden is considered fair.

And know that orphans have an All-Knowing protector who guides without question.

Do not consume the wealth of orphans; the wealth of orphans does have a protector.

My people, do not ignore the bounds; there are limits to ignoring bounds.

My people, do not feel secure in the future; beware of its deceit and of time's passage. Realize that time's passing destroys all things created, young and old alike.

Resolve yourselves for goodness and piety; forsake indecency and do only right."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Qays also composed another piece in which he records how God had honoured them by the gift of Islam and by having sent His Messenger (ṢAAS) down to them. The following line is part thereof:

'He resided among Quraysh a dozen years, preaching in case he should find there some helpful friend.'"

We will give the full text of this poem later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust.

An Account of the second meeting at al-ʿAqaba.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muṣ'ab b. ʿUmayr returned to Mecca and the *anṣār* Muslims came there along with those of their people who were making the pilgrimage and were still polytheists. (The *anṣār*) made a pact with the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) at al-ʿAqaba, in the medial days of the *tashriq*³² when God granted them honour, ensured victory for the Prophet and glory for Islam and its people, and cast down idolatry and its supporters.

“Maʿbad b. Kaʿb b. Mālīk related to me, that his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, one of the most learned of the *anṣār*, told him that his father Kaʿb told him as follows, having been one of those who was present at al-ʿAqaba and pledged allegiance there to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He stated, ‘We left in the company of those of our people who were polytheists; we had prayed and received religious instruction. With us was al-Barāʾ b. Maʿmūr, our elder and leader. When we had headed out on our journey from Medīnā, al-Barāʾ said, ‘I’ve had an idea, and I wonder whether or not you will agree with me on it.’ We asked what it was and he replied, ‘I think I will not leave this building – meaning the *kaʿba* – to my back. I shall pray towards it.’ We commented, ‘We’ve not heard that our Prophet (ṢAAS) never prays in any other direction than towards Syria³³ (i.e. Jerusalem). We don’t want to contradict him.’”

“‘He replied, ‘I am going to pray towards it.’”

““Well, we will not,” we told him.

“When time for prayer came we did face towards Syria, while he prayed in the direction of the *kaʿba* until we reached Mecca. We criticized him for persisting in doing this. Upon reaching Mecca, he told me, ‘Nephew, let’s go off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and ask him about what I’ve been doing on this journey. The disapproval I have seen in you has somewhat disturbed me.’”

“So off we went, asking the whereabouts of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We had not seen him prior to that. We met a Meccan and asked after him, and he replied, ‘Do you know him?’ ‘No,’ we replied. ‘Then do you know al-ʿAbbās b. al-Muṭṭalib, his uncle?’ ‘Yes,’ we told him, for we did know al-ʿAbbās. He often came to us on business trips. The Meccan told us, ‘If you go to the mosque, he will be sitting next to al-ʿAbbās.’”

“So we went in the mosque and there was al-ʿAbbās sitting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by his side. We made greetings then sat down facing him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked al-ʿAbbās, ‘Do you know these two men, Abū al-Faḍl?’ He replied, ‘Yes; this is al-Barāʾ b. Maʿmūr, his people’s leader, and this is Kaʿb b. Mālīk.’”

The account proceeds, “I swear, I’ll never forget what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said: ‘You mean the poet?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.

“Then al-Barāʾ b. Maʿmūr addressed him, ‘O prophet of God, I have come on this journey having been given guidance to Islam by God Almighty. I had the

32. During the pre-Islamic pilgrimage season, the *tashriq* days, those between the 11th and the 13th of Dhu al-Hijja, were apparently given over to eating, drinking, and sensual pleasure. The *tashriq* days were later incorporated into Islam, without, however, the aforementioned practices of the *jahiliyya*.

33. Lit. “Greater Syria”. Jerusalem was often referred to as *al-Sham*, Syria, because it was a part of what was then Greater Syria.

idea of not facing my back to this building, so I prayed towards it. My friends opposed me in this, causing me concern. What do you think?"

"“You already had a *qibla*, a direction for prayer, and should have kept to it,” he replied.

"“And so al-Barā' reverted to the prayer direction adopted by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so prayed along with us towards Syria.”"

The account concludes, "But his family claim that he continued his prayers towards the *ka'ba* until he died. But it was not as they said; we know better than they about it."

Ka'b b. Mālik stated, "We then left on the pilgrimage, having made an agreement to meet the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-ʿAqaba in the middle of the *tashriq* period. When we had finished the pilgrimage the night arrived for which we had an appointment with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We had kept our purpose unknown to those of our people who were polytheists, but there with us was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām Abū Jābir, one of our leaders. To him we spoke, telling him, 'Abū Jābir, you are one of our noble leaders, and we would like you to give up your practices; otherwise one day you will end up as fuel for hell-fire.' We then invited him into Islam, and told him of our rendezvous with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-ʿAqaba. He did accept Islam, was present at al-ʿAqaba and became a *naqīb*, a leader."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting Hishām, that Ibn Jurayj told them, from ʿAṭā', that Jābir said, 'I, my father and my two maternal uncles were present at al-ʿAqaba.' ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad stated, 'Ibn ʿUyayna said, "One of these two men was al-Barā' b. Ma'mūr.'" ʿAlī al-Madīnī related to us, quoting Sufyān, "Amr used to say, "I heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh state, 'My two maternal uncles were present at al-ʿAqaba with me.'""

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ma'mar, from Ibn Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, that Jābir said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained for ten years in Mecca following people to their homes, going to ʿUkāz and Majanna during the festivals asking, "Who will give me refuge? Whoever will help me until I can fulfil the mission of my Lord will attain paradise." But he found no one to shelter or aid him. So much so that someone from Yemen or the Muḍar would appear and respond favourably to this plea, only to have his relatives and friends tell him, "Watch out that that man of Quraysh doesn't corrupt you!" And if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were to pass through their encampments, they would point their fingers at him.

"“This went on until God sent us from Yathrib (Medina) to him and we gave him refuge and believed in him. Our people would go off, believe in him, have the Qurʾān recited to them and then return to their own folk who would then accept Islam as they had. Eventually no *anṣār* home was devoid of Muslims displaying their faith in Islam.

“At last we all consulted together and asked ourselves how long we were going to leave the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) doing his rounds and being harassed in the Meccan mountains in a state of fear.

“So 70 of us men went to see him during the pilgrimage season. We made a rendezvous with him at the defile at al-‘Aqaba, going there in ones and twos until all were present. Then we asked him, “O Messenger of God what do you wish us to pledge to you?”

“He replied, “You must pledge to hear and obey at times of both action and inaction, to give whether times are hard or easy, and to advocate goodness and prohibit evil. You must speak out for God and not fear any blame for supporting God. You must help and defend me if I come to you in the same ways you help and defend yourselves, your wives and your children. You will then attain paradise.” And so we stood up before him and pledged allegiance. As‘ad b. Zurāra took him by the hand, he being one of the youngest there.”

In the account of al-Bayhaqī, the text reads, “He was the youngest of the 70 except for myself. He (As‘ad) said, ‘Slowly now, people of Yathrib! We only hurried here because we know that he is the Messenger of God. Bringing him out now, however, would be a provocation to all the Arabs that would cause you to lose your élite and would box you in with swords raised against you. If you are able to withstand that, then adopt him and it will be up to God to reward you. But if you are a people who have great fear for yourselves, then leave him and make that fact plain; that course would be more forgivable in God’s sight.’

“Keep away from us, As‘ad,’ (they replied). ‘We won’t renege on this pledge. We will never deny it.’”

He continued, “So we all stood and pledged to him. He made us make promises and assured us paradise in return.”

Imām Aḥmad related this also, as did al-Bayhaqī through Da‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Aṭṭār.

Al-Bayhaqī’s account adds to the chain of authorities al-Ḥākim back to Yahyā b. Sālim; both of them include ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū Idrīs, with much the same content.

This chain of authorities is excellent and meets the criteria for *aḥādith* prescribed by Muslim; the scholars, however, did not cite it.

Al-Bazzār commented, “Several authorities quote it from Ibn Khuthaym, but we only know of Jābir being a link in this one account.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Sulaymān b. Da‘ūd related to us, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from Mūsā b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, “Al-‘Abbās was holding the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the latter was verifying our pledges. When he had finished, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I have taken, and I have given.’”

Al-Bazzār stated, “Muḥammad b. Ma‘mar related to us, quoting Qubayṣa, quoting Sufyān – he being al-Thawrī – from Jābir – meaning al-Ju‘fi – from Da‘ūd – he being the son of Abū Hind – from al-Sha‘bī, from Jābir – meaning

the son of 'Abd Allāh – who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to the *anṣār* leaders, "Will you then give me refuge and protect me?" "Yes," they said, "and what will we receive?" "Paradise," he replied.'

Al-Bazzār then added, "We know of this *ḥadīth* only from this one chain of authorities back to Jābir."

Ibn Ishāq then related, from Ma'bad, from 'Abd Allāh, from his father Ka'b b. Mālik, who said, "That night we went to bed among our people in our caravan. But when one-third of the night had passed, we left the caravan to attend the rendezvous with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We slipped away, keeping ourselves hidden like sand-grouse and met in the defile at al-'Aqaba. We were 73 men in number and two of our women accompanied us, Nasība, daughter of Ka'b, mother of 'Umāra, a wife from the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, and Asmā', daughter of 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Nābī, one of the wives of the Banū Salama, she being the mother of Manī'."

Ibn Ishāq quoted from an account of Yūnus b. Bukayr, giving their names and genealogies and the information that some sources give their number as 70; but the Arabs (i.e. the bedouin, tr.) often deal only in round numbers.

'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "They were 70 in number, with one woman." He also said that 40 of them were adult, while 30 were youths, the youngest of them being Abū Mas'ūd and Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh.

Ka'b b. Mālik stated, "When we met at the defile we waited and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did come, accompanied by al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. At that time al-'Abbās was still following his people's religion, although he was keeping track of his nephew's affairs and watching over him.

"When they sat down, the first to speak was al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, 'O Khazraj' – the Arabs used to know the *anṣār* as Khazraj, whether they were Khazraj or Aws – 'Muḥammad holds with us a position of which you are aware. We protect him from our people who think about him as we do. He is respected among his people and safe in his own town. But he is determined to join up with you. If you think you will keep trust with him in the invitation you have given him and will protect him from his opponents, then it's up to you to accept your responsibilities. But if you think you might deliver him over and abandon him after he has joined you, then leave him right now. He does have respect and protection among his own people and in his town.'

"We replied, 'We hear what you say. Speak to us, O Messenger of God, and take for yourself and for your Lord whatever you want.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke, recited the Qur'ān, invited people to God and acclaimed Islam. He said, 'I ask you to pledge that you will defend me as you do your women and children.'

"Al-Barā' b. Ma'mūr then took him by the hand and said, 'Yes indeed; we will, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, protect you as we do our women from whatever threatens them. We pledge ourselves to you, O

Messenger of God, and we are, I swear it, warriors from father to son over many generations.'

"While al-Barā' was speaking to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he was interrupted by Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, who said, 'O Messenger of God, we have certain ties to others' – meaning the Jews – 'and if we break these, we are concerned that if God gives you victory, you might return to your own people and abandon us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled at this and said, 'If your blood be sought, our blood shall be sought, and your destruction is mine as well. I am of you and you are of me. I will battle those you battle and make peace with those with whom you make peace.'"

Ka'b b. Mālik went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Bring forth twelve from among you to be leaders to take charge of their people's affairs.'

"They selected twelve men, nine from al-Khazraj, three from Aws."

These were, according to Ibn Ishāq, Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra, mentioned above, Sa'd b. al-Rabi' b. 'Amr b. Abū Zuhayr b. Mālik b. Imru' al-Qays b. Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa b. Tha'laba b. Imru' al-Qays b. Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj; Rāfi' b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān, mentioned above, al-Barā' b. Ma'mūr b. Ṣakhr b. Khansā' b. Sinān b. 'Ubayd b. 'Adi b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama b. Sa'd b. 'Alī b. Asad b. Sārīda b. Tazīd b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām b. Tha'laba b. Ḥarām b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama, 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣamīt, mentioned above, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda b. Dulaym b. Ḥāritha b. Abū Khuzayma b. Tha'laba b. Ṭarīf b. al-Khazraj b. Sa'īda b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj, and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr b. Khunays b. Ḥāritha b. Lawdhān b. 'Abd Wudd b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. al-Khazraj b. Sa'īda b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj.

These were the nine men of the Khazraj.

From Aws there were three: Usayd b. Ḥudayr b. Simāk b. 'Atīk b. Rāfi' b. Imru' al-Qays b. Zayd b. 'Abd al-Ashhal b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aws, Sa'd b. Khaythama b. al-Hārith b. Mālik b. Ka'b b. al-Naḥḥāt b. Ka'b b. Ḥāritha b. Ghanm b. al-Salm b. Imru' al-Qays b. Mālik b. al-Aws, Rifā'a b. 'Abd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mālik b. al-Aws.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars include among these Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān instead of al-Rifā'a, who is above mentioned." He is also included in the account of Yūnus quoting Ibn Ishāq. And al-Suhayli and Ibn al-Athīr in his *Usūd al-Ghāba* (*Jungle Lions*) included him.

Ibn Hishām gave testimony to this in a quotation he makes from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī of poetry by Ka'b b. Mālik giving reference to the twelve men selected that night of the second meeting at al-'Aqaba:

"Tell Ubayy that his opinion is wrong; he died the morning of the (meeting in) the defile, but death does come, May God deny what your soul craves; He watches over man's affairs, seeing and hearing.

And inform Abū Sufyān that, through Aḥmad, there has appeared to us a shining light of God's guidance.

Do not covet acquiring something you want; just take and gather whatever it is you receive.

Take care! Know that breaking vows with us was forbidden you by the group when they gave allegiance.

Both al-Barā' and Ibn 'Amr forbad it, and As'ad and Rāfi' too forbid it.

Sa'd al-Sā'idi forbad it, and Mundhir would cut off your nose if you tried it.

And Ibn Rabi', if you received his pledge, would not give him up. Let no one expect that.

Similarly Ibn Rawāḥa would not give him to you; to protect him he would even take poison.

Al-Qawqali b. Šāmit too is far removed from what you try to achieve, living up to the promise he made.

Abū al-Haytham also is true to his pledge, secure in the oath he had made.

And you should have no hopes of Ibn Ḥuḍayr for what you want; perhaps you should abandon your foolish error.

And Sa'd, brother of 'Amr b. 'Awf, is far removed and opposed to what it is you want.

These are not stars that will arise in the dark of night and repel bad luck from you."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū al-Haytham is mentioned here among these men, whereas Rifā'a is not."

My own comment is that the poet also mentions Sa'd b. Mu'adh who was definitely not one of the leaders of the gathering that night.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān recounted, from Yūnus b. 'Abd al-'A'la, from Ibn Wahb, from Mālik who said, "The *anṣār* on the night of al-'Aqaba were 70 men; their leaders were twelve in number, nine from Khazraj, three from Aws.

"An *anṣār* elder told me that Gabriel was indicating to the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) which of these men he should appoint as leaders on that night of al-'Aqaba, and Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr was one of those leaders."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) said to these leaders, 'You shall be those entrusted for your people just as the apostles were for Jesus, son of Mary. I shall be entrusted with my own people.' They replied, 'So be it.'

“Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda related to us that when this group met to pledge allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), al-‘Abbās b. ‘Ubāda b. Naḍla al-Anṣārī, of the Banū Sālim b. ‘Awf, said, ‘O Khazraj, do you know what it is you are pledging this man?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied.

“He continued, ‘You are pledging to go to war against all kinds of people. If you think that if you suffered great losses to your wealth and had your leaders killed, you would give him up, then do it now or suffer the punishment of this life and the next. If you think you will keep faith with him in what he has called upon you to do, despite loss of wealth and your leaders being killed, then do accept him. For he is, by God, the best in this world and the next.’

“They replied, ‘We will take him regardless of loss of wealth or the death of our leaders. But what will we receive in return for this, O Messenger of God, if we keep faith with you?’

“‘Paradise,’ he replied.

“‘Then hold out your hand,’ they asked.

“He did so and they pledged allegiance to him.

“Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda commented, ‘Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Ubāda only said this to emphasize the pact they were making.’

“‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr claimed that al-‘Abbās had only said that to delay the pledge of allegiance that night in the hope that ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, leader of the Khazraj would attend so that the action of the group would be even stronger. God knows best which of these is true.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Banū al-Najjār claim that Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Zurāra was the first who touched his hand in allegiance. The Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal, however, claim that it was Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān.”

Ibn Ishāq also said, “Ma‘bad b. Ka‘b related to me from his brother ‘Abd Allāh, from his father Ka‘b b. Mālīk, who said, ‘The first man to touch the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was al-Barā’ b. Ma‘rūr. Then all the rest pledged allegiance to him.’”

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba (The Jungle)*, “The Banū Salama claim that the first who pledged allegiance to him that night was Ka‘b b. Mālīk.”

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and in that of Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b, from his father, from Ka‘b b. Mālīk in his *ḥadīth* when he absented himself from the battle of Tabūk. He stated, “I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night of al-‘Aqaba when we pledged ourselves to Islam, and I would not rather have witnessed the battle of Badr than it, even though at Badr there were more men involved.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Abū al-Husayn b. Bashrān informed us, quoting ‘Amr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Ishāq, quoting Abū Nu‘aym, and Zakariyya’ b. Abū Zā‘ida, from ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off with his uncle al-‘Abbās to meet 70 of the *anṣār* at al-‘Aqaba, beneath a

tree. He told them, 'Let your spokesman speak, but not talk too long. For there are polytheists watching you and if they have knowledge of you they will expose you.'

"Abū Umāma, their spokesman, said, 'Ask, Muḥammad, for your Lord whatever it is you want. Then after that ask for yourself what it is you want. Then tell us what reward we will have from God and from you if we do that.'

"He replied, 'For my Lord I ask you to worship Him and to associate no other god with Him. For myself, and my Companions, I ask you to give me refuge and to help me and protect me from what it is you protect yourselves.'

"They asked, 'What will we receive if we do that?'

"'You shall have paradise,' he replied.

"'Shall you have that?' they asked."

Ḥanbal also related this from Imām Aḥmad, from Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā, from Mujālid, from al-Sha'bi, from Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī who, having recounted it, stated, "Abū Mas'ūd was the youngest man there."

Aḥmad stated, from Yaḥyā, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Sha'bi, who said, "No one, old or young, ever heard such an address."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥmish narrated to us from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Faḍl al-Faḥḥām from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhli from 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Raqqī, as follows: 'Zuhayr related to us, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Ismā'īl b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Rifā'a, from his father, who said, "Skins of wine were brought out, but 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit went up to them and pierced them open, saying, 'We have pledged to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that we will listen and obey, in action and at rest, expend our wealth in good times and bad, enjoin good and forbid evil, express our faith in God without fear of reproach, and assist the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) if he comes to Yathrib with the same protection we give ourselves and our children in body and soul. And we shall have paradise.'"

"This was the pledge we made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

This chain of authorities is strong and excellent but the scholars do not cite it.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "Ubāda b. al-Walid b. 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit related to me from his father, from his grandfather 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had us pledge to him that we would fight, that we would listen and obey in good and bad times alike, regardless of the incentives or disincentives or pressure upon us, that we would not dispute among ourselves, that we would speak the truth wherever we were and hear no reproach in our worship of God.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated in his account from Ma'bad b. Ka'b, from his brother 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, who said, "When we pledged ourselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Satan called out from the top of the defile in the most piercing voice I have ever heard. He said, 'O people of the *jabājib*' – the word meaning 'houses' – are you going to support this reprehensible man and the fools with him who have tried to make war upon you?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'That was Azabb of al-ʿAqaba. He's the son of Azyab.'"

Ibn Hishām suggested that the name given was "son of Uzayb".

"Do you hear, O enemy of God,' he went on, 'I swear I will destroy you!'

"Then he told them, 'Return to your caravans.'"

The account continues, "Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUḃāda b. Naḏla said, 'O Messenger of God by Him who sent you with the truth, if you wish tomorrow we will fall on those at Minā with our swords!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'We have not been ordered to do that; however, do go back to your caravans.'

"And so we returned to our beds and slept in them until morning.

"Next morning leaders of Quraysh came to us in our camps and said, 'O Khazraj, we have learned that you have come to this man of ours asking him to leave us and pledging to fight against us. We swear that there is no Arab group we would like less to do battle with than you.'

"Those of our people who were polytheists promptly swore that they had no knowledge of any such thing.

"And they spoke the truth; they knew nothing. We, meanwhile, were exchanging glances.

"Then Quraysh arose; they included al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughira al-Makhzūmi who was wearing new sandals. I spoke to him as if I wanted to associate the entire group with what the polytheists had said. Then I said (changing the subject) 'Abū Jābir, seeing that you are one of our chiefs, can't you get sandals like those of that young Quraysh fellow?'

"Al-Ḥārith heard this, took off his sandals and hurled them at me, saying, 'By God, you can put them on!'

"Abū Jābir replied, 'Now easy there; you've annoyed the lad; give him back his sandals.'

"I replied, 'I swear, I'll not return them. They're a good omen; and if it proves true, I'll keep the sandals!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that they went to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and said much the same as Ka'b had. He told them, 'This is a very grave matter; my people are not such as to divide over a matter like this. I have no knowledge of it.' The Quraysh leaders then left.

"The pilgrims then left Minā and some of them investigated the report further, finding it to have happened. They set about pursuing our people and caught up with Sa'd b. ʿUḃāda at Adhākhir, along with al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, a brother from the Banū Sāʿida b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj; both of these were 'leaders' (i.e. appointed at al-ʿAqaba, tr.).

"Al-Mundhir evaded them but they captured Sa'd b. ʿUḃāda and tied his hands behind his neck with the cords holding his saddle and led him into Mecca, beating him and pulling him along by his hair which was very full.

"Sa'd reported, 'So there I was in their hands when up came a group of Quraysh among whom was one tall, handsome, fair-skinned man. I told myself, "If there is any good in any of their men, it has to be him."

"But when he drew near he raised his hand and struck me hard. I told myself, "Well, I swear, after this there's no good in them at all!"

"Well, there I was in their hands, being pulled along, when one of their men came up to me and said, "Too bad! Don't you have any pact or protection agreement with any Quraysh man?" I replied, "Yes, indeed I do. I used to give protection to Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm and his merchants on business trips and prevent those of my people who wanted to harm them. And also I protected al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams." He commented, "Cry out the names of the two men and tell of your connection to them."

"So I did this and that man went off to look for those two merchants. He found them in the *ka'ba* and told them, "There's a man of Khazraj now out there in the valley being beaten and calling out for both of you." They asked, "Who is he?" "He is Sa'd b. 'Ubāda," he told them. "Well," they said, "he has spoken the truth. He did protect our merchants from some in his country who wanted to harm them."'''

The account continues, "The two men then went and released Sa'd from his attackers, and he fled. The man who struck Sa'd was Suhayl b. 'Amr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The man who gave him refuge was Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām."

Al-Bayhaqī related with a chain of authorities from 'Īsā b. Abū b. Jubayr, who said, "Quraysh heard someone speak out in the night on the mountain of Abū Qubays, 'If Sa'dān (i.e. "two Sa'ds", tr.) be safe, then Muḥammad should not fear any opposition in Mecca.'

"Next morning, Abū Sufyān asked, 'Who is al-Sa'dān? As'ad b. Bakr or Sa'd b. Hudhaym?'

"The second night they heard someone reciting,

'O Sa'd, Sa'd of al-Aws, may you be victorious; and
you, O Sa'd, Sa'd of Khazraj, a hero.

Answer to him who calls for guidance and beseech God for
paradise as those who know.

For God's reward to Him who seeks guidance is gardens of
paradise where birds fly.'

"Next morning Abū Sufyān said, 'I swear, it has to be Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Sa'd b. 'Ubāda!'"

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the *anṣār* who had pledged themselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night of the second meeting at al-'Aqaba returned to Medina, they proclaimed their acceptance of Islam.

"Among their people there were still a few elders persisting in their polytheistic beliefs. One of these was 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b. Kaḥ b. Ghanm b. Kaḥ b. Salama.

"His son Mu'adh b. 'Amr was one of those who were present at al-'Aqaba. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ was a leader of the Banū Salama. He had a wooden idol, named Manāt, in his home; this was a practice common among those chieftains. They would treat these idols as gods and would venerate them and show them off. When the young men of the Banū Salama, Mu'adh, and Mu'adh b. Jabal accepted Islam, they would sneak in at night to that idol of 'Amr, carry it out and toss it head first into pits used to contain the excrement of the Banū Salama. Next morning 'Amr would ask, 'Who could have attacked our god tonight?' He would then look around for it and when he found it he washed it, purified it and scented it. Then he would say, 'I swear, if I knew who did that to you I would put him to shame!'

"When 'Amr slept at night they would again seize it and do as before. 'Amr again found it harmed as before and he would wash, purify and scent it. That night they returned and did the same, as he did. But this time he brought his sword and attached it to the idol saying, 'I swear I do not know who is doing this to you, but if there is any good in you, then defend yourself! You have this sword now.'

"That night while 'Amr slept they returned to the idol, took the sword off its neck and then replaced it with a dead dog they attached to it. Then they threw it into one of the cesspools of the Banū Salama. Next day 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ did not see it in its place, so he went out to find it and did so in the cesspool, upside down and with the dead dog attached. When he saw it in this state he reflected upon his state and one of his people who had accepted Islam went and spoke to him, and, by God's mercy, he accepted Islam himself and remained a good Muslim. When he accepted Islam and knew what he now did of God, he reflected on his own state and what he had seen happen to the idol. He thanked God who had saved him from his former blindness and error and spoke the following verses,

'By God, if you had been a god, you would not have been
hurled into a well tied to a dog!

Yekh! for treating you as a god; now we have assessed
you and (turned from) evil ways,

Praise be to God the Almighty, the Benevolent, the
Giver, the Provider, the establisher of the religions,

He it was saved me before I was encased in the darkness
of a grave.'"

Section: That gives the names of those who attended the second meeting at al-'Aqaba, their number, according to Ibn Ishāq, totalling seventy-three men and two women.

There were 11 men from Aws: Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, one of the "leaders"; Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, who was also at Badr; Salama b. Salāma b. Waqash, at Badr; Ḍuhayr b. Rāfi'; Abū Burda b. Niyār; Nuhayr b. al-Haytham b. Nābi b.

Majda'a b. Hāritha; Sa'd b. Khaythama, one of the "leaders" who was killed at Badr; Rifā'a b. 'Abd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr, a "leader", at Badr; 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nu'mān b. Umayya b. al-Burak, at Badr, killed at Uhūd where he was a commander of the bowmen; Ma'an b. 'Adi b. al-Jadd b. 'Ajlān b. al-Hārith b. Ḍubay'a al-Balawī, an ally of the Aws, present at Badr and its aftermath and died a martyr in al-Yamāma; Uwaym b. Sā'ida, who attended Badr and thereafter.

From the Khazraj there were 62 men: Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd, who participated at Badr and thereafter, dying a martyr in Byzantine territory during the reign of Mu'āwīya; Mu'adh b. al-Hārith, along with his brothers 'Awf and Mu'awwidh, sons of 'Afrā', all at Badr; Umāra b. Ḥazm who witnessed Badr and thereafter, was killed in al-Yamāma; As'ad b. Zurāra Abū Umāma, one of the "leaders", who died before Badr; Sahl b. 'Atīk, at Badr; Aws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir, at Badr; Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl, at Badr; Qays b. Abū Ṣaṣ'a 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Awf b. Mabdhūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin, a commander of the rear-guard at Badr; 'Amr b. Ghaziyya; Sa'd b. al-Rabi', one of the "leaders", who was at Badr and was killed at Uhūd.

Also there were 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, one of the "leaders"; he was present at Badr, Uhūd and the *khandaq*, "the trench". He was killed at the battle of Mu'ta, acting as commander. Also there was Bashīr b. Sa'd, at Badr, and 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Tha'laba b. 'Abd Rabbihi, who was shown how to call people to prayer. He was present at Badr.

Khallād b. Suwayd, who was present at Badr, Uhūd and *al-khandaq*. He died a martyr battling the Banū Qurayza; a millstone was hurled at him and it crushed him. It is said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, "He will have the reward of two martyrs."

Also there was Abū Mas'ūd 'Uqba b. 'Amr, at Badr. However, Ibn Ishāq stated, "He was the youngest person to witness al-'Aqaba, and he was not present at Badr."

There was Ziyād b. Labīd, at Badr, Farwa b. 'Amr b. Wadhafa; Khālīd b. Qays b. Mālik, at Badr; Rāfi' b. Mālik, a "leader"; Dhakwān b. 'Abd Qays b. Khalda b. Mukhlid b. 'Āmir b. Zurayq. He it is who was called both *muhājiri* and *anṣāri*, "Emigrant" and "Helper", because he stayed with the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Mecca until his migration to Medina. He was present at Badr and was killed at Uhūd. Also there was 'Abbād b. Qays b. 'Āmir b. Khālīd b. 'Āmir b. Zurayq, at Badr, and his brother al-Hārith b. Qays b. 'Āmir, also at Badr.

And al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, a "leader" and the first man to pledge allegiance (at 'Aqaba) according to the claim of the Banū Salama. He died before the arrival of the Prophet (SAAS) in Medina and pledged to him a third of his wealth. The Messenger of God (SAAS) returned the money to his heirs. His son was Bishr b. al-Barā'; he was present at Badr, Uhūd and *al-khandaq*. He died a martyr at Khaybar as a result of eating, along with the Messenger of God (SAAS), from the poisoned sheep. God bless him!

Also there was Sinān b. Ṣayfi b. Ṣakhr, at Badr, al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nu'mān b. Khansā', at Badr; he was killed at the battle of *al-khandaq*.

And there was Ma'qil b. al-Mundhir b. Sarḥ, at Badr, and his brother Yazid b. Sinān al-Mundhir, at Badr; Mas'ūd b. Zayd b. Subay'; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥāritha b. Zayd b. Tha'labā, at Badr; Yazid b. Khadhām b. Subay'; Jabbār b. Ṣakhr b. Umayya b. al-Khansā' b. Sinān b. 'Ubayd, at Badr; al-Ṭufayl b. Mālik b. al-Khansā', at Badr.

And Ka'b b. Mālik; Sulaym b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadida, at Badr; Quṭba b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadida, at Badr, and his brother Abū al-Mundhir Yazid, at Badr also; and Abū al-Yusr Ka'b b. 'Amr, at Badr, and Ṣayfi b. Sawwād b. 'Abbād.

And Tha'labā b. Ghanama b. 'Adi b. Nābi, at Badr and martyred at *al-khandaq*. And his brother 'Amr b. Ghanama b. 'Adi; 'Abs b. 'Āmir b. 'Adi, at Badr; Khālīd b. 'Amr b. 'Adi b. Nābi; and 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, an ally of theirs from Quḍā'a.

And 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām, one of the "leaders", at Badr, martyred at Uḥud, and his son Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh; Mu'adh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ, at Badr; Thābit b. al-Jadh', at Badr and martyred at al-Ṭā'if; 'Umayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Tha'labā, at Badr; Khadij b. Salama, an ally of theirs from Baliy; Mu'adh b. Jabal who witnessed Badr and thereafter; he died of the plague at 'Imwās in the Caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

And 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, a "leader", at Badr and thereafter; al-'Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Naḍla, who stayed at Mecca until he emigrated from it. He also was known as a *muhājirī anṣārī*. He was martyred at Uḥud. And Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yazid b. Tha'labā b. Khazma b. Aṣram, an ally of theirs from the Banū Ghuṣayna from Baliy; 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Labda; Rifā'a b. 'Amr b. Zayd, at Badr; 'Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalda, an ally of theirs, at Badr. He was one of those who left for Mecca and remained until he emigrated from there. He was one of those also called a *muhājirī anṣārī*. And Sa'd b. 'Ubāda b. Dulaym, a "leader"; al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, a "leader" and at both Badr and Uḥud. He was killed at Bīr Ma'ūna, acting as a commander. It was he of whom it was said, "He was manumitted only to die."

The two women were Umm 'Umāra Nasība, daughter of Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mabdḥūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin b. al-Najjār, of Māzin and al-Najjār.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "She, along with her sister and her husband Zayd b. 'Āṣim b. Ka'b and her sons Ḥabīb and 'Abd Allāh, was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) during the war. This son of hers, Ḥabīb, was killed by Musaylima, "the liar", the latter asked him, 'Do you bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' he replied. He asked, 'Do you bear witness that I am the Messenger of God?' He replied, 'I do not hear!' At that he began cutting off one member after the other from him until he died right there before him; he got nothing more from him. Umm 'Umāra was one of those who left for al-Yamāma with the Muslims when Musaylima was killed. When she came back she had 12 wounds caused by hits and cuts. God bless her.

The other woman was Umm Manī', Asmā', daughter of 'Amr b. 'Adi b. Nābi b. 'Amr b. Sawwād b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama. May God be pleased with them all.

Chapter: The beginning of emigration from Mecca to Medina.

Al-Zuhri stated, from 'Urwa, that 'Ā'isha said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he being at Mecca at the time, addressed the Muslims as follows, 'I have been shown the place of your migration; I have been shown a salty, swampy plain with palm-groves between two tracts of rocks.'

"Some people migrated towards Medina when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that, while other Muslims who had gone to Abyssinia returned and went there instead."

Al-Bukhārī related this.

Abū Mūsā stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "In my sleep I saw that I would be migrating from Mecca to a place where there were palm-groves. My imagination told me that it was to be in al-Yamāma or Hajar, but it turned out to be the town of Yathrib."

This *ḥadīth* is given at length by al-Bukhārī with a variety of chains of authority.

Muslim also related both of the above *ahadīth* with lines of authority from Abū Kurayb. Muslim added 'Abd Allāh b. Murād and quoted both traditions on the authority of Abū Usāma, from Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from his grandfather, Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā 'Abd Allāh b. Qays al-Ash'ari, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), giving the whole *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Qāsim b. al-Qāsim al-Sayārī of Merv, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl, quoting al-'Āmirī, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq, quoting 'Isā b. 'Ubayd al-Kindī, from Ghaylān b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī, from Abū Zur'ā b. 'Amr b. Jarīr, from Jarīr, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'God revealed to me, "Any one of these three places you go to will be the place of your migration: Medina, al-Baḥrayn or Qinnasrīn."'"

"The scholars state that thereafter he decided for Medina, and told his Companions to migrate there."

This is a very strange *ḥadīth*. Al-Tirmidhī related it in a digression in his compendium, giving only one account, from Abū 'Ammār al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth, from al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, from 'Isā b. 'Ubayd, from Ghaylān b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī, from Abū Zur'ā b. 'Umar b. Jarīr, from Jarīr, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'God revealed to me, "Any one of these three places you go to will be the site of your migration: Medina, al-Baḥrayn or Qinnasrīn."'" He (al-Tirmidhī) then commented, "This tradition is *gharīb*, unique; we know of it only on the authority of al-Faḍl, and Abū 'Ammār alone narrated it."

I comment that this authority Ghaylān b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī is mentioned by Ibn Ḥibān in *al-Thiqāt* (*The Trustworthy Authorities*). However, he states, "He related, from Abū Zur'ā, a spurious *ḥadīth* about the *hijra*, the emigration." But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When God Almighty gave permission for warfare with His words, 'Permission (to fight) is being given to those against whom war is being wrongfully waged. God has power to give them victory, those who have been expelled unjustly from their homes merely for having said, "Our Lord is God"' (*sūrat al-Ḥajj*; XXII, v.39–40).

"When God gave permission to do battle and that group of *anṣār* had followed him into accepting Islam and had agreed to give him and his Muslim followers aid and refuge, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his supporters, both those who had previously emigrated and those who had stayed with him in Mecca, to leave in migration to Medina to join their Muslim brethren there. He told them, 'God has provided brothers and a home where you may be secure.'

"And so they left for Medina in groups.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord to give him permission to emigrate from Mecca to Medina.

"The first of his supporters to emigrate to Medina of the Quraysh and of the Banū Makhzūm was Abū Salama 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. His migration took place one year before the pledge made at al-'Aqaba. This was because, following his return from Abyssinia, he had been badly treated by Quraysh and had decided to return there, but, when he learned of fellow Muslims in Medina, he went there instead."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "My father related to me, from Salama b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Abū Salama, from his grandmother Umm Salama, who said, 'When Abū Salama decided to depart for Medina, he saddled his camel for me, mounted me on it and put my son Salama in my lap. He then led us away.

"When some men of the Banū al-Mughīra saw him they approached and said, "We can accept what you yourself do, but why should we allow this woman of ours to be taken off by you somewhere else?" She went on, "And they snatched the camel's bridle out of his hand and took me off it."

"This angered the Banū 'Abd al-Asad, Abū Salama's people, and they said, "By God, we'll not leave a son of ours with her now you've taken her away from our man." So they tugged at my son Salama and dislocated his arm. The Banū 'Abd al-Asad then took him away, while the Banū al-Mughīra kept me among themselves. My husband, Abū Salama, then left for Medina. So I was separated from both my son and my husband.

"Thereafter I would go out every morning and sit in the valley and weep till evening; I kept this up for about a year.

"Then one day a man from my uncle's family, one of the Banū al-Mughīra, passed by, saw the state I was in and took pity on me. He told the Banū al-Mughīra, "Can't you let this poor woman go? You've separated her from both her son and her husband!"

"They then told me I could join my husband if I liked.

"So then the Banū 'Abd al-Asad returned my son to me; I saddled a camel, took my son in my lap and headed out to my husband in Medina.

"I was entirely alone. But eventually, at al-Tan'īm, I met 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa, a relative of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār, and he asked, "Where are you going, daughter of Abū Umayya?" I replied, "I'm heading for my husband in Medina." He said, "And there's no one with you?" "There is no one with me except God and this son of mine," I replied.

"He commented, "You shouldn't be left like that."

"He then took the camel's halter and began accompanying me. And, I swear, I was never in the company of any Arab more honourable than him. When we made a stop, he would make my camel kneel and then he would move away until I had dismounted. When I made a halt he would take my mount away, unload it, and tie it to a tree. He would then move off and make his bed beneath a tree. When it was time to leave, he would get my camel, lead it up, saddle it and then stand away from me. He would then say, "Do mount!" And when I mounted and was secure, he would come and take its halter and lead me away until we next stopped.

"He continued behaving in this way until he brought me to Medina. When he saw the village of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf at Qubā', he said, "Your husband is in this village. Abū Salama is living here. Go on in, with God's blessings." He then left, returning to Mecca.'

"She used to say, 'I know of no other family in all Islam who suffered like that of Abū Salama. And I swear I never had a more honourable companion than 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa.'

This man, 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-'Abdari, accepted Islam after the Ḥudaybiyya truce. He emigrated along with Khālīd b. al-Walīd. His father and brothers, al-Ḥārith, Kilāb and Musāfi', were killed at Uhud, along with his uncle 'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) handed over to him and to his cousin Shayba, head of the Banū Shayba, the keys of the *ka'ba* on the "conquest of Mecca"; he affirmed their being in their care in Islam as they had been in the *jahiliyya*. On that subject the Almighty revealed, "God orders you to give over matters of trust to those entitled to it" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.58).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The first of the emigrants to go there after Abū Salama was 'Āmir b. Rabī'a, an ally of the Banū 'Adī. With him went his wife Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathma al-'Adawiyya. Then followed 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabra b. Murra b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, an ally of the Banū Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, accompanied by his family and his brother 'Abd, that is Abū Aḥmad."

Ibn Ishāq gives his name as 'Abd, though it is also said to have been Thamāma. Al-Suhaylī stated that the first of these names was correct.

"Abū Aḥmad was blind; however, he used to make his way all over the length and breadth of Mecca without any guide. He was a poet and had a wife named al-Fāri'a, daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. His mother was Umayma, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

"The home of Banū Jaḥsh was shut up when the migration occurred. 'Utba b. Rabi'ā, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Abū Jahl b. Hishām passed by it on their way up to the heights of Mecca. 'Utba looked at its doors blowing open, unoccupied, and he sighed deeply and said,

'Every house, no matter how long safe, will one day be beset by disaster and outrage.'"

Ibn Hishām, however, mentioned that this verse was a line from a poem by Abū Dā'ūd al-Iyyādī. Al-Suhaylī said that Abū Dā'ūd was Hanẓala b. Sharqī; also his name was given as Hāritha.

(Ibn Ishāq continued) "'Utba then said, 'The home of Banū Jaḥsh has become devoid of its people.' Abū Jahl commented, 'No one at all will weep over that!' He then said, to al-'Abbās that is, 'All this is the work of your nephew! He has split us up and completely divided our community.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Salama, 'Āmir b. Rabi'ā and the Banū Jaḥsh took up residence at Qubā' with Mubashshir b. 'Abd al-Mundhir; after this the Emigrants arrived in groups.

"Banū Ghanm b. Dūdān had accepted Islam and moved as Emigrants to Medina, men and women both. They consisted of 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and his brother Abū Aḥmad, 'Ukāsha b. Miḥṣan, Shujā' and 'Uqba, both sons of Wāḥb, Arbad b. Jumayra, Munqidh b. Nubāta, Sa'īd b. Ruqaysh, Muḥriz b. Naḍla, Zayd b. Ruqaysh, Qays b. Jābir, 'Amr b. Muḥsin, Mālik b. 'Amr, Ṣafwān b. 'Amr, Thaqf b. 'Amr, Rabi'ā b. Aktham, al-Zubayr b. 'Ubayda, Tamām b. 'Ubayda, Sakhbara b. 'Ubayda and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. Their women included Zaynab, Ḥumna and Umm Ḥabiba, daughters of Jaḥsh, Judāma, daughter of Jandal, Umm Qays, daughter of Muḥsin, Umm Ḥabīb, daughter of Thumāma, Āmina, daughter of Ruqaysh, and Sakhbara, daughter of Tamīm.

"Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh spoke the following verses concerning their emigration to Medina:

'When Umm Aḥmad saw me leaving under the protection of
One supernatural whom I fear and revere,

She said, "If this is what you have to do, then take us
some place else, far from Yathrib."

I said to her, "Yathrib is not just a possible location;
man does whatever the All-Merciful wishes.

I head towards God and to the Messenger; and whoever
directs himself to God one day will not be disappointed.

What a lot of true, real friends we have left behind, and
a woman, too, who weeps tears and laments.

You think it is vengeance that distances us from our
land; we think that it is our aspiration that we seek.

I invited the Banū Ghanm to spare their bloodshed; for there is a course open to people when the path to truth is clear."

They responded, praise the Lord, when someone invited them to the truth and to success, and they came united.

We, and our fellows who had left the true path and had helped those using weapons against us, had become,

Like two battalions; one of these was successful in achieving truth, rightly guided, while the other would be punished.

Acting unjustly, they thought up lies; Satan made them err away from the truth. They failed and caused to fail.

We delighted in the words of the Prophet Muḥammad and those of us who supported truth acted well and were well treated.

We are very closely related to them, though there is no close relationship if there is no closeness.

What nephew would, after us, give you their trust; what in-law after us could be respected?

One day you will learn which of us is closer to the truth, when they have passed on and the people's dispute is concluded."

(Ibn Ishāq continued) "Then 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb left, along with 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī'a, and went to Medina.

"Nāfi' related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from his father, saying, 'Having made up my mind to emigrate to Medina, I arranged a rendezvous with 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī'a and Hishām b. al-'Āṣ at al-Tanādub of Idāt of the Banū Ghifār, above Saraf. We agreed, "Any one of us who doesn't arrive there in the morning must have been detained; in such a case the others must go ahead."

"Next morning 'Ayyāsh and I were there at al-Tanādub. Hishām was detained. He was enticed and apostatized.'

"When we reached Medina we went to live among the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf in Qubā'. Abū Jahl b. Hishām and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām came over to see 'Ayyāsh who was their cousin and their brother through their mother. They came to Medina at a time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in Mecca. They talked to 'Ayyāsh and told him, "Your mother has warned that she will not allow a comb to touch her hair until she sees you, nor will she shelter from the sun." 'Ayyāsh was worried about her, but I told him, "These people, I swear, only want to entice you away from your faith; so beware of them. You can be sure that if your mother gets lice she'll be sure to comb her hair, and if she finds Mecca's heat severe, she'll surely seek shade!"

"But 'Ayyāsh said, "I will remove my mother's oath; and I have money there I can get." I told him, "You already know I'm one of the wealthiest men of Mecca, and if you don't go, I'll give you half what I have!"

“He refused my offer, insisting on leaving with them. When that was all he would do, I said, “Well, if you have to do it, then take this camel of mine. It is a splendid mount and docile. Keep on her back and if you get suspicious about them, then escape on her.”

“He then rode off on her with them. Some way along Abū Jahl asked him, “Say, brother, I find my mount difficult to ride. Would you mind if I rode behind on yours?” “Sure,” he responded. Then he made his camel kneel as the other two men dismounted to change mounts. But when they were all on the ground the others ran up at ‘Ayyāsh and tied him up. Then they took him off to Mecca, subverted him and he apostatized.

“And,’ the narrator ‘Umar said, ‘we used to say, “God will not accept repentance from those who apostatize.” And those who apostatized made similar statements about themselves.’

“He went on, ‘This was so until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina and God revealed, “Say: ‘O my servants who have harmed themselves, do not despair of God’s mercy. God will forgive all sins. He is the All-Forgiving, the All-Merciful. Turn back to your Lord and submit to Him before punishment reaches you; then you shall not be helped. Follow the best that has been revealed to you from your Lord before punishment comes suddenly to you, and you are caught unawares.’”’ (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.53–5).

“‘Umar went on, ‘I wrote this down and sent it on to Hishām b. al-‘Āṣ.

“‘Hishām said, “When it reached me I began reading it at Dhū Ṭuwā, holding it this way and that, but I didn’t understand it. Eventually I said, ‘O God, make me understand this!’ And God made me realize that it had been sent down specifically about us and what we used to tell ourselves and what was said about us.”

“So I went to my camel, mounted it and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina.”

Ibn Hishām recounted that it was al-Walid b. al-Mughīra who brought Hishām b. al-‘Āṣ and ‘Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī‘a to Medina. He stole them away from Mecca and brought them on his own mount while he walked beside them. He stumbled and bloodied his toe, and so spoke the line,

“Are you anything but a toe that bleeds; what happened to you was in God’s cause!”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Abū al-Walid related to us, quoting Shu‘ba, quoting Abū Ishāq who heard al-Barā’ say, ‘The first to come to us were Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr and Ibn Umm Maktūm, and they were followed by ‘Ammār and Bilāl.’

“Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to me, quoting Ghundar quoting Shu‘ba, from Abū Ishāq, who said, ‘I heard al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib say, “The first to join us were Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr and Ibn Umm Maktūm. They would read to the people. Then came Bilāl, Sa’d and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, followed by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb along with 20 of the supporters of the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

“Then came the Prophet (ṢAAS); and I never saw the people of Medina so happy as they were to see him. So much so that the slave girls sang out, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has come!” And he did not arrive until after I had read the verse in the Qurʾān: “Glorify the name of your Lord most high!” (*sūrat al-Aʿlā*; LXXXVII), along with other verses from *al-Mufaṣṣalāt*.”³⁴

Muslim related this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from an *ḥadīth* of Israʿīl from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, in similar words.

In it there is the assertion that Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ emigrated before the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoting al-Zuhri, claimed that he emigrated only after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); the information that precedes this however, is correct.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and members of his family came to Medina, they included his brother Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAmr and ʿAbd Allāh, the two sons of Surāqa b. al-Muʿtamir, Khumays b. Hudhafa al-Sahmī, husband of his daughter Hafsa, his cousin Saʿid b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī, an ally of theirs, Khawlā b. Abū Khawlā and Mālik b. Abū Khawlā, two allies of theirs from the Banū Ijl, (and from) the Banū al-Bakayr, Ilyās, and Khālid, and ʿĀqil and ʿĀmir, and their allies from the Banū Saʿd b. Layth. They took up residence with Rifāʿa ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr among the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf at Qubāʾ.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Then the emigrants, God bless them, followed on after them. Talḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Ṣuhayb b. Sinān, took up residence with Khubayb b. Isāf, brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj at al-Sunḥ. It is also said that Talḥa stayed with Asʿad b. Zurāra.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “It was told to me that Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī said, ‘I learned that when Ṣuhayb wished to emigrate the polytheists of Quraysh said to him, “When you came to us you were a poverty-stricken beggar. With us you grew wealthy and acquired status and now you want to take yourself and your money away! By God, that won’t happen!”’

“Ṣuhayb told them, ‘If I were to make my money over to you, would you let me leave?’

“‘Yes,’ they agreed.

“That information reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he commented, ‘Ṣuhayb made a profit! Ṣuhayb made a profit!’”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, by dictation, that Abū al-ʿAbbās Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Mikāl informed him, quoting ʿAbdān al-Ahwāzī, quoting Zayd b. al-Juraysh, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, quoting Husayn b. Hudhayfa b. Ṣayfī b. Ṣuhayb, quoting his father and uncles, from Saʿid b. al-Musayyab, from Ṣuhayb who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I was shown the place of your emigration: a

34. That portion of the Qurʾān from *sūrat al-Hujūrāt* to *sūrat al-Nās*.

salt-plain between two uplands and two lava-rock plains. That would either be Hajar or Yathrib.””

“He went on, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Medina accompanied by Abū Bakr. I had wanted to leave with him, but some young Quraysh men blocked my way. I remained up that night, not lying down, and they commented, “God has diverted him from you through his stomach!” But I made no complaint, and they went to sleep. So I left, but some of them caught up with me after I had gone some way and wanted to take me back. I told them, “If I were to give you some ounces of gold, would you let me go and be fair to me?” They did so and I followed them back to Mecca. I told them, “Dig beneath the threshold of the door; that’s where the ounces of gold are. And if you go off to a certain woman, you can take two sets of vestments.”’

“So I left and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Qubā’ before he moved out from there. When he saw me he said, “Well, Abū Yahyā, you made a good deal!” I replied, “O Messenger of God, no one got here to you before me, so it could only be Gabriel, peace be upon him, who informed you!””

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Abū Marthad Kannāz b. al-Ḥuṣayn and his son Marthad, both of the Ghanawī tribe, allies of Ḥamza; Anasa and Abū Kabsha, freed-men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); all these stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hadm, brother of the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, at Qubā’. However, it is also said that they stayed with Sa’d b. Khaythama. It is stated, moreover, that Ḥamza stayed with As’ad b. Zurāra. But God knows best.”

He went on, “Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith and his two brothers al-Ṭufayl and Ḥuṣayn, Mistah b. Uthātha, Suwaybit b. Sa’d b. Huraymila, brother of the ‘Abd al-Dār, Ṭulayb b. ‘Umayr, brother of the Banū ‘Abd b. Quṣayy, Khabbāb, freed-man of ‘Utba b. Ghazwān stayed with ‘Abd Allāh b. Salama, brother of Bal’ajlān at Qubā’.

“‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf and some other emigrants stayed with Sa’d b. al-Rabi’. Al-Zubayr b. ‘Awwām and Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm stayed with Mundhir b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uqba b. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ at al-‘Uṣba, the home of the Banū Jahjahī. Muṣ’ab b. ‘Umayr stayed with Sa’d b. Mu’adh. Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ‘Utba and Sālim, his freed-man, stayed with Salama.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Al-Umawī said that (some stayed) with Khubayb b. Isāf, brother of the Banū Ḥāritha. ‘Utba b. Ghazwān stayed with ‘Abbād b. Bishr b. Waqqāsh among the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān stayed with Aws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir, brother of Ḥassān b. Thābit in the home of the Banū al-Najjār.”

His account continues, “The unmarried emigrant men stayed with Sa’d b. Khaythama since he was unmarried. But God knows best about this.”

Ya’qūb b. Sufyān stated, “Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zurāra b. Muṣ’ab b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf related to us, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b.

Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'We arrived from Mecca and took up residence at al-'Uṣba, including 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarāh, and Sālim, freed-man of Abū Hudhayfa. It was Sālim who acted as their Imām because he had greater knowledge of the Qur'ān than the others.'

Section: On the cause of the emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

God Almighty revealed, "Say: O God, make my place of arrival good and make my place of departure good. And grant me an aid and authority from Yourself" (*sūrat Banī Isrā'il*; XVII, v.80).

And God did give him good guidance and inspired him to call out the above prayer to provide him prompt relief and a rapid departure. The Almighty gave him permission to migrate to the "Medina, the 'city', of the Prophet", where there were the *anṣār* and friends, a place where he could make his home in security and whose people would be his helpers.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba said, from Jarīr, from Qābūs b. Abū Zubayn, from his father, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at Mecca when he was ordered to migrate and there was revealed to him the verse, "Say: O God, make my place of arrival good, and make my place of departure good. And grant me an aid and authority from Yourself."

Qatāda said, "The phrase 'place of arrival' referred to Medina, while the words 'place of departure' referred to his emigration from Mecca. The words 'grant me an aid and authority from Yourself' referred to God's book and His ordinances and restrictions."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed on in Mecca after his supporters had emigrated, waiting for permission to be given to himself to leave.

"There remained there with him only those (Muslims) who had been detained or who had apostatized, except for 'Alī, son of Abū Ṭālib, and Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, God bless them both.

"Abū Bakr often asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to leave, but he would reply, 'Don't be in a hurry. God may well give you a companion.' And Abū Bakr hoped it would be him.

"When Quraysh saw that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had assembled a party and had supporters from others than their own people and from a town other than theirs, and saw his Companions moving out to join these others, they realized that the Muslims had found a new home with them and had acquired their protection.

"Quraysh were concerned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would leave and join them, since they knew that he had decided to do battle with them.

"They therefore gathered in the *Dār al-Nadwa*, the house of assembly, the home of Quṣayy b. Kilāb, where all their decisions were made. They discussed

there what they should do about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since they now feared him."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "A colleague whose views I do not doubt, as did others I consider reliable, related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najih, from Mujāhid b. Jabr, that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās said, 'The day arrived when they had agreed to meet to enter their assembly to discuss what to do about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). That day is known as the *yawm al-zaḥma*, "the day of the gathering", and upon it Satan, God curse him, came before them in the form of a venerable sheikh dressed in a heavy cloak. He stood at the door of the house and, when they saw him they asked who he was. He replied, "I am come from Nejd, from the highlands; I have heard why you agreed to meet, and I've come to listen to what you say and perhaps offer some comment or advice." They invited him in.

"He entered the meeting where the Quraysh nobles had assembled. They consisted of 'Utba, Shayba, Abū Sufyān, Ṭa'ima b. 'Adī, Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm b. 'Adī, al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām, Zam'ā b. al-Aswad, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Nabih and Munabbih, sons of al-Ḥajjāj, and Umayya b. Khalaf, along with various others of their supporters from Quraysh.

"They reminded one another what they had experienced from the behaviour of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and agreed that they felt insecure from the possibility that he and his supporters might make an attack upon them.

"Having discussed the issue, one of them, said to have been Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām, suggested, "Put him in irons and gaol him; then wait for him to have the same fate that befell poets like him before, such as Zuhayr and al-Nābigha. He would die as they had."

"But the Najdī sheikh objected, saying "No; that's not a good plan. If you do shut him up, news of him will get right past the door you have locked on him and reach his supporters. They will promptly attack you and release him and then increase in numbers until they overcome you. That's not a good idea."

"They consulted further and one suggested, "Let's exile him from our territory. Once he has gone, we shouldn't care where he ends up or what happens to him. So long as he is gone, we'll be rid of him and we'll be able to restore our affairs as they were before."

"But the Najdī sheikh observed, "No, that's not a good idea for you. You know how sweet his talk is, and his reasoning, and how he convinces others of his message. If you do that you'd have no security against him going to live with some Arab tribe and using his speech and discourse to get them to follow him. Then he would lead them against you and perhaps defeat (or) dispossess you and do what they like with you. No, think of something else."

"Abū Jahl b. Hishām then said, "I have an idea that hasn't occurred to you yet."

"What is it, Abū al-Ḥakam?" they asked him.

"He replied, "I think we should select one young man from each tribe, and someone who is strong, of excellent lineage and reputation as a leader. We should

give each one a sharp sword and they would go to him and use the swords to strike him in unison. They would kill him and we would then be rid of him. If they do this, his blood will be spread over all the tribes. And the Banū 'Abd Manāf will not be able to do battle against them all. So they will accept blood money which we can pay them."

"The Najdī sheikh commented, "What he says is right. This is the right idea, and no other."

"Having agreed upon this, the assembly broke up.

"Gabriel then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "Do not sleep tonight on the bed you usually use."

"When it was fully dark that night the Quraysh men gathered outside his door, waiting for him to sleep so they could attack him. Having seen where they were, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Alī b. Abu Ṭālib, "Sleep on my bed, wrapping yourself in this green cloak of mine from Haḍramaut; sleep in it. You'll not come to any harm from them." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the habit of sleeping in that cloak of his."

This story told by Ibn Ishāq is also related by al-Wāqidī, with the chains of authority from 'Ā'isha, Ibn 'Abbās, 'Alī, Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum and others, the various accounts overlapping and saying much as above.

Ibn Ishāq's account continues, "Yazīd b. Abū Yazīd related to me, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī, who said, 'The men having met there at his door, Abū Jahl, who was among them, said, "Muḥammad claims that if you follow him you'll become kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs alike. Then you'll be given life after death and be provided with gardens like those of the Jordan. If you don't do that, then, he says, you will be slaughtered, given life after death but be put into hell-fire where you will be burned."'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of dirt, saying, 'Yes, I do say that. And you are one of them!'

"Then God took away their sight from them and they could not see him. He began sprinkling the dirt on to their heads while he recited the following verses: '*Yā sīn. By the Qur'ān the wise. You are among those sent forth upon a straight path*' up to the verse 'We have placed a barrier before them and a barrier behind them, and have covered them over so that they cannot see' (*sūrat Yā Sīn*; XXXVI, v.3-9). Every single man among them had dirt thrown on his head.

"He then left, and went where he wished.

"Someone who had not been there with these men then arrived and asked, 'What are you waiting for here?' They replied, 'For Muḥammad.' He commented, 'God damn you! Muḥammad just came out to you and he did not leave any single one of you without throwing dirt on your head. He then left and went elsewhere. Can't you see what has happened to you?'

"Each man then placed a hand on his head and found dirt there. Looking closely, they saw 'Alī on the bed covered in the cloak of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They stayed there like that until morning; when 'Alī arose from the bed, they said, 'By God, what he told us must have been true!'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Concerning what they had agreed upon that day, God revealed, among others, the following verses, 'And when the disbelievers plotted to confine, kill or exile you they made plans; but God makes plans and He is the best planner of all' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.30).

"And there was the verse, 'Or do they say he is a poet; we await for him incidents of fate.' Say: 'Do await! I with you am one who awaits!'" (*sūrat al-Ṭūr*, LII, v.30-1).

Ibn Ishāq continued, "And so God gave His permission to His Prophet (ṢAAS) to emigrate."

Chapter: The emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca to Medina accompanied by Abū Bakr "the Trusting", God be pleased with him.

That event marks the beginning of the Islamic era as was agreed upon by the *ṣahāba*, "the Companions", during the rule of ʿUmar, as we have shown in the biography of ʿUmar, God be pleased with him and with them all.

Al-Bukhārī stated, Maṭar b. al-Faḍl related to us, quoting Rawḥ, quoting Hishām quoting ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission when he was 40 years old. He continued in Mecca receiving revelation for 13 years and then was ordered to emigrate. He did so for 10 years, then died at the age of 63.

"His emigration took place in the month of Rabiʿ al-Awwal in the 13th year of his mission, on a Monday."

Similarly Imām Aḥmad recounted from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Your Prophet was born on a Monday, left Mecca on a Monday, first received revelation on a Monday, entered Medina on a Monday and died on a Monday."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "Whenever Abū Bakr asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to emigrate, he would be told, 'Don't be in a hurry. God may well give you a companion.' And Abū Bakr hoped it would be the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he was really referring to himself.

"He therefore purchased two camels which he kept and fed at his home to be prepared."

According to al-Wāqidi, he paid 800 dirhams for them both.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "A man in whom I have confidence related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from ʿĀʾisha, mother of the faithful, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go without fail to Abū Bakr's house either in the morning or the evening. Eventually that day arrived when God gave the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) permission to emigrate, to leave Mecca and his people there. He came to us that day at midday, a time unusual for him.

"When Abū Bakr saw him, he said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) can only have come at this hour because something has happened.'"

“When he came in, Abū Bakr gave up his couch for him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down. There was no one else in the house except myself and my sister Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Send away anyone else who is with you.” Abū Bakr replied, “There are only my two daughters; what can be wrong, I pray you?”

““God has given me permission to leave, to emigrate,” he replied.

““As companions then, O Messenger of God?” Abū Bakr asked.

““Yes, as companions,” he answered.’

“Ā'isha continued, ‘And, I swear, before that day I never knew anyone who wept for joy until I saw Abū Bakr do so that day.

“He then said, “O Prophet of God, these are two camels I have readied for this.’”

“They hired ‘Abd Allāh b. Arqaṭ.”

Ibn Hishām suggests an alternative name, ‘Abd Allāh b. Urayqit.

Ibn Ishāq continued, “He was a polytheist, of the Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr, his mother of the Banū Sahm b. ‘Amr. He was to act as their guide on the way and they gave him the two mounts to look after until needed.

“And, as I have been told, no one knew of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) except ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and Abū Bakr, “the Trusting”, and his family.

“‘Alī was ordered to remain behind to return to people the items they had deposited with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); anyone in Mecca who had concerns about things they owned would leave them in his care, such was his reputation for honesty and trustworthiness.

“Having decided to leave, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the house of Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa and they made their exit via a window at its rear.”

Abū Nu‘aym recounted, through Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, “I have been informed that as he was about to leave Mecca as an emigrant to Medina for God, he said, ‘Praise be to God who created me when I had been nothing. O God, protect me from earthly terrors, misfortunes and mishaps in the nights and days to come. O God, accompany me on my journey and keep my family safe. Bless me in what You have granted me and humble me before Yourself. Raise me to the finest qualities in my character. Endear me to You, O Lord. And do not entrust (my fate) to people.

“O Lord of the frail, you are my Lord. I take refuge in Your noble visage before which the heavens and the earth rejoice, the dark shadows dissipate and the troubles of those who are first and those who are last are made right. (I pray) that You spare me your anger and discontent. I appeal to You not to cease your favours and to spare me your sudden wrath, removal of your favour and all your anger. I will repay as best I can all your favours to me. And there is no power nor strength except in You.’”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “They then made their way to a cave on Mt. Thawr, south of Mecca, which they entered. Abū Bakr ordered his son ‘Abd Allāh to spend the

day listening to what people were saying about them and then to bring them whatever news there might be. And he told 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, his freed-man, to tend his flock during the day and then to bring them to the cave in the evening.

"Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr would spend the day among Quraysh listening to their planning and what they were saying regarding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr. He would then visit them in the evening and report to them.

"Āmir b. Fuhayra would tend his flock in the pasturage of the people of Mecca and in the evening he would bring them to Abū Bakr who would milk and slaughter them. When next morning 'Abd Allāh, Abū Bakr's son would leave them to return to Mecca, 'Āmir would follow him down with the flock in order to efface his footprints."

The following account from al-Bukhārī will give evidence of this.

Ibn Jarīr related from various sources that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preceded Abū Bakr in leaving for the cave on Mt. Thawr and that he told 'Alī to guide his (Abū Bakr's) path to join him, and that he did so on the way. This account is strange and contradicts what is well known, that they travelled together.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Each evening Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with her, would bring them food to restore them.

"Asmā' said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr had left, a group of Quraysh, including Abū Jahl b. Hishām, came and stood at Abū Bakr's door. I went out to them and they asked, "Where is your father, O Daughter of Abū Bakr?" I replied that I did not know, whereupon Abū Jahl, an evil and uncouth man, raised his hand and slapped me so hard on the cheek that my earring fell off. They then left.'

"Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me that his father told him, that his grandmother Asmā' said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left, along with Abū Bakr, the latter took all his cash with him, some 5,000 or 6,000 dirhams. My grandfather, Abū Quḥāfa, whose sight was gone, came in thereafter and commented, "I swear, he's put you all into some difficulty by taking his money with him."

"I replied, "No, father, he left us plenty." I then took some stones and placed them in a space in the house where my father used to put his money and placed a cloth over them. Then I took my grandfather's hand and told him, "Put your hand on this money." He did so and said, "Not bad at all. He did well by leaving you all this. This will be enough money for you."

"But in fact he had left us nothing; I just wanted to reassure the old man."

Ibn Hishām stated, "A certain scholar told me that al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr, went to the cave at night. Abū Bakr went in first and searched the cave to ensure there were no snakes or lions inside, thus using himself to protect the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

The line of authorities here is incomplete at both ends.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated, "Dā'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbī related to us, quoting Nāfi' b. 'Umar al-Jumāhī, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left with Abū Bakr for Mt. Thawr, Abū Bakr would first position himself ahead and then at the rear. The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked him why this was and he replied, 'When I'm behind you I'm afraid you'll be attacked from the front, and when I'm ahead of you I fear you'll be attacked from behind.'

"When they finally reached the cave on Mt. Thawr Abū Bakr said, 'Stay where you are until I put my hand inside and examine it; if there is some creature there it will attack me before you.'

"Nāfi' said, 'I have heard that there was a crevice inside the cave in which Abū Bakr placed his foot, fearing that some creature might emerge and harm the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

This tradition is incomplete in its chain of authorities. But we have given several other testimonials for it in our biography of Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", God be pleased with him.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ishāq, that Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan narrated that 'Abbād related, quoting 'Affān b. Muslim, quoting al-Sarī b. Yahyā, quoting Muḥammad b. Sirīn, as follows, 'Some men were talking during the period of the rule of 'Umar and apparently expressed their preference for 'Umar over Abū Bakr. This reached 'Umar and he commented, "By God, a single night or a single day of Abū Bakr would be better than the whole clan of 'Umar! On the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the cave with Abū Bakr, the latter would walk in front for a while, then walk behind. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) realized this and asked, 'Abū Bakr, why do you walk behind for a while, then go and walk ahead?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I think of pursuit and walk behind you, but then I think of ambush and so walk ahead of you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'You mean if something happened you'd rather it be to you than to me?' 'Yes indeed, by Him who sent you with the truth,' he replied.

"“When they reached the cave Abū Bakr said, 'Stay outside, O Messenger of God, until I make sure the cave is safe for you.' He went inside and made sure it was safe, but then remembered he had not checked out the crevice. So he said, 'Stay where you are, O Messenger of God, while I check again.' He then went back in, made sure the crevice was safe and said, 'Come on down, O Messenger of God.' And he did so.”

"“Umar then commented, "By Him who holds my soul in His hand, that night was better than the whole clan of 'Umar!"”

Al-Bayhaqī related this comment from 'Umar through a different chain. In that account the wording is "Abū Bakr sometimes walked ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and at others behind him, sometimes to the left and

at others to the right." That account also states that when the feet of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became sore, Abū Bakr would carry him on his back. Also, that when he went into the cave he blocked up all the crevices except one, and over that he placed his heel. Snakes then struck at him and his tears ran down. Seeing this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Don't be sad; God is with us!"

There are some strange and unsatisfactory aspects to the course of this anecdote.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū Sa'īd b. Abū 'Amr informed us as follows, 'Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting 'Abbās al-Dūrī, quoting Aswad b. 'Amir Shādhān quoting Isrā'īl, from al-Aswad, from Jundub b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "Abū Bakr was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the cave when he hit his hand on a rock. He then spoke the following verse:

'You are nothing but a finger that bleeds; what
happened to you was in God's cause!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ma'mar, quoting 'Uthmān al-Jazarī, that Miqṣam, the freed-man of Ibn 'Abbās, told him that Ibn 'Abbās made the following comment about the verse in the Qur'ān. 'And when those who disbelieve were scheming to imprison you' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.30). He said, 'Quraysh were engaged in discussion one night in Meccā and some of them suggested, "In the morning imprison him in shackles." They were referring to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Others of them said, "No; kill him!" Yet others said, "No, exile him!" God made his Prophet (ṢAAS), aware of that and so 'Alī spent the night on his bed, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the cave. The polytheists spent the night watching 'Alī, thinking him to be the Prophet (ṢAAS). When morning came they attacked him and when they saw 'Alī, God turned their trickery against them. They said, "Where is that master of yours?" He replied, "I don't know."

"They followed his tracks, but these became too confused for them in the mountains. They climbed on up the mountain and passed by the cave but saw a spider's web over its opening. They said, "If anyone had gone inside here, the spider would not have put a web over its opening." And so he stayed there three nights.'"

The chain of authorities for this is good; it is one of the best accounts given relating to the spider's web over the mouth of the cave, which was God's protection for His Messenger (ṢAAS).

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Qāḍī stated in his collection of traditions relating to Abū Bakr as follows, "Bashshār al-Khaffāf related to us, quoting Ja'far, quoting Sulaymān, quoting Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī, quoting al-Mu'allā b. Ziyād, that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) hurried away with Abū Bakr to the cave. Quraysh came looking for him and when they

saw the spider's web over the mouth of the cave, they said, "No one went in here."

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) was at the time standing there praying while Abū Bakr watched. Abū Bakr then said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), "Those are your people searching for you. It's not for myself I am sad, but because I might see something terrible happen to you."

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "Abū Bakr, don't be afraid. God is with us."

This tradition from Ḥasan is incomplete, but it is good as textual evidence. It includes, however, the praying of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the cave; it was his custom to pray when something saddened him.

This same source, I mean Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Qaḍī, related from 'Amr al-Nāqid, from Khalaf b. Tamīm, from Mūsā b. Muṭfir, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that Abū Bakr said to his son, "Son, if something should happen among the people, then go to the cave where I and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took refuge. Stay there and you will find sustenance come to you both morning and night."

A poet composed the following line:

"David's web' is what protected the occupant of the cave, and glory goes to the spider."

It is also said that two doves made their nest over its entrance. Al-Ṣarṣarī composed the following line on that:

"The spider roofed it over with his web, and the dove having eggs remained at the entrance."

The *ḥadīth* dealing with this was related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir, through Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd, quoting 'Amr b. 'Alī, who said that 'Awn b. 'Amr Abū 'Amr al-Qaysī, nicknamed 'Uwayn, related to us that Abū Muṣ'ab al-Makkī said, "I am aware of Zayd b. Arqam, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba and Anas b. Mālik as relating that on the night the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the cave, God gave an order to a tree that emerged right in front of him and hid him. God also sent the spider that made a web between them, so hiding the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then commanded two wild doves which came fluttering down and alighted between the spider and the tree. Now the young warriors of Quraysh approached, one from each of the tribes there, carrying sticks, bows and staves. When they got to within 200 yards of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the guide, who was Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum al-Mudlajī, said, 'That's the rock; but I don't know where he placed his foot.' The young warriors commented, 'You've not made a mistake since tonight began.' When morning came the guide told them to look in the cave. He went ahead of the rest until they were some 50 yards away from the Prophet (ṢAAS), and then there were the two doves. The guide came back and they asked him, 'What prevented you from looking in the cave?' 'I saw two wild doves at its entrance', he said, 'so I knew there was no one inside.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard him and knew that God had used the doves to save him and Abū Bakr. He then invoked a blessing upon them, and God brought them down to the holy shrine where, as you know, they proliferated."

This is a strange *ḥadīth* to come from this source. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym related it from an account from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm and others, from 'Awn b. 'Amr, he known as 'Uwayn, with chains of authority similar to these. That account states that all the doves of Mecca are descended from these two.

Also in this *ḥadīth* is the information that the tracker who guided the warriors was Surāqa b. Mālik al-Mudlaji.

Al-Wāqidī related from Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, that the one who tracked for them was Kurz b. 'Alqama.

My own comment is that it is likely that they both followed the trail. But God knows best.

God Almighty said, "Even if you do not aid him, God did so when those who disbelieved expelled him, he being the second of two, in the cave. (Therein) he said to his companion, 'Do not be sad; God is with us.' And so God sent down tranquillity upon him and aided him with troops you do not see, putting down very low the words of those who disbelieved; the words of God are the highest, for God is powerful, wise" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barā'a*; IX, v.40).

Reprimanding those who refrained from engaging in battle on the side of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the Almighty stated, "Even if you do not aid him." God will assist him, be his helper and ally. As He did help him, "when those who disbelieved expelled him" from his people in Mecca, in flight and accompanied by no one but his friend and Companion Abū Bakr.

Therefore He said, "being the second of two, when they were in the cave" where they stayed for three days until the search for them died down.

This was because when the polytheists lost track of the two men, as recounted above, they went off in all directions searching for them. They offered 100 camels to anyone who might turn in both or even one of them. They followed their tracks until they became confused. The tracker working for Quraysh was Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum, as mentioned above. They climbed the mountain where the two men were and went past the mouth of the cave. Their feet would move straight across the mouth of the cave without seeing the two men, God protecting them this way.

As Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting 'Affān, quoting Hammām, quoting Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that Abū Bakr told him, "I said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), while we were inside the cave, 'If any one of them were to glance down at his feet he would see us below them!'"

"He replied, 'Abū Bakr, how would you regard the safety of two people who had God as their third companion?'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this *ḥadīth* in both their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Hammām.

Some biographers state that when Abū Bakr said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "If they were to come to us from here, we would leave that way."

Abū Bakr then saw that the cave had opened up on its other side and it was now connected to the sea, and there was a boat tied up beside it.

This tradition is not objectionable in the sense of this being beyond the divine power. However, it does not have a chain of authorities that is strong; nor is it weak. We cannot assert anything purely by ourselves. We do, however, stand by tradition considered authentic and with chains of authority that are good. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "Al-Faḍl b. Sahl related to us, quoting Khalaf b. Tamīm, quoting Mūsā b. Muṭayr al-Qurashī, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that Abū Bakr said to his son, 'If some disturbance should break out among the people, go to the cave where you saw me hide with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Stay there and you will receive sustenance morning and evening.'"

Al-Bazzār then said, "We know of no one else but Khalaf b. Tamīm who related this *ḥadīth*."

My own comment is that Mūsā b. Muṭayr quoted here is a weak source of low regard; Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn gave the lie to him, and traditions from him are not accepted.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, that Abū Bakr, having entered the cave and behaved as related, and after the matter concerning Surāqa, which is still to be told, spoke some poetry, a part of which follows:

"The Prophet said to reassure me, though I was not concerned, when we were in the dark of the shadows of the cave,

'Fear nothing, for God is our third, and he has guaranteed to me victory from Him.'"

Abū Nu'aym related this ode through Ziyād, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq. He quoted it at great length along with another poem. But God knows best about these.

Ibn Lahī'a related, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca after the pilgrimage in which the *anṣār*, 'the Helpers', pledged themselves to him, for the remainder of Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar.

"Then the polytheists of Quraysh joined together and plotted to kill the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) or to imprison or exile him. And so God gave him foresight of this and revealed the words, 'And when those who disbelieved were scheming to imprison you' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.30). He then gave orders to 'Alī to sleep on his bed while he and Abū Bakr left. Next morning Quraysh went off searching for them everywhere."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related it thus in his work on the military campaigns and stated that they went to the cave by night.

We also gave above a statement regarding this from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, quoting Ibn Hishām.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yahyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth quoting ‘Uqayl, quoting Ibn Shihāb, who said that ‘Ā’isha stated, ‘I have no awareness of my parents not practising the religion (Islam); and not a day passed for us without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visiting us at both ends of the day, in the morning and the evening. When the Muslims suffered harassment Abū Bakr left as an emigrant towards Abyssinia. He went as far as Bark al-Ghimād, where he met Ibn al-Daghina, the chieftain of the area.’”

She then recounted how he brought Abū Bakr back to Mecca and gave him protection. Her words are similar to our previous account of the migration to Abyssinia up to and including Abū Bakr’s statement, “I therefore give back to you your protection and resign myself to the protection of God.”

She (‘Ā’isha) stated, “At that time the Prophet (ṢAAS) was at Mecca. He told the Muslims, ‘I have been shown the place of your emigration; it has palm-groves between two rocky tracts.’ These are the Ḥarratān.

“And so some people did leave for Medina, and some who had left for Abyssinia came back and went to Medina. Abū Bakr himself made preparations to leave for Medina. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘Take it slowly; I am hoping I will be permitted to leave.’ Abū Bakr asked, ‘You really do have hopes of that?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.

“Thereafter Abū Bakr restrained himself for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so that he could accompany him. He stabled two camels at his home, feeding them on mimosa leaves, crushed and mixed leaves, that is, for four months. Some, however, say he gave them fodder for six months.”

Ibn Shihāb stated, “‘Urwa reported that ‘Ā’isha said, ‘One day, in the heat of noon, we were sitting in Abū Bakr’s house when someone told him, “Here comes the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), heavily veiled, at a time he doesn’t usually come!” Abū Bakr commented, “I swear, he can only have come at this time for one thing!”’

“‘Ā’isha went on, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived and asked to come in and was invited to do so. When he entered he said, “Ask everyone to leave.” Abū Bakr responded, “But they are all like your own family, O Messenger of God.”’

“He explained, “I have been given permission to leave.” “As companions, then!” said Abū Bakr. “Yes,” he replied.

“Abū Bakr then said, “Do take one of these two mounts of mine.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “I’ll pay you for it.”’

“‘Ā’isha went on, ‘So we quickly prepared some equipment for them and put some provisions in a leather bag. Asmā’, Abū Bakr’s daughter, cut off a piece of her girdle to tie up the mouth of the bag; she was thereafter known as “she of the two girdles”.

“Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went with Abū Bakr to a cave on Mt. Thawr, where they stayed for three nights. Also with them during the night was

‘Abd Allāh, Abū Bakr’s son. He was a bright and intelligent lad and would leave them at dawn and be down among Quraysh by morning, as if he had spent the night there. He went back to them as soon as night fell with all the information he had gleaned of plans against them. ‘Āmir b. Fuhayra, Abū Bakr’s freed-man, cared for a flock of sheep, which he would bring them after night fell; they would eat foods made with the milk they provided. Before dawn ‘Āmir b. Fuhayra would call the flock together and leave; he did this each one of those three nights.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr hired a man of the Banū al-Dīl, from the Banū ‘Abd b. ‘Adī, a skilled guide, a *khirrit*. This man, though a follower of the faith of the Quraysh polytheists, had sworn an oath to the family of al-‘Āṣ b. Wā’il al-Sahmī. They had thus placed their trust in him and handed over to him their two riding camels and made an arrangement with him to meet at the cave on Mt. Thawr three nights thereafter; he was to bring their mounts on the following morning. This guide and ‘Āmir b. Fuhayra did set off with the two men, conducting them along the coastal route.”

Ibn Shihāb stated, “Abd al-Rahmān b. Mālik al-Mudlijī, he being the son of Surāqa’s nephew, related that his father told him that he heard Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju’sham say, ‘Messengers from the Quraysh polytheists came to us putting a price on the head of either the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) or Abū Bakr for anyone who killed or captured either.

“While I was sitting at a meeting being held by my people, the Banū Mudlij, one of their men arrived and stood there, while we sat, and said, “Surāqa, I’ve just seen some human forms in the distance towards the coast, and I think them to be Muḥammad and his companions.”

“Surāqa said, “I knew they would be them, but I told him, ‘They are not them. You saw so-and-so and so-and-so whom we saw leave with our own eyes.’”

“I remained for a while there in that meeting, then got up and went inside. I told my servant girl to bring over my mare which was behind a hillock and to keep it there for me. Then I took my spear and went out the rear of the house. I made marks with its head on the ground and kept its shaft down low until I reached my horse. I rode off on it and it took me ahead until I drew close to them. Suddenly my horse stumbled and I came off it. I got up and stretched my hand out to my quiver and took out my divining arrows. I sought guidance from them whether or not I should harm them. It came out as I did not want. But I got back on my horse, disobeying the arrows.

“My horse drew me ever nearer to them until I could hear the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reciting, without looking around, while Abū Bakr looked around constantly. Then two of my horse’s legs sank deep into the ground, right up to the knees, and I was again thrown. I scolded her and she stood up, though scarcely able to pull her legs out. When standing upright there was dust coming up like smoke into the sky from the impression left by her legs. Again I sought advice from the divining arrows and it again came out against my wish.

“I called out to them, reassuring them, and they stopped. I rode my horse up

to them, it having dawned on me that my being kept from them was a sign that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was going to prevail. I told him, "Your people have put a price on your head!" and I related to them what people wanted to do with them. Then I offered them provisions, but they would not accept anything from me and told me to leave them alone. I asked him if he would write down a safe conduct for me, and he told 'Āmir b. Fuhayra who did so on a piece of leather. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related this same story, from al-Zuhri, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik b. Ju'sham, from his father, from his uncle Surāqa. However, his account has him seeking advice from the divining arrows when he first left the house, with the arrow telling him what he did not like, that is, that he should not harm the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It went on to mention his horse stumbling with him on four different occasions. All that related to his seeking advice from the divining arrows and being told what he did not like.— that he should not harm him. It has him reassuring them and asking for a document that would be a token from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The account states, "He wrote a document for me on a bone, or a scrap of leather, or a scrap of cloth." He also tells how he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when the latter was at al-Ji'rāna on his way back from Ṭā'if and that he said, "Today is one of keeping trust and of goodness; let him come near." The account ends, "So I approached him and accepted Islam."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The man relating this was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Ju'sham.

"And what he said was correct.

"After Surāqa returned, whenever he met one of the pursuers, he would turn them back, saying, 'You've finished in this direction.'

"When it was known that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had arrived in Medina, Surāqa began telling people what he knew and had witnessed relating to him, and about what had happened to his horse. He gained some notoriety for this, and the leaders of Quraysh were afraid he would bring them discredit, and that that would be the cause of many people accepting Islam. Surāqa was the leader of the Banū Mudlij. Abū Jahl, God damn him, composed the following verses to them,

"O Banū Mudlij, I fear your fool Surāqa misleading
about Muḥammad's victory.

Take care that he not divide you so you become split,
after former glory and leadership."

Surāqa spoke the following in answer to Abū Jahl's poetry:

"O Abū al-Ḥakam, had you but been witness to what
happened to my horse when its legs sank,
You would have been amazed, and not doubted that

Muḥammad is a prophet and a proof; so who can oppose him?

Take action, have your people leave him alone, for I think that some day his qualities will be clear to us.

In a matter you would wish to win, for all the people, altogether will make peace with him."

Al-Umawī gave this poetry in his work on the military campaigns with a chain of authorities from Abū Ishāq. Abū Nu'aym related it with a chain through Ziyād, from Ibn Ishāq. His account gives more poetry from Abū Jahl with verses that include overt disbelief.

Al-Bukhārī stated, with a chain of authorities back to Ibn Shihāb, who is quoted as saying, "Urwa b. al-Zubayr informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met al-Zubayr in a caravan of Muslims who were merchants coming in from Syria, and that al-Zubayr clothed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr in white garments.

"The Muslims in Medina heard of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca and would go each morning out to the rocky lava plain to wait for him, until the heat of noon would force them back.

"One day after they had returned to their homes, having waited a long time, one of the Jews went up on top of one of their forts for some reason, and he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions dressed in white emerging through the haze. The Jew felt compelled to shout out, 'O Arabs, here's your great man you've been awaiting!'

"The Muslims leapt for their weapons and met up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beside the rocky lava plain. He turned off, along with them, to the right to where the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf were; this was Monday in the month of Rabi' al-Awwal.

"Abū Bakr stood up before the group, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat silently. The *anṣār* who had come and who had not before seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began greeting Abū Bakr. But then the sun began striking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Abū Bakr went over and shielded him from it with his cloak. And so everyone then knew which one was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there with the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf for some ten nights and founded the mosque 'whose foundations were based on piety'³⁵ and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed there.

"He then rode upon his camel, the people walking beside him, until it knelt down at the mosque³⁶ in Medina of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) where that

35. A reference to the Qur'ān, *Sūrat al-Tawba*, IX, v.108, where the piety of its founders is mentioned.

36. A reference to the site of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina which had not yet been constructed.

day some Muslim men were praying. It was a drying shed for dates and belonged to Suhayl and Sahl, two orphan youths in the care of Asʿad b. Zurāra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when his camel knelt, 'This, if God wills it, will be the house.'

"He then asked to see the two youths and negotiated with them over the drying shed so that it could become a mosque. They replied, 'No, we will give it to you, Messenger of God!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) refused to accept it from them as a gift and did buy it. He then built a mosque.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then set about bringing up the bricks for building it, along with the rest of the Muslims, saying as he did so the verse,

'This is not a load from Khaybar; this, O Lord, is
more righteous more pure.'

"And also:

'No matter; the wages for this are those of the other
world; be merciful, O God, on the Helpers and the
Emigrants.'

"He quoted the verse of one of the Muslim men whose name is unknown to me. Ibn Shihāb said, 'We are not informed in the *ḥadīth* literature that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) quoted any full line of poetry other than these.'"

This is the text as given by al-Bukhārī; only he, and not Muslim, gives it and he does so with testimony from other sources; his text, however, does not give the story of Umm Maʿbad, the Khuzāʿi woman.

We will report here from the beginning, as is appropriate.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Amr b. Muḥammad Abū Saʿīd al-ʿAnqazī related to us that Isrāʾīl related to him, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, "Abū Bakr bought from ʿĀzib a horse's saddle, for 13 dirhams, telling him, "Tell al-Barāʾ to take it to my house." He replied, "No; not until you tell us what you did when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated in your company.'"

Abū Bakr stated, "We set off and travelled fast, by day and night until mid-day approached and was upon us. I strained my eyes to see some shade where we could shelter. I saw a rock and hurried down to it, and some shadow remained. I smoothed out a place for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and laid down a piece of leather for him, saying, 'Do lie down, O Messenger of God.' And he did so.

"I then left to see if I could locate any of the pursuers. I came upon a herdsman and asked him, 'Who employs you, lad?' He mentioned the name of a Quraysh man that I recognized. I asked him, 'Do you have any milk in your flock?' 'O yes,' he replied. 'Will you give me some?' I requested. He agreed and I told him to get some. He tethered a ewe and at my request he wiped the dirt off its udders and his hands. I had with me a container with a cloth over its mouth. He poured a little milk for me and I poured it out into a cup until it was all cool. I then went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave it to him;

he was awake. I asked him to drink, and he did so until I was content. I then asked, 'Should we continue with the travel?' And we left again, our pursuers still after us.

"But the only one of them to catch up with us was Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'sham, riding a horse. I asked, 'O Messenger of God, are our pursuers catching up?' 'Do not be worried, God is with us,' he replied.

"He caught up with us until there was only a spear's throw or two – or the words may have been two or three spear-throws – and I said, 'O Messenger of God, this pursuer is gaining on us!' And I wept. He asked, 'Why are you crying?' I replied, 'It's not for me I'm crying, but for you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said a prayer about him, saying, 'O Lord, protect us from him, as You wish.' The legs of his horse then sank down to its belly in firm ground and he fell off, saying, 'O Muḥammad, I know this is your work; say a prayer to God for me to save me from my plight! I swear I will mislead the pursuers behind me. This is my quiver; take an arrow from it, for you will pass by my camels and sheep at so-and-so, and you can take of them whatever you want.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I don't need them.' But he did say a prayer for him and he was released and returned to his people.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and I went further on and eventually reached Medina where people came out to meet him. They appeared on the roads and roofs and servants and young people thronged the streets, saying, 'God is Great! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has come! Muḥammad is here!'

"The people vied for the honour of having him stay with them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore said, 'Tonight I will stay with the Banū al-Najjār who are related by blood to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, to honour them.' Next morning he was where he had been ordered to be.'

Al-Barā' said, "The first of the Emigrants to come to us was Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, a brother of the 'Abd al-Dār. Then came Ibn Umm Maktūm, the blind, one of the Banū Fihir, followed by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, along with 20 riders. We asked them what had happened to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and they replied that he was coming later. And eventually he and Abū Bakr did arrive."

Al-Barā' went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not arrive until after I had recited chapters from *al-mufaṣṣal*."

The compilers of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections include this account, from Isrā'īl, without the comment of al-Barā', that is, "The first of the Emigrants". Muslim is alone in giving this, and he related it through Isrā'īl.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed for three nights in the cave along with Abū Bakr. Having lost knowledge of his whereabouts Quraysh offered a price of 100 camels to anyone who would return him. After the three nights, when the hue and cry had diminished, the man they had hired brought them their camels along with one for himself. Abū Bakr's daughter Asmā' also

arrived with provisions in a leather table-cloth for them. But she forgot to tie it up and when they were about to depart she came out to tie it up but had no cord. So she untied her girdle to make a cord of it which she used to attach it. She used then to be called, 'she of the two girdles'."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Bakr brought up the two mounts and offered the best of them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him to mount the camel. But the latter responded, 'I couldn't ride a camel that I don't own.' Abū Bakr told him, 'But please consider it yours'. 'No,' he replied, 'but what price did you pay for it?' He told him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Well, I'll take it for that.' 'It's yours,' Abū Bakr told him."

Al-Wāqidi related, with full chains of authorities, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the camel called *al-Qaṣmā*. He also said, "Abū Bakr had bought both camels for 800 dirhams."

Ibn 'Asākir related through Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father from 'Ā'isha, who said, "(The camel he chose was) *al-Jadā*." Al-Suhayli related this similarly from Ibn Ishāq, that it was *al-Jadā*. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And so they rode off; Abū Bakr mounted 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, his freed-man, behind himself to serve them both on the way.

"I was told that Asmā' said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed with Abū Bakr, a number of Quraysh men came to us, including Abū Jahl'". Ibn Ishāq then related how Abū Jahl struck her so hard on the cheek that he knocked off an earring, as told above.

"She went on, 'We remained for three nights without knowledge of the whereabouts of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until a man of the *jinn*, a spirit-man, arrived from the lower parts of Mecca, singing verses of Arabic songs. People followed him, listening to his voice without seeing him. Eventually he came out to the upper parts of Mecca, reciting,

'God, Lord of all men, awarded His very best reward to
two Companions who stayed at the tents of Umm Ma'bad.

They stayed there in good will, and then left; and
lucky is he who becomes the Companion of Muḥammad

Their girl's position brings credit to the Banū Ka'b,
and her sitting there watching for the believers.'

"Asmā' said, 'When we heard what he said we knew where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was headed, towards Medina."

Ibn Ishāq said, "They were four in number; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, freed-man of Abū Bakr, and 'Abd Allāh b. Arqaṭ." That is what Ibn Ishāq states, but it is well known that the name of the fourth was 'Abd Allāh b. Urayqit al-Dilī who at that time was still a polytheist.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When their guide, 'Abd Allāh b. Arqaṭ, led them off, he took them down to the lower part of Mecca and from there along the coast, crossing

over the route below 'Uṣfān. He then took them along the lower parts of Amaj, then crossed the route after passing Qudayd, then from there across al-Kharrār and Thaniyyāt al-Marra to Liqf. He guided them past the Liqf well, then down to the Mijāj well and so to Marjaḥ Mijāj, then down again to Marjaḥ Dhū al-ʿAḍwayn and to the Dhū Kashr valley and so to al-Jadājid and al-Ajrad. Then he took them along Dhū Salam of the Aʿḍā valley, to the well at Tiḥin, then past al-ʿAbābid, across al-Qāḥa, down to al-ʿArj. One of their mounts was falling behind, so a man of Aslam called Aws b. Ḥajr mounted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on a camel called *Ibn al-Radāʾ* and led him into Medina; he sent with him a youth named Masʿūd b. Hunayda. Then their guide from al-ʿArj took them to Thaniyya al-ʿĀʾir on the right side of Rakūba; according to Ibn Hishām this place is known as Thaniyya al-Ghāʾir. Then he took them down the Rīm valley and so to Qubāʾ, to the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. It was now Monday, the 12th of Rabiʿ al-Awwal and the heat was extreme, the sun almost having reached its zenith.”

Abū Nuʿaym mentioned, through al-Wāqidī, approximately these same locations, though there is a discrepancy in some. God knows best.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that Abū Ḥāmid b. Jabala related to him that Muḥammad b. Ishāq quoted from al-Sarrāj, who quoted from Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda b. Mūsā al-Ijlī from his brother Mūsā b. ʿUbāda, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sayyār, from Iyās b. Mālik b. al-Aws al-Aslamī, who quoted his father as saying, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated along with Abū Bakr, they passed by a camel of ours at al-Juhfa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, ‘Who owns this camel?’ ‘A man from Aslam,’ he was told. The Prophet (ṢAAS) turned to Abū Bakr, who commented, ‘May you be safe, God willing!’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked the man, ‘What’s your name?’ ‘Masʿūd,’ he replied. The Prophet (ṢAAS) again turned to Abū Bakr, who commented, ‘May you be happy. God willing!’”³⁷

The account goes on, “My father then went to him and carried him on his way on a camel called *Ibn al-Radāʾ*.”

I would comment that previously we learned from Ibn ʿAbbās that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Mecca on a Monday and entered Medina on a Monday.

It is clear that there was a period of 15 days between his departure from Mecca and his arrival in Medina. This is because he spent three nights in the cave on Mt. Thawr, and then took the coastal road which is further than the main route.

On his way he passed by Umm Maʿbad, daughter of Kaʿb of the Banū Kaʿb b. Khuzaʿa.

Ibn Hishām stated, “Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as saying that her name was ʿĀtika, daughter of Khalaf b. Maʿbad b. Rabiʿa b. Aṣram.

“Al-Umawī, however, said that she was ʿĀtika, daughter of Tabīʿ, an ally of Banū Munqidh b. Rabiʿa b. Aṣram b. Ṣanbis b. Ḥarām b. Khaysa b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr.

“This woman had sons named Maʿbad, Naḍra and Ḥunayda, all children of Abū Maʿbad. His name was Aktham b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Maʿbad b. Rabiʿa b. Aṣram b. Ṣanbis.

37. The passage has a pun on Aslam and ‘safe’, and on Masʿūd and ‘happy’.

Her story is very well known and related from various paths all confirming one another.

The Story of Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿiyya.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed at the tent of Umm Maʿbad, whose name was ʿĀtika, daughter of Khalaf b. Maʿbad b. Rabiʿa b. Aṣram. The travellers wanted a meal served but she said, ‘We have no food, no milch-camel and the only ewes we have are in heat.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked to be brought one of her sheep. He wiped its teat with his hand, said a prayer and it gave milk into a tumbler, foaming. He said, ‘Drink this, Umm Maʿbad!’ She replied, ‘No, you drink it; you have more right to it than me.’ But he gave it back to her and she did drink it. He then called for another ewe in heat and did the same as before and this time he drank it. He then called for another ewe, did the same and gave it to his guide to drink. Again he did the same, giving it now to ʿĀmir. And then they left.

“The Quraysh men, searching for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), eventually came to Umm Maʿbad and asked her about him, saying, ‘Have you seen Muḥammad who looks so-and-so?’ And they described him to her.

“She replied, ‘I don’t know what you are saying, though a young man did come and get milk from ewes in heat.’

“‘That’s the one we want,’ the Quraysh man told her.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Muḥammad b. Maʿmar related to him from Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUqba b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted his father as having related that Jābir stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr left as Emigrants and entered the cave, there was a crevice that Abū Bakr blocked off with his heel until morning, for fear that something might come out at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“They stayed in the cave for three nights, then left and stayed at the tents of Umm Maʿbad. She sent him the message, ‘I see handsome faces; the tribal quarter is better equipped to honour you than I am.’

“That evening, while staying there in her camp, she sent over to them with a young son of hers, a ewe and a broad knife. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Take back the knife and bring us a *farīq*,’ that is a *qadah*, a bowl. She sent back a message that the ewe had no milk and had no lamb. He said, ‘Do send us a bowl.’ She brought one and he tapped the ewe on the back and it ruminated, and milk streamed forth. He filled the bowl and drank, gave it to Abū Bakr to drink, took more milk and sent it to Umm Maʿbad.”

Then al-Bazzār stated, “We know of this anecdote being related only through this one chain. And regarding ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUqba, the only person we know who quoted from him was Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad, even though his ancestry was well known.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted from a *ḥadīth* of Yahyā b. Zakariyyā b. Abū Zāʾida from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā who related it to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aṣbahānī, who said, "I heard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā quote Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', as saying, 'I left Mecca with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and we reached a bedouin encampment. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed one tent off to one side and went towards it. When we dismounted we found that the only person there was a woman. She said, 'O fellow slave of God, I'm just one woman, alone; you should go to our chief if you want hospitality.' He made no response to her, it being evening by then, and a son of hers arrived herding some goats. She told him, 'Take these goats over to those two men with this knife and tell them, 'My mother says that you should slaughter these and eat and feed us too.'"

"When he arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Take the knife away and bring a bowl." He replied, "But this ewe has not been with a male and has no milk." "Go and do it," he told him. When he had brought back a bowl the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wiped the ewe's teat and it gave milk, filling the bowl. He then said, "Take this to your mother." She drank till she was satisfied and the lad returned. Now he told the boy, "Take this ewe away and bring me another." He did so and then brought a third ewe, did as before, and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself drank.

"We stayed there that night, then left. She used to refer to him as *al-Mubārak*, 'the blessed one'. Her flock multiplied and eventually she brought them all in to Medina. Abū Bakr happened to pass by and he recognized her son and the son said to his mother, "Mother, that's the man who was with *al-Mubārak*, 'the blessed one'." She came over to him and asked, "O fellow slave of God, who was that man with you?" He asked, "You don't know who he is?" "No, I don't," she replied. "He is the Prophet of God," he told her. "Please, take me in to him," she asked.

"He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her food and gifts."

Ibn ʿAbdān added in his account of this, "She said, 'Lead me to him.' And so she came with me and gave to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) some sour cheese and some bedouin goods. And he gave her clothing and gifts in return."

The account stated, "And I am certain he said, 'And she accepted Islam.'"

The chain of authorities for this is good.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This story is similar to that of Umm Maʿbad and it is evident that she is the one referred to here. But God knows best."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, as did Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī, both of whom said, 'Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Mukrim, Abū Aḥmad Bishr b. Muḥammad al-Sukkārī, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik b. Wahb al-Mudhḥijī, quoting Abjar b. al-Ṣabāh, from Abū Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he left by night, emigrating in the company of Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b.

Fuhayra, freed-man of Abū Bakr, and their guide ‘Abd Allāh b. Urayqit al-Laythi, passed by the two tents of Umm Ma‘bad al-Khuzā‘iyya.

“Umm Ma‘bad was a good, fearless, strong woman who would sit with her legs drawn up, wrapped in her garment, at the entrance to the tent and give out food and drink. They asked her whether she had any meat or milk they could buy from her. But they obtained none from her and she told them, ‘If we had anything, you would not lack for hospitality, but our people are all out of provisions and we’ve been suffering drought.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed a goat at the side of her tent and said, ‘What about that goat, Umm Ma‘bad?’ She replied, ‘She’s a goat left over from the goats after the drought.’ ‘Does she give milk?’ he asked. ‘No, she’s too dried up for that,’ she replied. ‘Would you permit me to milk her?’ he asked. ‘If she has any milk you can,’ she replied.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called to the goat and stroked it, speaking God’s name, wiped her teat and again invoked God’s name. Then he called for a vessel large enough to satisfy them, and the goat opened its legs and milk poured out in a copious flow until it was full. He gave (the vessel to) her to drink, and then his Companions and thereafter they all had a second drink. When they were all quenched, he drank too, saying, ‘The one who pours drinks last!’ He put milk in it again, left it with her, and then they departed.

“He went on, ‘Soon her husband, Abū Ma‘bad, came home, leading emaciated goats, staggering they were so weak, and their brains scarcely functioning. When he saw the milk, he was amazed and said, ‘Where did this milk come from, Umm Ma‘bad? We don’t have a milch-camel and the goat has not been with a male.’ ‘Well, a man who was blessed came past us and seemed from his speech to be such-and-such,’ she replied. ‘Describe him to me; I think he is that man the Quraysh are looking for,’ he told her.

“She replied, ‘I saw him to be a man of evident cleanliness, fine in character, his face handsome, slim in form, his head not too small, elegant and good looking, his eyes large and black, his eyebrows long, his voice deep, very intelligent, his eyelids brown, his brows high and arched, his hair in plaits, his neck long and his beard thick. He gave an impression of dignity when silent and of high intelligence when he talked. His logic was impressive, he was decisive, not trivial, not trite, his ideas like pearls moving on their string. He seemed the most splendid and fine-looking man from a distance and the very best of all from close-by, medium in height, the eye not finding him too tall nor too short. A tree-branch, as it were, between two others, but he was the finest-looking of the three, the best proportioned. He was the centre of his companions’ attention. When he spoke, they listened well, and if he ordered, they hurried to obey, a man well helped, well served, never sullen, never refuted.’

“He – her husband – commented, ‘That, I swear, has to be that man Quraysh are seeking. If I had chanced on him, I would have done my very best to follow him.’

"A voice was heard in Mecca, high up, somewhere between heaven and earth, that people could hear though no one see, reciting the verses,

'God, Lord of all men, awarded His very best reward to two Companions who stayed at the two tents of Umm Ma'bad.

They stayed there in good will, and then left; and lucky is he who becomes the Companion of Muḥammad.

O Quṣayy, God did not withhold from you actions that will not be rewarded, nor leadership?

Ask your sister about her goat and bowl; if you were to ask the goat, she would testify.

He asked her for a goat without young, and it gave milk for him in plenty, its teat giving foam,

So he pledged (with the goat) (milk) for the milker, such that it remained abundant at its commencement and at its completion.'

"Next morning the people, those of Mecca that is, having missed their prophet went to the tents of Umm Ma'bad, trying to catch up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ḥassān b. Thābit responded with the verses,

"A people disappointed, having lost their prophet, while those to whom he hurried were pleased,

He left a people and their spirits left them, and he took up residence with a people with a light renewed.

Are those who mislead people out of blind stupidity equal to those rightly guided by a guide?

A prophet, seeing about him what others do not see, reciting the Book of God at every scene.

If one day he should speak the words of the unseen, it is corroborated the same day or, at most, the morning of the next.

Abū Bakr must be pleased by the pleasure his grandfather enjoys at his accompanying him; whoever pleases God will be happy.

Let the place of their woman please the Banū Ka'b, and her sitting watching for the Muslims."

He stated — 'Abd al-Malik b. Wahb, that is — "I received information that Abū Ma'bad accepted Islam and emigrated to the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym related this through 'Abd al-Malik b. Wahb al-Madhḥijī, in the same terms. At the end of his account he added, "'Abd al-Malik said, 'I received information that Umm Ma'bad emigrated, accepted Islam, and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Abū Nu'aym, moreover, related this through various routes, from Bakr b. Muḥriz al-Kalbi al-Khuzā'i, from his father Muḥriz b. Maḥdī, from Ḥarām b.

Hishām b. Ḥubaysh b. Khālīd, from his father, from his grandfather Ḥubaysh b. Khālīd, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when forced out of Mecca left there as an Emigrant, along with Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuḥayra and their guide ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrayqīṭ al-Laythī. They passed by the tent of Umm Maʿbad, a fearless, strong woman who would sit, legs drawn up and wrapped in her garment, at the entrance to the “leather tent.” And he went on to relate the same (introductory material as in the prior account).

He went on, “And I think it was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Makhḥad who related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūnus b. Mūsā, that is al-Kudaymī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the freed-man of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, quoting Muḥammad b. Sulayman b. Salīṭ al-Anṣārī, quoting his father, from his father Salīṭ al-Badrī, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the emigration accompanied by Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuḥayra with Ibn ʿUrayqīṭ guiding them on their path, they passed by Umm Maʿbad al-Khuẓāʿiyya, she not knowing who he was. He asked her, “Umm Maʿbad, do you have any milk?” She replied, “No, I swear, our goats have not been with males.” “What about that one?” he asked. “She is the last of the goats left after the drought.”’” His account then relates the rest of the story much as given above.

Al-Bayhaqī then said, “It is likely that all these stories relate to one occasion.”

He then related an anecdote similar to that about the goat of Umm Maʿbad al-Khuẓāʿiyya, stating, “The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, by dictation, that Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Ayyūb related to them, quoting Muḥammad b. Ghālīb, quoting Abū al-Walīd, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Iyyād b. Laqīṭ, quoting Iyyād b. Laqīṭ, from Qays b. al-Nuʿmān, who said, ‘When the Prophet and Abū Bakr left in secret they passed by a slave watching some goats. They asked him for milk. He replied, “I don’t have one giving milk. I just have this one young female goat here who gave birth at the beginning of the winter, but her foetus was malformed and she has no milk left.” “Call her over to me,” he asked. He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tethered her and stroked her teat and prayed until it began to flow. Abū Bakr then brought a vessel and he milked the goat, gave to Abū Bakr to drink, milked again, and gave to the shepherd, then milked again and drank.’

“The shepherd then asked, ‘For heaven’s sake, who are you? I never saw the like of you!’

““Do you think you could keep it secret if I told you?” he asked. ‘Oh yes,’ he replied.

““I am Muḥammad, the Messenger of God,’ he told him.

““You mean you’re the one Quraysh say claims to be a Ṣabian?’ he asked. ‘Yes, they do say that,’ he told him.

““Well,’ the shepherd said, ‘I bear witness that you bring the truth, and that only a prophet could do as you have. I am your follower now.’

"‘You can’t be that right now,’ he told him. ‘Come and join us when you hear I have declared myself openly.’"

Abū Yahyā al-Mawṣuli related this, from Ja‘far b. Ḥumayd al-Kufī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Iyyād b. Laqīṭ.

Abū Nu‘aym at this point related the story of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd stating, "‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far related to us, quoting Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, Abū Dā‘ūd and Ḥammād b. Salama, from ‘Āṣim, from Zirr, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd who said, ‘I was a teenage boy working as a shepherd for goats belonging to ‘Uqba b. Abū Mu‘ayṭ at Mecca when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr came by, having fled from the polytheists. They asked me whether I had any milk to give them to drink. I replied, ‘I’m held responsible; I’m not here to provide drink for you.’ They asked, ‘Do you have a young sheep that hasn’t yet been with a ram?’ ‘Yes, I do,’ I replied.

"‘So I brought it to them and Abū Bakr tethered it, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of her teat and said a prayer. The teat flowed copiously and Abū Bakr brought a hollowed-out rock and milked into it. He and Abū Bakr drank and they served me. Then he told the teat to close, and it did so.

"‘Later I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him, ‘Teach me some of these fine words,’ meaning the Qur’ān. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘Consider yourself a well-taught lad!’ I took from his mouth 70 *sūras* and no one can dispute me about them.’"

His words in this account, "Having fled from the polytheists" is not with reference to the time of the emigration but with regard to some circumstances prior thereto.

Ibn Mas‘ūd was one who accepted Islam early and emigrated to Abyssinia and later returned to Mecca, as previously mentioned. This anecdote of his is firm and authentic, related in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, he being al-Zubayr, related to him, that his father had quoted Fā’id, the freed-man of ‘Abādīl, as having said, "I left town in the company of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa‘d; when we reached al-‘Arj Ibn Sa‘d came. Now Sa‘d (his father) had been the man who had guided the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the road to Rakūba. Ibrāhīm asked him, ‘What anecdotes did your father relate to you?’ Ibn Sa‘d replied, ‘My father told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to them in the company of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr had a daughter with us who was suckling at that time and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to find a short route to Medina. Sa‘d told him, ‘This is the waste-land of Rakūba; out there are two thieves of Aslam who are known as the ‘two disgraced men’. If you like we could get directions from them.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘Yes, let’s do that.’"

“Sa’d went on, “So we went off and came into view of them, whereupon one of them said to the other, ‘That is the man from Yemen.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called over to them and explained Islam to them, and they accepted it. He then asked them their names and they replied, ‘We’re the “two disgraced men”.’ He commented, ‘No, you’re the “two honoured men”!’ He then told them to lead him into Medina. So we left and reached the outskirts of Qubā’, and there he was met by the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, ‘Where is Abū Umāma As’ad b. Zurāra?’ Sa’d b. Khaythama replied, ‘So he scored (with you) before me, O Messenger of God; shouldn’t I tell him that?’

““The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then passed on until he could see the date-palms and the well there was full. He turned to Abū Bakr and said, ‘O Abū Bakr, this is where I shall stay; I saw myself staying at a stream like that of the Banū Mudlij.’””

Aḥmad alone gives this account.

Section: On the entry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) into Medina, and where he established therein his dwelling, comprising matters related thereto.

It has been stated above by al-Bukhārī, on the authority of al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Medina at noon.

My own comment is that that could have been in the afternoon, because of what is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from the *ḥadīth* of Isrā’īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā’ b. ‘Azīb, from Abū Bakr in his *ḥadīth* concerning the emigration. He stated, “We arrived at night and the people vied for the honour of having him stay with them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore said, ‘I will stay with the Banū al-Najjār who are related by blood to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, to honour them.’”

This could have been, though God knows best, on the day of his arrival at Qubā’. He may have arrived at the outskirts of Medina in the heat of the afternoon and spent some time (resting) under the palm tree. He then proceeded on with the Muslims and stopped at Qubā’, that being at night. Furthermore, in stating that these events transpired after noon, he could have meant at night, for evening is indeed after noon.

Alternatively, that could refer to when he left Qubā’, travelling on and only reaching the Banū al-Najjār in the evening. This will be discussed later. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī recounted, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, that he stayed with Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf at Qubā’, for a score or more nights and established the mosque at Qubā’ during that period.

He then mounted up, the people accompanying him, and went on until his camel knelt with him at the site of his mosque. That place was a drying shed for dates owned by two orphaned youths named Sahl and Suhayl. He bought it from them and used it as a mosque. And that was among the Banū al-Najjār, may God be pleased with them.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida, who said, 'Some of my tribesmen who were Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "When we learned of the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS) from Mecca, we anticipated his arrival. We would go out, after saying the morning prayer, to the edge of the rock lava plain and await him. We would stay there until the sun would force us to seek shade, failing which, we would go indoors. It was the hot season at that time.

"“Eventually the day arrived when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did come. We had sat as usual until there was no shade left and then we had entered our homes. But when we had done so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived. The first to see him was a Jew, and he shouted at the top of his voice, 'Banū Qayla, your great man has come!'

"“So we all went outside to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and found him in the shade of a date-palm, accompanied by Abū Bakr, a man of similar age. Most of us had not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before that, and people crowded around him, not knowing how to distinguish him from Abū Bakr. But when the shade moved away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Abū Bakr stood up and shaded him with his cloak. And at that point we recognized him.””

The account given above from al-Bukhārī is similar to this one, as is that from Mūsā b. 'Uqba in his work on the *maghāzī*, the military campaigns.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Hāshim related to us, quoting Sulaymān, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālīk, who said, 'I moved along through young men shouting, "Muḥammad has come!" And I'd move ahead but still see nothing.

"But then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did come, accompanied by Abū Bakr. They hid in a ruin in Medina, then sent out a bedouin asking for the *anṣār*, the Helpers, to let them enter town. Thereupon some 500 of the *anṣār* went out to greet them, saying, "Do come on; you are safe and will be obeyed."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companion then came on in among them and the townspeople, even the old people as well came out to greet them, climbing on top of the houses and shouting, "Which one is he?" We never saw such a sight before."

"Anas said, 'I witnessed the day he entered among us and the day he died, and I never saw two such days as those.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-San'ānī, from Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from Anas, whose account was very similar.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', we find that Abū Bakr says, in his account of the emigration, "When we arrived in Medina, the people came out filling the streets and the roof tops, with the young and the servants all shouting and repeating, 'God is most Great! The Messenger of God has arrived. God is most Great! Muḥammad has come! God is most Great! Muḥammad has come! God is most Great! The Messenger of God has come!' The next morning he moved on to where he had been ordered to go."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Abū ‘Amr al-Adīb told us, quoting Abū Bakr al-Ismā‘īlī, as follows, ‘I heard Abū Khalīfa say, “I heard ‘Ā’ishā’s son say, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina the women and boys began chanting,

“The full moon has risen over us, from the passes of al-Wadā’;

We must give thanks, for what a suppliant has prayed to God.”’”’”’

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so they say, stayed at Qubā’ with Kulthūm b. al-Hadam, a brother of the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, who was of the Banū ‘Ubayd; it is also said, however, that he stayed with Sa’d b. Khaythama.

“Those who say he stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hadam assert the following: that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went outside the house of Kulthūm he would go and sit with people in the house of Sa’d b. Khaythama because this man was a bachelor, without family, and his house was therefore known as ‘the bachelors’ house. But God knows best.

“Abū Bakr, God bless him, stayed with Khubayb b. Isāf, of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj at al-Sunḥ. It is also said he stayed with Khārija b. Zayd b. Abū Zuhayr, a brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.”

Ibn Ishāq also stated that ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib remained in Mecca for three days and nights until he had handed back the deposits made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“He then joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hadīm; apparently ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib stayed in Qubā’ only a night or two.

“He would say, ‘In Qubā’ there was a Muslim woman who had no husband. I saw a man go to her in the depths of the night; he would knock on her door and she came out. He then gave her something he had with him which she took. I found her conduct very suspicious, so I asked her, “Who is it that knocks at your door every night; you go out to him and he gives you something I can’t see properly. How can you do this, you being a Muslim woman without a husband?”

“‘She replied, “The man is Sahl b. Ḥanīf. He knows I am a woman with no one and after dark he damages and destroys his people’s idols then brings their remains to me. He tells me to use them as firewood.”’

“‘Alī, God be pleased with him, used to eulogize Sahl b. Ḥanīf in this way when he was killed in his company in Irāq.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained with Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf in Qubā’ from the Monday through Thursday and founded a mosque there.

“Then God took him forth from among them on the Friday, though the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf claim that he stayed there longer among them.”

‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq, as saying, “The Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf claim that he stayed there among them for 18 nights.”

My own comment is, as was stated before from al-Bukhārī's account, through al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, that he stayed there for some 10 nights.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba quoted Mujma' b. Yazīd b. Ḥāritha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed among us" – amongst the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf at Qubā', that is – "for 22 nights."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "It is said he stayed among them for 14 nights."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Friday came the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there among the Banū Sālim b. 'Awf; he prayed that day in the mosque in the Rānūnā' valley, this being the first Friday he prayed in Medina.

"'Itbān b. Mālīk and 'Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Naḍla came to him there along with some men of the Banū Sālim and told him, 'O Messenger of God, stay here among us enjoying our protection and our wealth.' He replied, referring to his camel, 'Give her free passage; for she is being guided.' And they cleared a path for her.

"She proceeded and got as far as the homes of the Banū Bayāḍa, where he was met by Ziyād b. Labīd and Farwa b. 'Amr, along with other men of the Banū Bayāḍa. They asked him, 'O Messenger of God, come and join us and share our protection and our wealth.'

"He replied, 'Make way before her, she has received a command.' And they cleared a path for her.

"She went on again and passed by the homes of the Banū Sā'ida where she was blocked by Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr along with some men of the Banū Sā'ida. They said, 'O Messenger of God, come to us and have our protection.' 'Make way before her,' he replied, 'she has received a command.' And they did so.

"On she went until she was opposite the home of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. There her way was blocked by Sa'd b. al-Rabī', Khārīja b. Zayd and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, along with men of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. They called out, 'Messenger of God, come to us; we have many to protect you.' But he replied as before.

"She proceeded further, as far as the homes of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, to whom he was related. The closest of these was the mother of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Salmā, daughter of 'Amr, being one of their women. There were Salīṭ b. Qays and Abū Salīṭ, Usayra b. Abū Khārīja and some men of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār. They told him, 'O Messenger of God, join your own relatives and enjoy our wealth and protection.' 'Make way before her,' he replied, 'she has received a command.' And they did so.

"She went further, up to the homes of the Banū Mālīk b. al-Najjār, where she knelt down before what is today his mosque. At that time it was a drying shed for dates owned by two orphan youths of the Banū Mālīk b. al-Najjār, Sahl and Suhayl by name, sons of 'Amr. They were under the protection of Mu'adh b. 'Afrā'."

My own comment, however, is that it has been related earlier, from the account of al-Bukhārī through al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, that these youths were under the protection of As'ad b. Zurāra. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl while he was there in his house. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to a stop, expecting to be invited into the house since he was at that time the chief of the Khazraj. But 'Abd Allāh told him, "Look to those who invited you. Stay with them!"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) related this to a number of the *anṣār* and Sa'd b. 'Ubāda commented, apologizing for him, "Now God has granted you to us, O Messenger of God; whereas we had wanted to place a crown on his head and make him king over us."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "The *anṣār* had held a meeting before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. They had gathered around his camel arguing over which of them should hold its reins, vying to honour and show their respect for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Whenever he passed by the home of one of the *anṣār* they would invite him inside, but he would say, 'Leave her alone; she has received a command. I will only stay where God decides.'

"When she arrived at the house of Abū Ayyūb she knelt before the door and he dismounted. He entered that house and stayed there until his mosque and its apartments were built."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first knelt he did not dismount and she got up and went a little further, while the Messenger of God left its rein free without his control. She then turned around and came back to where she had knelt and did so there again. She then shook herself, and sank to the ground stretching out fully. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then dismounted.

"Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd then picked up his bags and took them into the house. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there with him.

"He asked who owned the drying shed and Mu'adh b. 'Afrā' told him, 'It is owned by Sahl and Suhayl, two sons of 'Amr. They are orphans under my care.' 'Then I will buy it from them and have it as a mosque,' said the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and later he had it built."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in the home of Abū Ayyūb until he built his mosque and its living quarters; he and the Muslims, both Emigrants and Helpers, participated in its construction. An account of the building of the mosque will be given soon hereafter, if God wills it.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, quoting from Abū 'Abd Allāh, who stated that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Amr informed him, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Makhliḍ al-Dūrī, quoting Muḥammad b. Sulaymān

b. Ismā'īl b. Abū al-Ward, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Širma, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, and when we entered the *anṣār* came along with other men and women and said, 'Come to us, O Messenger of God.' He replied, 'Leave my camel unimpeded; she has received a command.'

"She knelt at the door of Abū Ayyūb and servant girls of the Banū al-Najjār came out striking drums and chanting, 'We are girls of the Banū al-Najjār; how wonderful if Muḥammad were our neighbour.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then came out to them and asked, 'Do you love me?' They replied, 'Oh yes, O Messenger of God!' 'And I,' he said, 'by God, love you all! By God, I love you all!'"

This is a strange tradition from this source. None of the authorities on tradition relate it, though al-Ḥākim gave it in his *Mustadrak* as will be related.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī related, quoting Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Naḥḥās, the Qur'ān-reciter in Baghdad, that 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī related to him, quoting Abū Khaythama al-Maṣīṣī, and 'Isā b. Yūnus related, from 'Awf al-A'rābī, from Thumāma, from Anas, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by a quarter where the Banū al-Najjār lived. And there were servant girls striking drums and chanting,

"We are girls of the Banū al-Najjār; how wonderful if
Muḥammad were our neighbour."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "God knows that my heart loves you all!'"

This was related by Ibn Māja, from Hishām b. 'Ammār, from 'Isā b. Yūnus.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī it is stated from Ma'mar, from 'Abd al-Wārith, from 'Abd al-'Azīz, from Anas, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) saw the women and boys coming – I believe he said that it was a wedding procession. So he stood up in full view and said, 'O God, these are the people I love most of all.' He repeated this three times."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Šamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith related to us, quoting his father, who quoted 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Šuhayb, who quoted Anas b. Mālik, as follows: 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out for Medina with Abū Bakr riding behind him on the same mount. Abū Bakr was an elderly man who was well known, whereas the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was youthful and not known.

"If a person met Abū Bakr and said, 'Abū Bakr, who is that man in front of you?' He would reply, 'This man is showing me the path.'

"He would think he was referring to him showing him the road, but what he really meant was 'the path of good'.

"Abū Bakr looked back and saw a horseman had caught up with them. So he said, 'O Prophet of God, a rider has caught up with us!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned around and said, 'O God, bring him down!' The man's horse

then fell, tossed him and stood neighing. The man then said, "O Prophet of God, give me your orders!" He replied, "Stay where you are and don't let anyone catch up with me!"

"So the man had started off the morning trying to catch the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and by the end of it he was acting as his armed guard!

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) alighted at the edge of the rock lava plain and sent a message off to the *anṣār*. When they came they greeted the two men and told them, "Mount up; you will be safe and you will be obeyed."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr then rode on, the *anṣār* all around them fully armed.

"In Medina people were saying, "The Prophet of God, has come!" And they raised their glances to him, repeating that the Prophet had come.

"He proceeded on and dismounted beside the house of Abū Ayyūb.

"While he was talking to members of its household 'Abd Allāh b. Salām heard of him while working in a palm-grove belonging to his family. He quickly stopped what he was doing, she³⁸ accompanying him, heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went back to his own people.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Which of our people's houses is closest?" Abū Ayyūb replied, "Mine, O Messenger of God; this is my house, this my door." He asked, "Then go and prepare a place for us to rest." He went and did so, then returned and said, "O Messenger of God, I have prepared a place for your siesta. Do come, with God's blessings." They did so.

"Now that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had arrived, 'Abd Allāh b. Salām came to him and said, "I bear witness that you are really the Prophet of God, that you have brought the truth. The Jews know me to be their leader and the son of their former leader, their most learned man and son of their former most learned man. Call them and ask them."

"When they came the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed them, "O Jews, woe upon you! Fear God! By the God other than whom there is none, you well know that I am truly the Messenger of God, and that I bring you the truth. Accept Islam!"

"But three times they replied, "We do not know this.""

Al-Bukhārī alone relates this thus, on the authority of a Muḥammad not further identified and also from 'Abd al-Ṣamad.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Marthad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yazanī, from Abū Ruhm al-Samā'ī, that Abū Ayyūb stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took up residence in my house, he lived on the lower floor while I and Umm Ayyūb lived upstairs. I told him, "O Messenger of God, I really hate being above you, with you beneath me. Come along and live above, while we come down to the lower floor."

38. Ibn Ishāq's account as elsewhere published refers to his aunt as working with him in the palm-grove; no doubt the reference is to her in this apparently abbreviated account. See p. 196.

"He replied, "Abū Ayyūb, it's better for us and for our guests for me to live downstairs."

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained down while we stayed above in the house. It happened that a large jug of water of ours broke and my wife and I had to mop it up as best we could with a velvet garment, since we had no other cloth. We used it to dry up the water, fearing to have any drop on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and so harm him.

"We used to prepare his evening meal for him and send it in to him. If when he returned it there were any morsels left we would try to see where his fingers had touched it and eat that part, hoping to be blessed by that. One night we sent him his supper, having included onions or garlic and he returned it without us detecting any marks of his hands on it. So I was shocked and went to him and asked, "O Messenger of God, you have sent back the food without me seeing any sign you have touched it." He explained, "I sensed the smell of that plant in the food; I'm someone who whispers to others (and such an odour may be offensive to them), so why don't you eat it."

"We did so and never served him those vegetables again."

Al-Bayhaqī related this similarly, through al-Layth b. Sa'd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Ḥasan, or Abū al-Khayr, Marthad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yazanī, from Abū Ruhm, from Abū Ayyūb, who told it.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related it from Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mu'addib, from al-Layth.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū 'Amr al-Ḥayrī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dāramī, quoting Abū al-Nu'mān, quoting Thābit b. Yazīd quoting 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Aflaḥ, the freed-man of Abū Ayyūb, from Abū Ayyūb, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) resided with him, staying on the ground floor while he, Abū Ayyūb, lived upstairs. It occurred to Abū Ayyūb that he was walking on top of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so he was careful to keep to the sides, where they also slept. He then spoke to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about that, commenting, 'The lower floor is more appropriate for us; I can't be above a ceiling when you are beneath it.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved to the upper floor, while Abū Ayyūb moved to the lower.

"He used to prepare food for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and if it was returned he would ask about where he had placed his fingers and keep track of this. Once he made food for him that contained garlic and when the food came back he asked where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had placed his fingers. He was told, 'He didn't eat any.' Abū Ayyūb was shocked and went up to him and asked, 'Is it a forbidden food?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'No, but I do dislike it.' Abū Ayyūb commented, 'I dislike whatever you dislike'; or he may have used the words, 'whatever you have disliked.' He also said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) would be visited by angels.'"³⁹

39. It is stated in another tradition that angels dislike the smell of garlic.

Muslim related this from Aḥmad b. Saʿīd.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, that Anas b. Mālik said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought a large platter" – in one account it was a bowl – "containing green vegetables. He asked and was told what these were and when he looked at them, he did not want to eat them. He commented, 'You eat them; I have private conversations with people with whom you do not!'"

Al-Wāqidi recounted that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed at the home of Abū Ayyūb, Asʿad b. Zurāra took hold of the nose-rein of the camel of the Messenger of God and it thus remained with him.

It is related from Zayd b. Thābit that he said, "The first gift made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after he took up residence in the home of Abū Ayyāsh, was brought to him by myself. It was a big wooden bowl filled with bread, crumbled up with yoghurt and butter. I told him that my mother had sent the bowl. He commented, 'God bless her!' Then he called over his Companions and they ate. Then a wooden bowl came from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, a mixture of bread and meat gravy.

"Not an evening went by without there being at the door of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) three or four people who would come one after the other carrying food. He remained there in the home of Abū Ayyūb for seven months.

"While resident in the home of Abū Ayyūb, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent his freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Rāfiʿ, along with two camels and carrying 500 dirhams, to bring back Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm, daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his wife Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa and Usāma b. Zayd. Ruqayya had already emigrated with her husband ʿUthmān, while Zaynab remained with her husband, Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ in Mecca. Umm Ayman, the wife of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, came with these, and so did ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr with the other children of Abū Bakr who included ʿĀʾisha, 'mother of the believers'. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not yet consummated his marriage with her."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Alī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Khalaf b. ʿAmr al-ʿAkbarī, quoting Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, quoting ʿItāf b. Khālīd, quoting Ṣādiq b. Mūsā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina his mount knelt down between the homes of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. People came to him then saying, 'O Messenger of God, my house!' But his camel got up with him again and he said, 'Let her proceed; she is being divinely guided.'

"She then moved away with him and came to the place for the *minbar*, the pulpit, where it knelt down and shook itself. A shed was there where they were storing and drying dates. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), alighted from his mount and went to the shade. Abū Ayyūb then approached him and said, 'O Messenger of God, my house is the one closest to you; shall I carry your baggage to my place?' 'Yes,' he said. So he took his baggage into the house. Another man then

came to him and said, 'O Messenger of God, where are you staying?' He replied, 'A man stays wherever his baggage is.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there in the shed for 12 nights, until the mosque was built."

This was a great honour for Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd, God bless him, to have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stay with him.

It was related to us through Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb from Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, may God be pleased with him, that Abū Ayyūb came to Basra over which Ibn 'Abbās had been appointed governor by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, may God be pleased with him. Ibn 'Abbās came out of his house and invited Abū Ayyūb to stay there, just as the latter had provided accommodation for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his house. He also presented him with everything within the house; and when he came to leave, Ibn 'Abbās gave him 20,000 dirhams and 40 slaves.

Abū Ayyūb's house later passed into the hands of his freed-man Aflaḥ; al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām bought it from him for 1,000 dinars, repaired it and donated it for the use of the poor of Medina who belonged to the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Similarly his staying in the home of the Banū al-Najjār and God's choosing that for him, was also a great honour. In Medina there were many such complexes, nine in number. Each of these was separate and self-sufficient, with its own date-palms, gardens and families. Each one of their tribes were gathered in their own quarters, making them like adjoining villages. God chose for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the home of the Banū Mālīk b. al-Najjār.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is established from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba as follows, "I heard Qatāda quote Anas b. Mālīk as stating, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The best of the *anṣār* homes is that of the Banū al-Najjār, then comes that of the Banū al-Ashhal, then the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, then the Banū Sa'īda; and in all the homes of the *anṣār* there is good.'"

"Sa'd b. 'Ubāda stated, 'I never saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), fail to express preference for others over us.' But he was told instead, 'He gave preference to you over many.'"

This quotation comes from al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Anas and Abū Salama, from Abū Usayd Mālīk b. Rabī'a, and from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ubāda b. Sahl, from Abū Ḥumayd, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in the same terms. In the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ḥumayd there is an addition: "Abū Usayd said to Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, 'Don't you think that the Prophet (ṢAAS) expressed favour for the *anṣār* and placed us last?' And so Sa'd went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and asked, 'O Messenger of God, have you given preference to the homes of the *anṣār* and placed us last?' 'Well', he replied, 'does it not suffice you that you are among the very best?'"

Great honour and credit were firmly established for the people of Medina, the *anṣār*, both in this world and the next. God Almighty stated, "As for those who

are first and foremost, of the *muḥājirīn*, the Emigrants and the *anṣār*, 'the Helpers', and those who followed them in goodness, God is pleased with them, and they are with Him. He has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow; they will live in them forever. That is the mighty success" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barā'a*; IX, v.100). And God also stated, "And (give also) to those who lived in this area and had faith before them, loving those who emigrated to them, and they do not find in themselves any grudge because of what others were given, rather, preferring others over themselves, though they may themselves be in need. Those spared from the meanness of their selves shall be those who succeed" (*sūrat al-Ḥashra*; LIX, v.9).

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Had I not been compelled to perform the emigration personally, I would have been an *anṣārī*, a Helper; and if people had gone to any valley or defile, I would have gone to the valley or defile of the Helpers. The Helpers are as an undergarment, the people at large as an overgarment."

He also said, "The Helpers are my household and my own family."

And he said, "I am peace to those who make peace with them and war to those who make war upon them."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to him, quoting Shuʿba, quoting 'Adī b. Thābit, as follows, "I heard al-Barā' b. 'Āzib say, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say' – or he said – 'the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, "The *anṣār* are loved only by those who believe and hated only by those who are hypocritical. Whoever loves them is loved by God, and whoever hates them is hated by God.'"

The other *ḥadīth* authorities also give this, except for Abū Dā'ūd, from an account of Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Muslim b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr, from Anas b. Mālik, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) who said, 'A sign of faith is love for the Helpers; a sign of hypocrisy is hatred for the Helpers.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related it from Abū al-Walīd, al-Ṭayālīsī and Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, all four of them quoting Shuʿba's account.

There are numerous verses of the Qur'ān and Prophetic Traditions that make reference to the virtues of the *anṣār*.

How fine are the verses spoken by Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abū Anas, mentioned above, a poet from the Helpers, concerning the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) among them, and of the help and comfort they gave to him and to his Companions, God bless them all.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abū Anas also spoke the following, making reference to how God had honoured them by bringing them Islam and His Messenger (ṢAAS),

'A decade or so he stayed among Quraysh, preaching in
hopes of finding agreeable friends,

Offering himself to those attending the fairs, but he found no one to protect or invite him.

When he came to us his mind was put at ease and he became pleased and contented,

He found friends and his mind became at ease, and he received evident help from God.

He would tell us what Noah informed his people, and what Moses said when he answered the call,

And so he came to fear no one, whether near or far away.

We gave of our best wealth and of ourselves amidst the uproar and the shared sorrows,

Opposing all those people that he opposed, even those who had been dear and close.

We know that there is nothing besides God, and that the book of God has become our guide.

I would say, when praying at any temple, "Have pity, do not show enmity towards us!"

I would say, when crossing any dangerous land, "Blessed are You, the One relied upon."

Even if you step to one side the ways of death are many, and it is not you who can preserve yourself.

And, by God, a man does not know how his course will be, if he does not have God watch over him.

The thirsty date-palm will do its owner no good if it becomes well-watered yet he becomes buried!"

Ibn Ishāq and others quoted this, as did 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī and others, from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, from an old woman of the Helpers who said, "I saw 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās visiting Ṣirma b. Qays as he spoke these lines."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

DIVISION

Medina was also honoured by the emigration there of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and it became a shelter to the good agents and worshippers of God, an impregnable stronghold and fortress for the Muslims and a place where there was guidance for all people.

There are innumerable traditions relating to its virtues, and these we will give elsewhere, if God wills it.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through Ḥabīb b. Yasāf, from Ja'far b. 'Āṣim, from Abū Hurayra who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Faith fits into Medina like a snake into its hole.'"

Muslim also related this, from Muḥammad b. Rāfi', from Shabāba, from 'Āṣim b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from his father, from Ibn 'Umar, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in much the same words.

Also in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections is the *ḥadīth* of Mālik, quoting Yahyā b. Saʿīd as saying that he heard Abū al-Ḥubāb Saʿīd b. Yasār report, "I heard Abū Hurayra say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "I was commanded to go to a town that eats up other towns; they call it 'Yathrib', but it is 'al-Madina'. It purifies men just as a bellows purifies the dross from iron.'""

Imām Mālik is unique among the four Imāms in giving Medina preference over Mecca.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh quoted Abū al-Walid and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh, both of whom said, 'Al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān related to us, quoting Abū Mūsā al-Anṣārī, quoting Saʿīd b. Saʿīd, quoting his brother, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "O God, you have brought me out of the town that is dearest to me; let me now dwell in the town dearest to You." And God sent him to dwell in Medina.'"

This *ḥadīth* is extremely strange.

It is very widely known and accepted that Mecca is better than Medina, except for that place that holds the body of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Most authorities give many proofs of that, these being too many to refer to here; we have referenced their location in *al-Manāsik min al-Aḥkām* (*The Rites of the Hajj in the Sharīʿa*).

The most famous proof for them of this is in what Imām Aḥmad stated, namely, "Abū al-Yamān related to us, quoting Shuʿayb, quoting al-Zuhri and Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī b. al-Ḥamrāʾ told him that he heard the Prophet (ṢAAS), while standing at al-Ḥazwara in the market of Mecca, say, 'By God, I swear that of all God's earth you are the best, and the dearest to me; and had I not been forced out of you I would never have left.'"

Aḥmad related the same, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhri.

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus, as did al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhri. Al-Tirmidhī stated it to be "*ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ*", "good and authentic".

Yūnus related this from al-Zuhri. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr related it from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra. In my view the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri is more reliable.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at al-Ḥazwara and said, "I know you to be of all God's earth the best, and the dearest to me; and if your people had not expelled me I would not have forsaken you.'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this thus from an account of Maʿmar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is a mistake on Maʿmar's part."

Some authorities relate this from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra; it too is a misconception, the authentic version being that of the community of scholars.

Aḥmad also stated, "Ibrāhīm b. Khālīd related to us, quoting Rabāh, from Ma'īmar, from Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from some other scholars, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while he was in the market place of al-Ḥazwara, 'By God, I swear that of all God's earth you are the best, and the dearest to me; and had I not been forced out of you, I would never have left.'"

Al-Ṭabrānī related it from Aḥmad b. Khulayd al-Ḥalabī, from al-Ḥumaydī, from Ibn Akh al-Zuhri, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Mu'īn, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Adī b. al-Ḥamrā'.

These are the various lines of transmission of this *ḥadīth* but the most reliable is the one given above. But God knows best.

The events of the first year of the hegira: An Account of the major events and happenings in the first year following the emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The *ṣaḥāba*, the "Companions", God be pleased with them, agreed in the year 16 AH – or some say 17 or 18 AH – during the Caliphate of 'Umar, on having the Islamic era begin with the year of the emigration.

This came about because a contractual document or agreement was referred to 'Umar by one man complaining against another. In it was stated that it came into effect in the month of Sha'ban. 'Umar asked, "Which Sha'ban? That of this, last or next year?"

He then assembled the Companions and discussed the need for a calendar whereby contracts concerning debts and other matters should come into effect. One speaker suggested, "Date as the Persians do." But this met no favour. For the Persians used to date by the reigns of their kings, one following the other.

Another man suggested, "Use the same dating system as the Byzantines." They used to date by the reign of Alexander, son of Phillip, the Macedonian. But this met no favour.

Another man suggested, "Date from the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Another suggested, "No, date from his receiving the Mission."

Another suggested, "No, from his emigration."

Others suggested by the date of his death.

'Umar, God be pleased with him, preferred the date of his emigration, because it was so definite and well known, and the others agreed with him.

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection al-Bukhārī stated, under the heading: *The dating system and when it was established*. "'Abd Allāh b. Muslim related to us, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz, from his father, from Sahl b. Sa'd, who said, 'They did not have the dating system start after the beginning of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS), nor after his death, but after his arrival in Medina.'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Ibn Abū al-Zinād related to us, from his father, who said, 'Umar sought advice on a dating system and they agreed upon the emigration.'"

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated, from Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūsī, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, who said, "A man went up to 'Umar and said, 'Set a dating system!' He asked, 'What's that?' The man explained, 'It's something other peoples do; they record things in the form: in such-and-such a month of such-and-such a year.' 'Fine,' agreed 'Umar, 'just set it up.'"

"They then discussed the matter of the date from which it should begin. Some suggested from the beginning of the Mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), others suggested from his death. Finally they agreed it should be from his emigration. Then they discussed at which month it should commence. Ramaḍān was suggested, and then al-Muḥarram, it being the time for the return of people from their pilgrimage and it was also a sacred month. They agreed on al-Muḥarram."

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting Nūḥ b. Qays al-Ṭā'ī, from 'Uthmān b. Muḥṣin, that Ibn 'Abbās used to say in regard to the words of the Almighty, 'By the dawn and ten nights!' (*sūrat al-Fajr*, LXXXIX, v.1), that the reference was to al-Muḥarram, the dawn of the year."

It is related that 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr stated, "Muḥarram is God's month; it is the beginning of the year and in it the *ka'ba* receives its new cover. It is the month from which people establish the date and in which coins are minted."

Aḥmad stated, "Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda related to us, quoting Zakariyyā' b. Ishāq, from 'Amr b. Dīnār, who said, 'The first man to put a date on a document was Ya'fā b. Umayya in the Yemen. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina in Rabi' al-Awwal, and people marked that as the first of the year.'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related from al-Zuhri and Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related from al-Sha'bi, both saying, "The Banū Ismā'īl dated from the fire of Abraham and then from the building by Abraham and Ismā'īl of the temple, then from the death of Ka'b b. Lu'ayy, then from the [year of the] elephant. After that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb began dating from the emigration. That was in the year 17 or 18 AH."

We made reference to this issue, giving the relevant chains of authority and lines of transmission in the biography of 'Umar, and all praise be to God.

The conclusion is that they did make the beginning of Islamic history from the year of the emigration. They set its beginning from al-Muḥarram, this being well known. This is the consensus of the Imāms.

Al-Suhayli and others quoted Imām Mālik as having said, "The Islamic year began in Rabi' al-Awwal, because that was the month when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated."

He also made such an assertion elsewhere by referring to the Almighty's words, "certainly a mosque founded in piety from the first day" (*sūrat al-Tamha* or *al-Barā'a*; IX, v.108). That is, from the first day of the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Medina. This was the first day of the era, just as the Companions have agreed to its first year having been that of the emigration.

There is no doubt that this, as stated by Imām Mālik, God bless him, is appropriate. However, the actual practice is contrary to this. The first month of the Arabs is indeed al-Muḥarram. They thus made the first year of the calendar that of the emigration, and had it begin with al-Muḥarram (instead of Rabī' al-Awwal) so that there would be no confusion in the system. But God knows best.

Our comment is – and we rely on God's help – that the year of the blessed emigration begins while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still resident in Mecca. He had received the pledge of the *anṣār*, "the Helpers", at the second 'Aqaba meeting, as we have explained, in the middle days of the *tashriq* period, that is on the 12th of Dhū al-Ḥijja, preceding the year of the emigration.

The *anṣār* then went back and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) permitted the Muslims to emigrate to Medina. One by one his Companions left for Medina to the point where no one was left in Mecca who could emigrate except for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Bakr had kept himself back so as to be able to accompany the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the journey, as we have explained earlier. They then emigrated together, as is detailed above. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib was to leave later, at his command, to take care of the deposits entrusted to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he joined the other two men at Qubā'. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Medina on a Monday at approximately noon, when the heat was extreme.

Al-Wāqidī and others stated, "That occurred on the 2nd of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal." Ibn Ishāq also related this, except that he did not stop there but preferred a date of the 12th of that month.

This is the popular view held by most scholars. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) according to the best accounts, remained in Mecca following his receiving the Mission for 13 years.

This is what we learn in the account of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Abū Ḥamza al-Dabbī, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received the Mission at the age of 40 and remained living in Mecca for 13 years."

Ibn Jarīr related it similarly from Muḥammad b. Mu'ammār, from Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda, from Zakariyyā' b. Ishāq, from 'Amr b. Dīnār that he (Ibn 'Abbās) used the words, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Mecca 13."

It has been earlier stated that Ibn 'Abbās wrote down verses of Ṣirma b. Abū Anas b. Qays, including,

"Some decades he stayed among Quraysh, preaching in
hopes of finding agreeable friends"

Al-Wāqidī stated, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl, from Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that he cited that same verse as testimony (to the residence having been for 13 years).

Ibn Jarīr related the same, from al-Ḥārith, from Muḥammad b. Sa'd, from al-Wāqidī, but with reference to "15 pilgrimages", a very strange statement indeed.

Even stranger than that is what Ibn Jarīr stated, namely, "It was related to me from Rawḥ b. 'Uḇāda, who said, 'Sa'īd related to us, from Qatāda, who said, "The Qur'ān was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) over a period of 8 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina."'"

Al-Ḥasan used to say "over 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina."

This last statement to which al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī subscribed, that he remained in Mecca 10 years, was one with which Anas b. Mālīk, 'Ā'isha, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and 'Amr b. Dinār all agreed, according to what Ibn Jarīr related of them.

And there is the account from Ibn 'Abbās, related by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal from Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from Hishām, from 'Ikrima. It has Ibn 'Abbās as saying, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) received revelation at the age of 43 and he remained in Mecca for 10 years."

We recounted above that al-Sha'bi stated, "Isrāfil was linked with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for 3 years during which he communicated to him the Word and the Message. In one account, he would hear his voice but not see his person; and thereafter it was Gabriel."

Al-Wāqidī related that one of his sheikhs rejected that statement of al-Sha'bi.

Ibn Jarīr tried to combine the statements of those who maintained that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed for 10 years in Mecca with those who considered it to have been 13 years by reference to what al-Sha'bi had said. But God knows best.

DIVISION

When the party of the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Medina he first stayed, as stated above, at Qubā' in the home of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. He remained there at the most for 22 nights, though some say it was 18, others 10 or so, and according to Mūsā b. 'Uqba, 3 nights.

What is widely accepted is what Ibn Ishāq and others stated, namely that he was there at Qubā' from a Monday to a Friday.

He did establish during this period of disputed length, as we have indicated, the mosque at Qubā'.

Al-Suhaylī claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) founded it on the first day he arrived at Qubā', citing to support this view the Almighty's words, "certainly, a mosque founded in piety from the first day" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barā'a*; IX, v.108). And he refuted those who would have the wording read "from the foundation of the first day".

It is a fine, much honoured mosque. God Almighty revealed about it, "certainly a mosque founded in piety from the first day is fully deserving of you standing (for prayer) inside it; therein are men who love that they be purified, and God loves those who purify themselves" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barā'a*; IX, v.108). We have discussed this in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). Therein we referred to the *ḥadīth* in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim to the effect of it being the mosque of Medina, and to the refutation of this.

We also made mention of the *ḥadīth* related by the Imām Aḥmad as follows: "Ḥasan b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Abū Idrīs, quoting Shuraḥbil quoting 'Uwaym b. Sa'īda who said that it was related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to them in the mosque in Qubā' and said, 'God has given you much good praise for purifying yourselves, in the reference to your mosque; what is it you do to so purify yourselves?' They replied, 'We swear by God, O Messenger of God, that the only thing we know is that we had some Jewish neighbours who would wash their behinds after defecating, and so we washed like them.'"

Ibn Khuzayma included this *ḥadīth* in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection and there are other testimonies to it.

It is also related from Khuzayma b. Thābit and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salām and Ibn 'Abbās.

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja related from a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith, from Ibrāhīm b. Abū Maymūna from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "The following verse was revealed about the people of Qubā': 'In it there are men who love to be purified, and God loves those who purify themselves.'" He then went on, "They would wash after excretion and this verse was revealed about them."

Al-Tirmidhī commented, "A unique tradition from this source."

My own comment is that this Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith is a weak authority. But God knows best.

One of those who stated that it referred to this mosque as the one "founded in piety" was 'Abd al-Razzāq who related, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalḥa related it, from Ibn 'Abbās. It was related also from al-Sha'bī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Qatāda, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, 'Aṭīyya al-'Awfī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam, along with others.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to visit it in later times and would pray there. He would go to Qubā' each Saturday, sometimes mounted and sometimes on foot. It is a *ḥadīth* from him that, "Prayer in the mosque at Qubā' is like an *'umra*."⁴⁰

It is also stated in a *ḥadīth* that it was Gabriel, peace be upon him, who pointed out to the Prophet (ṢAAS) the place for the *qibla*, the prayer niche, for the mosque at Qubā'.

This mosque was the first built in Medīna; indeed it is the first that was made for people in general in this community (of believers). In stating this about this mosque, we are excluding the mosque that Abū Bakr built at the entrance to his home in which to worship and pray; this is because it was for his personal household, not for the public at large. But God knows best.

The matters relating to the acceptance of Islam by Salmān have been referred to above in the chapter on the *bishārāt*, the early signs. They tell how when Salmān

40. This refers to the "lesser pilgrimage", a series of ceremonies and rituals performed either in conjunction with or independent of those of the complete pilgrimage. See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* et alia.

the Persian heard of the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina, he came and brought him something that he laid before him while he was at Qubā', saying, "This is a donation." But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) refrained from eating it and told his Companions to do so and they did eat it. Salmān then came a second time with something he presented saying, "This is a present." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then ate some of it himself and told his Companions to do the same, which they did. We gave the tradition earlier at length.

Section: On the acceptance of Islam by 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, may God be pleased with him.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to us, quoting 'Awf, from Zurāra, from 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, the people ran away scared, as I did myself. But as I learned more about him I realized that he was no liar. The first thing I heard him say was, "Spread peace, feed others, pray at night while others sleep, and you will achieve paradise in peace."'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this, as did Ibn Māja, by various routes, from 'Awf al-A'rābī, from Zurāra b. Abū 'Awfa. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was authentic.

This tradition requires that 'Abd Allāh b. Salām had heard of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and saw him directly following his arrival at Qubā', when he dismounted there among the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf.

It is given above in the account of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas, that he met him when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dismounted at the home of Abū Ayyūb following his arrival from Qubā' to the quarters of the Banū al-Najjār as told above. It is possible that he did see him for the first time at Qubā' and then met with him after his arrival with the Banū al-Najjār. But God knows best.

In the account of al-Bukhārī, through 'Abd al-'Azīz from Anas, the last-mentioned stated, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, 'Abd Allāh b. Salām came to him and said, 'I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God and that you bring the truth. The Jews recognize me as their leader and the son of their leader, their most learned man and the son of their most learned man. Summon them and ask them about me before they know that I have embraced Islam, because if they know I have done so they will say of me things that are untrue.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent for the Jews and when they came he asked them, 'O Jews, woe upon you! Fear God! For, by God other than whom there is none, you certainly know that I am the Messenger of God, in truth, and that I bring you the truth. Therefore accept Islam!' They replied, 'We do not know it.' Three times this was repeated. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Which of your men is 'Abd Allāh b. Salām?'

"They replied, 'That is our leader, and the son of our leader, our most learned man and the son of our most learned man.' He then asked, 'What would you think if he accepted Islam?' They replied, 'God forbid! He would never accept Islam!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out, 'Ibn Salām, come on out to them!'

"When he did so he addressed them as follows, 'O Jews, fear God! By God other than whom there is none, you do certainly know that he is the Messenger of God, and that he brings you the truth.' They replied, 'No, you are lying!' Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent them away."

Those are the words used in the above account.

In one version the text states, "when he came out before them and gave testimony to the truth they said, 'You are the worst of us, and the son of the worst of us!' And they spoke ill of him. He then said, 'O Messenger of God, this is what I was fearing.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh told us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṣan'ānī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, quoting Ḥumayd, from Anas, who said, 'Abd Allāh b. Salām heard of the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was out in some land he owned. He went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'I shall ask you three things for which only a prophet would know the answers. They are: What are the signs of the Day of Judgement? What is the finest food that the people of paradise would eat? And what causes a child to resemble his father or his mother?'"

"He replied, 'Gabriel told me of these previously.' 'What, Gabriel?' he asked. 'Yes,' he replied. 'But,' commented 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, 'he is the angel who is the enemy of the Jews.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then recited, 'Whoever is the enemy of Gabriel, who surely revealed it to your heart by God's permission' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.97).

"He then said, 'Regarding the signs of the Day of Judgement, the first will be a fire that comes at people from the East and leads them to the West. As for the prime food of paradise eaten by those that are there, that is a plentitude of whale's liver. And if the male's liquid precedes that of the female, he will resemble the child, while if the female's liquid precedes that of the male, she will resemble the child.'

"'Abd Allāh b. Salām exclaimed, 'I testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God; O Messenger of God, the Jews are a people of liars. If they learn of my accepting Islam before you ask them about me, they will lie to you.'

"The Jews arrived and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'What kind of man is the (one of you named) 'Abd Allāh?' They replied, 'He is the best of us and the son of the best of us; he is our leader and the son of our leader.' 'What,' he then asked, 'would you say if he were to accept Islam?' They replied, 'May God spare him from that!'

"'Abd Allāh then came forth and said, 'I give testimony that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.' They said, 'You are the worst of us, and the son of the worst of us!' And they spoke ill of him.

“He then commented, “This, O Messenger of God, is what I feared.””

Al-Bukhārī related this from ‘Abd b. Ḥumayd from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr. And he also related it from Ḥāmid b. ‘Umar, from Bishr b. al-Mufaddal, from Humayd.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, from Yahyā b. ‘Abd Allāh, from a man of the family of ‘Abd Allāh b. Salām, who said, “Included in the statement reported as having been made by ‘Abd Allāh b. Salām, a learned rabbi, at his conversion to Islam, is the following, ‘At Qubā’ I heard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and learned of his name, qualities and appearance, and that his coming was at a time when we were expecting him. I none the less remained secretive about this and silent until he came to Medina.

“When he arrived in Qubā’, he stayed among the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf. A man came and told me of his arrival; at that time I was at work at the top of a date-palm and my aunt Khālida, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was sitting below me.

“When I heard the news of his arrival, I loudly praised God, and my aunt exclaimed, upon hearing that, “Why, you’d not have been more pleased at hearing of the coming of Moses, son of Aaron!”

“I told her, “Yes indeed, Aunt. He is, I swear, the very brother of Moses, son of Aaron, and recognizing the same faith. He has been given the same mission assigned to Moses.”

“She responded, “O Nephew, is he the one whom we were told would be sent with news of Judgement Day?” “Yes,” I told her, and she said, “Then so it is he.””

“Abd Allāh continued, ‘So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and embraced Islam, returned to my household and ordered them to do the same. I kept my acceptance of Islam from my people, and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “The Jews are a people of liars; I would like you to let me inside a house of yours, hide me from them, then ask them about me what status I have among them before you tell them of my conversion to Islam. If they knew that they would call me unreliable and would speak ill of me.”’ The account then continues approximately as above.

“Abd Allāh continued, ‘I then openly declared the acceptance of Islam by myself and by my household; my aunt Khālida, daughter of al-Ḥārith, also accepted the faith.’”

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as follows, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, quoting someone, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyay, who said, ‘None of the children of my father or my uncle were more popular with them both than I was. Whatever child of theirs wanted their attention it was always me they put first. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Qubā’, the village of the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, my father and my uncle, Abū Yāsir b. Akḥṭab, went to him early in the morning and only returned at sunset, so tired out that they could scarcely walk, staggering from exhaustion. I raced over to

greet them as was my custom, but, I swear, neither so much as looked at me. I heard my uncle Abū Yāsir ask my father, "Is that he then?" "Yes, I swear by God," he replied. "You recognize him from his character and description then?" "I certainly do, I swear it!" he responded. "So how will you relate to him?" he asked. "With enmity, I swear by God, for as long as I live!"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba recounted, from al-Zuhri, that Abū Yāsir b. Akhṭab, following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, went to him, heard him speak, spoke with him and then returned to his people. He told them, "People, obey me; God has sent you the one you have been awaiting. Follow him and do not oppose him."

"His brother Huyayy b. Akhṭab, at that time the leader of the Jews, they both being of the Banū al-Naḍir, then went and sat and listened to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and returned to his people who were obedient to him. He told them, 'I come to you from being with a man whom, I swear it, I will for ever oppose.' His brother, Abū Yāsir, answered him, 'O cousin, obey me in this matter and disobey however you like thereafter without penalty.'

"Huyayy insisted, 'No, by God, I will never obey you!' And so Satan took possession of him and his people followed him in his opinion."

As for Abū Yāsir, whose name was Huyayy b. Akhṭab, his fate is unknown to me. Regarding Huyayy b. Akhṭab, the father of Ṣafiyya, he expressed enmity for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions, and continued to do so, God damn him, until he was executed, bound, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day the warriors of Banū Qurayẓa were killed. As we will relate, if God wills it.

DIVISION

When, on a Friday, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Qubā' mounted on his camel *al-Qaṣwā'*, it was noon by the time he was in the quarter of the Banū Sālim b. 'Awf. He performed the Friday prayers there with the Muslims in a valley called Rānūwānā'.

This was the first Friday prayer which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed with the Muslims in Medina, or perhaps the very first time of all. This is because – though God knows best – it had not been possible for him and his Companions in Mecca to have any Friday prayers with a sermon and joint open prayer. The strong opposition to him from the polytheists and the harm they were doing to him had precluded any such possibility.

An Account of the sermon of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that day.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'ālā related to me, quoting Ibn Wahb, that Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jumaḥī reported that he was informed that the

following was the content of the sermon of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the first Friday he prayed in Medina, among the Banū Sālim b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, God bless them: 'Praise be to God; I give Him praise, and I ask His help. I ask for His forgiveness and for His guidance. I believe in Him, will not disbelieve in Him, and will do battle with those who do. I bear witness that there is no god but God, that He has no associate, that Muḥammad is His Servant and Messenger whom He has sent with guidance and the religion of truth and light, at a time without messengers, when there is little knowledge, the people are misguided, when the time is out of joint, and the day of retribution and fate is at hand.

"Whoever obeys God and His Messenger is right-guided; whoever disobeys them is misled, and has erred and gone far astray.

"I charge you to fear God; this is the best advice a Muslim can give a Muslim, to urge him on to the afterlife, to order him to fear God. Beware of what God has, of Himself, cautioned you. There is no better advice nor charge than this. It is an act of piety for those who accomplish this with apprehension and fear and a true means of assistance towards your aspirations from the afterlife.

"Whoever cultivates, both openly and in secret, his relationship with God, seeking only God's favour thereby, shall receive recognition in the short term and reward after death, when a man will wish he had done differently than he had before, and would want to put great distance between himself and that behaviour. God bids you beware of Him, though He is merciful towards His worshippers.

"Whoever believes His words and fulfils His promise will find nothing taken back therefrom, for God Almighty states, "Whatever I say shall not be changed, and I am not unjust towards my worshippers" (*sūrat Qāf*; L, v.29).

"Fear God both in matters that are at hand and those that follow, in secret and openly, for "whoever fears God, God will remove his evil ways from him and give him great reward" (*sūrat al-Ṭalāq*; LXV, v.5). And "Whoever fears God and His Messenger will have won a mighty success."⁴¹ Fearing God will forestall His disapproval, His punishment, His anger. Fearing God will bring satisfaction, please the Lord and elevate one's status.

"Take advantage of your good fortune and do not be lax in matters pertaining to God. God has instructed you in His book, laid out for you His path, so that He may know those who speak the truth and those who lie. Do good, just as God does good to you. Oppose His enemies and strive energetically for God. It is He who chose you and named you "Muslims", so that those who perish do so for evident cause, while those who live do so for evident cause. There is no power but with God. Make frequent mention of God. Strive for what comes after death. For he who makes good his relationship with God will find his relationship with people satisfactory. That is because God passes judgement upon

41. Verse 71 of *sūrat al-Aḥzāb* (XXXIII) is somewhat different. It reads, "Whoever is obedient to God and His Messenger."

people, while they do not pass judgement upon Him. It is He who controls people, while they do not control Him. God is truly great! There is no power but with God, the Almighty and Glorious.’”

This is the text given by Ibn Jarir; its chain of authorities is not complete.

Al-Bayhaqī's text reads, "*Chapter on the first address given by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after his arrival in Medina.* The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, who stated, 'Al-Mughīra b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān related to me, along with al-Akhnas b. Shariq, from Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, who said, "The first address given by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina began with him standing before them and expressing appropriate praise and adoration for God, and then saying, 'O people, send forward for yourselves! You well know that any one of you may be struck down and so his flock be left with no shepherd. His Lord will then say to him – and there will be no interpreter or attendant to come between yourself and Him – "Did not My Messenger come to you and inform you? Did I not give you wealth and benefit? What is it you have sent forward for yourself?" And He will look to right and left but see nothing. Then the man will look in front of him and see only hell-fire. So, whoever is able to protect his face from the fire, even if only with a slice of dates, let him do so. If he finds nothing, then let him say one good word for thereby one good deed will be rewarded by 10 times its like, or even by 700 times. May peace be upon the Messenger of God, and the mercy and the blessings of God.'""

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded with the second sermon by saying, "Praise be to God! I praise Him and I seek His help. We seek refuge with God from the evil of ourselves and of our deeds. Whoever is guided by God will not be misled while he who is misled shall have no guide. I bear witness that there is no god but God, Who is unique and without associate. The finest words are those of God's Book. Successful are those whose hearts have been embellished thereby by Him; those whom He has brought into Islam following disbelief and who chose these words above all human speech. Love those who love God and love Him with all your hearts. Do not tire of His words and of repeating them, nor harden your hearts towards them. From everything that God creates He makes His selection and choice. He has thus mentioned the best of these deeds and the best of persons who perform these deeds. He has also described healthy speech, along with those things He regards as lawful and those that are forbidden. So worship God and associate no other god or person with Him and fear Him as is His due. Be faithful to Him in those good things you utter with your mouths. Love one another, the spirit of God being between you. God is angry if vows to Him are broken. Peace be upon you, and God's mercy and blessings."

The chain of authorities for this tradition, though incomplete, does add strength to the previous address, even if the phraseology differs.

Section: On the building of the holy mosque during the period of the residence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the home of Abū Ayyūb, may God be pleased with him.

There are differences of opinion as to the length of his stay there. Al-Wāqidi stated seven months, while others refer to less than one month but God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ishāq b. Maṣṣūr related to him, from ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, who quotes a *ḥadīth* from his father, as follows, “Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥumayd al-Ḍabbī related to us, quoting Anas b. Mālīk, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he stayed in the upper part of the town in the quarter named for the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf. He stayed among them for 14 nights, then sent a message to the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār who came wearing their swords. It’s as if I can still see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) riding his camel with Abū Bakr mounted behind him and the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār all around him until they reached the courtyard of Abū Ayyūb’s house.

“He used to pray wherever he happened to be when time for prayer came; he would even pray in sheep pens.

“Then he ordered that the mosque be built. He summoned the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār, and when they came he asked them, “O Banū al-Najjār, what price for this wall of yours?” They replied, “Oh no, by God, we’ll seek its price from God, the Almighty and Glorious, alone!”

“Anas Ibn Mālīk then said ‘This wall enclosed the following: the graves of polytheists, ruins and date-palms. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the graves be unearthed, the ruins levelled and the date-palms be cut down; this was done.

“They (created a wall of) palm trees at the *qiblah* (the front of the mosque), and constructed its two door posts out of stones. They set about gathering stones, chanting in *rajaz* verse as they did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worked along with them, saying, “O God, there is no good but that of the after-life; please aid the Helpers and the Emigrants!””

Al-Bukhārī related this in other places, as did Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ‘Abd al-Ṣamad and ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd.

A *ḥadīth* from the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī quoted earlier, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, stated that the mosque had been a *mirbad* – a shed for dates – belonging to two orphan youths, Sahl and Suhayl, who were under the care of As‘ad b. Zurāra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an offer of money to them but they replied, “No; we will give it to you, Messenger of God.” But he refused, and bought it from them instead and then built a mosque on it.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would chant as he moved the earth along with the others,

“This load is not a load of Khaybar; this, O Lord, is cleaner and purer.”

And he would say,

"O God, real reward is that of the other world, so have mercy on the Helpers and the Emigrants."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that As'ad b. Zurāra compensated the orphans for the land with some date-palms he had on land that was otherwise uncultivated but he also mentions the view that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bought it from them.

My own comment is that Muḥammad b. Ishāq also related that the date shed was owned by two orphaned youths who were under the care of Mu'adh b. 'Afrā', and that they were Sahl and Suhayl, both sons of 'Amr. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī related through Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād al-Ḍabbī, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Sulaymān, from Ismā'īl b. Muslim, from al-Ḥasan, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) built the mosque, his Companions helped him; he worked along with them, carrying the bricks so that his chest became brown. He told them, 'Build an *'arish*, a trellis roof, like that of Moses.' I asked al-Ḥasan, 'What was the "trellis of Moses"?' He replied, 'When he raised his hands they would reach the *'arish*, meaning the roof.'"

This *ḥadīth* is incomplete in its chain.

It is related from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Abū Sinān, from Ya'qūb b. Shaddād b. Aws, from 'Ubāda, that the Helpers collected money which they took to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, "O Messenger of God, build and embellish this mosque; how long do we have to pray beneath these palm fronds?" He replied, "I don't want to outdo my brother Moses; just a trellis roof like that of Moses."

This is a unique tradition from this source.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Muḥammad b. Ḥātim related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Sinān, from Firās, from 'Aṭīyya al-'Awfī, from Ibn 'Umar, that the mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS) initially had its walls made of palm trunks above which was a light roof made of palm fronds. It deteriorated in the Caliphate of Abū Bakr and he rebuilt it, again with palm trunks and fronds. It again fell apart in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān and he rebuilt it using bricks; it remains in a good state today."

This (tradition) is unique.

Abū Dā'ūd also stated, "Mujāhid b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm from his father, from Abū Ṣālih, from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar, to the effect that the mosque had been built at the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from bricks and that it had a roof of palm fronds, with pillars made of palm trunks. Abū Bakr made no improvements to it, but 'Umar enlarged it, rebuilding it in the same manner as in the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that is, with bricks and palm fronds; he also restored its wooden pillars. 'Uthmān, God bless him, made changes and major additions. He had its walls built with cut stone and plaster, its pillars of stone and its roof of teak."

Al-Bukhārī related this similarly from ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī, from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm.

My own comment is that in adding to it, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, God bless him, was putting into effect the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “Whoever builds a mosque for God, even if only like the hollowed out nest of a sand-grouse, will have a house built for him by God in paradise.”

The Companions living at that time agreed with him in this, and they made no changes after ‘Uthmān. This gives support to the preponderant view of the scholars that the rules applicable to the original structure will also apply to the extensions made to that structure and thus, those who perform their prayer in that new section will also share in the virtues allotted to those who pray in the original section. Included in this is the waiver of the prohibition of undertaking a journey to any sacred place except the *ka‘ba* and the Prophet’s mosque.⁴²

It was expanded in the time of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, the builder of the Damascus mosque. Its expansion was undertaken at his orders by ‘Umār b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz when he was governor of Medina. He added to it the *hujrat al-nabawiyya*, the burial chamber of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Substantial later additions were made to it. On the side of the prayer niche it was expanded, so much so that the original niche and the *rawḍa*, the promenade, became positioned after the front rows, as it is to be seen today.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed with Abū Ayyūb until his mosque and apartments were built. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself worked in it to inspire the Muslims with a desire to work there. Both Emigrants and Helpers co-operated busily in this. One Muslim worker spoke the verse,

“For us to sit while the Prophet worked would indeed be misdirected action.”

As they worked the Muslims chanted,

“There’s no life but that of the hereafter; O God,
have mercy on both Helpers and Emigrants.”

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself spoke the words,

“There’s no life but that of the hereafter; O God,
have mercy on both Emigrants and Helpers.”⁴³

42. This statement alludes to the teachings of the Prophet regarding the sanctity of the mosque. In one tradition he said that those who perform a single prayer in his mosque will have it increased a thousand fold.

43. The point of this quotation, in which the positions of the Arabic words for Emigrants and Helpers are transposed thus spoiling the meter, seems to be to provide evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had no ear for verse, therefore further establishing the divine origin of the Qur’ān. See also Sir William Muir: *The Life of Muhammad* London, 1877, p. 184.

‘Ammār b. Yāsir came in, overloaded with bricks, and said, “O Messenger of God, they’re killing me by loading me with what they wouldn’t carry!”

Umm Salama said, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wipe his hand through his long, thick hair – which was curly – and say, ‘Alas, Ibn Sumayya, it’s not them killing you but the evil gang who will!’”

This tradition is devoid of a link from this line; indeed it is problematic between Muḥammad b. Ishāq and Umm Salama. Muslim, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, joined it back to a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba, from Khālīd al-Hadhdhā’, from Sa‘īd and al-Ḥasan, that is from the two sons of Abū al-Ḥasan of Baṣra, from their mother Khayra, the freed-woman of Umm Salama, from Umm Salama, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘The evil gang will kill ‘Ammār.’” He also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ‘Aliyya, from Ibn ‘Awn, from al-Ḥasan, from his mother, from Umm Salama, which reports that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ‘Ammār as he was transporting rocks, “Alas for you, O Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!”

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated, “Ma‘mar related to us, from al-Ḥasan, from his mother, from Umm Salama, who said, ‘While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions were building the mosque, his men would carry the bricks one at a time, while ‘Ammār would carry two, one for himself and one for the Prophet (ṢAAS). So the latter patted him on the back and said, ‘Ibn Sumayya, the others will get a reward, but you will receive two. And the last food for you will be a drink of milk and the evil gang will kill you!’”

This chain of authorities is in accordance with the criteria established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bayhaqī and others tell us, through a group, from Khālīd al-Hadhdhā’, from ‘Ikrima, from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudarī, who said, “While building the mosque we would be carrying bricks one by one, while ‘Ammār would bear them two at a time. The Prophet (ṢAAS) saw him and, while wiping the dust off him said, ‘Alas, poor ‘Ammār! The evil gang will kill him. He will invite them to paradise, while they will invite him to the fire!’ ‘Ammār commented, ‘I seek refuge with God from strife!’”

Imām al-Bukhārī, however, related this *ḥadīth* from Musaddad, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Mukhtār, from Khālīd al-Hadhdhā’; and from Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, from ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī, from Khālīd al-Hadhdhā’. However, that account does not mention his use of the words, “The evil gang will kill you!”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “It is as if he left this out only due to what Muslim related from one route, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa‘īd, who said, ‘Someone better than myself told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while setting about digging the *khandaq*, “the trench”, wiped his head and said to ‘Ammār, “Alas for Ibn Sumayya! An evil gang will kill him!”’”

Muslim also related this, from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba, from Abū Muslim, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa‘īd who said, “One of my betters, Abū Qatāda, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, ‘Alas for you, Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!’”

Abū Dāʿūd Al-Ṭayālīsī said, “Wuhayb informed us from Dāʿūd Ibn Abū Hind from Abū Nadra, from Abū Saʿīd who said: “When the Prophet (ṢAAS) undertook the excavation of the trench, people generally carried one brick each. ‘Ammār however, who was recuperating from an ailment, carried two bricks at a time. Abū Saʿīd said: ‘A Companion informed me that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would wipe the dust off his head and say: ‘Alas for you, Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!’”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “He distinguished between what he had himself heard and what he heard from his Companions.”

He said, “It seems that his reference to ‘the trench’ is imagined, or that he said this to him both while building the mosque and while digging the trench. But God knows best.”

My own comment is that carrying bricks while digging a trench makes no sense. It seems obvious that there is confusion here. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* comes from the *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah* (*Signs of the Prophethood*) wherein the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tells ‘Ammār that the evil gang will kill him.

In fact he was killed by the Syrians at the battle of Ṣiffin, ‘Ammār having fought with ‘Alī and the Iraqis.

‘Alī had greater right to rule than did Muʿāwiyā. But their being called *bughāt*, unjust, does not imply that the supporters of Muʿāwiyā have become unbelievers, as some ignorant persons do who belong to the Shīʿa, along with others as well. For even if they were essentially rebellious, they had in fact erred in their interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the conflict. And not everyone who undertakes interpretation is right; those who are right receive double reward, while those in error receive only one.

There are some who add after the words, “the evil gang will kill you” further words, “may my intercession not include them on Judgement Day”. In making such an addition they are falsely attributing statements to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he did not say this, since it is not transmitted by any reputable source. But God knows best.

Regarding the words, “He invites them to paradise, while they invite him to the fire”, they refer to ‘Ammār and his friends inviting the Syrians to friendship and to unity, while the Syrians wanted to give preference to some over those whose right was greater, which would result in the people being divided, each one having its own leader. This would have led to dissention and division within the nation and resulted inevitably from their philosophy and policies, even though this was not what they intended. But God knows best.

But the subject at hand here relates mainly to the building of the mosque of the Prophet, may the best of blessings and peace be upon its constructor.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*) as follows, “The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ‘Abd Allāh related to us by dictation, Abū Bakr b. Ishāq related to us, ‘Ubayd b.

Shurayk informed us, Nu'aym b. Hammād related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, Hashraj b. Nubāta informed us, from Sa'īd b. Jumhān, from Safina, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, 'Abū Bakr brought a stone and placed it down, then 'Umar did the same, then 'Uthmān did the same. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'These will succeed to power after myself.'"

He (al-Bayhaqī) then related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Ḥimmānī, from Hashraj, from Sa'īd, from Safina, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) built a mosque he put down a stone, saying, 'Let Abū Bakr place a stone next to mine; let 'Umar place his next to that of Abū Bakr, and let 'Uthmān place his next to that of 'Umar.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "These shall be the Caliphs after me."

This *ḥadīth* through this line of transmission is *gharīb*, "unique".

What is well known is what Imām Aḥmad related, from Abū al-Naḍr, from Hashraj b. Nabāta al-'Absī, and from Bahz and Zayd b. al-Ḥabbāb, and 'Abd al-Ṣamad, and Hammād b. Salama, both authorities quoting Sa'īd b. Jamhān from Safina, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'The Caliphate period will last for 30 years. Then thereafter will come the kingdom period.' Safina then commented, 'Count! The Caliphate of Abū Bakr lasted 2 years, that of 'Umar 10 years, that of 'Uthmān 12 years, and that of 'Alī 6 years.'"

This wording is that of Aḥmad.

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related it through various lines from Sa'īd b. Jamhān. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, 'good'. We know of it only in this form and with the alternate wording, 'The Caliphate after me will be for 30 years, and then will come a mordacious kingdom era.'" He then related the remainder of the tradition.

I would comment that when first built the mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS) had no *minbar* from which to address the congregation. He would speak while leaning against a palm tree trunk in the wall next to the *qibla* near where he prayed. Eventually he began to use a *minbar*, as we will explain in its proper place. As he moved over towards it to make his address from it and passed by that tree trunk, it moaned like a love-lorne camel because it had always heard his speeches delivered near itself. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) returned to it and hugged it until it settled down, just like a baby, and became quiet. Details of this will be given hereafter through various lines, from Sahl b. Sa'd al-Sa'īdī, Jābir, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, Anas b. Mālik and Umm Salama, God be pleased with them.

What more appropriate than the comment made by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī after relating this story, from Anas b. Mālik, "O Muslims! A piece of wood so pining for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! Do not men hoping to meet him have even more right to yearn for him?"

*INDICATIONS OF THE EXCELLENCE OF THIS NOBLE MOSQUE AND
THIS EXALTED PLACE.*

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Anīs b. Abū Yaḥyā related to us, quoting his father, as follows, 'I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī say, "Two men, one from the Banū Khudra, the other from the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, disagreed over which mosque was referred to by the words in the Qurʾān, 'the mosque founded in piety' (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.108). The Khudarī said, 'It is the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' The ʿAmrī insisted, 'No, it's the mosque at Qubā'.' So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about it. He replied, 'It is this mosque,' referring to that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 'In that one,' he went on, meaning the mosque at Qubā', 'there is much good.'""

Al-Tirmidhī related this from Qutayba, from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Anīs b. Abū Yaḥyā al-Aslamī. He characterized it as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good", "authentic".

Imām Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related, from Ishāq b. ʿIsā, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Qutayba, from al-Layth from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd, from his father, who said: "Two men argued over which was the mosque 'founded in piety'. Thereafter this account proceeded as above.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, there is the *ḥadīth* of Ḥumayd al-Kharrāṭ, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is quoted as saying that he asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd, "What was it you heard your father say about the 'mosque founded in piety'?" He replied, "My father said, 'I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about the "mosque founded in piety". He picked up a handful of pebbles and dashed them to the ground, saying, "It is this, here, your mosque."""

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, as did Rabiʿa b. ʿUthmān al-Tamīmī, from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from Sahl b. Saʿd, who said, 'Two men alive at the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) differed over which mosque was "founded in piety". One of them said, "It is the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." The other said, "No, it's the mosque at Qubā'." So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him. He replied, "It is this mosque of mine."""

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū Nuʿaym related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir al-Aslamī, from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from Sahl b. Saʿd, from Ubayy b. Kaʿb, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'The mosque "founded in piety" was this mosque of mine.'"

These numerous sources come close to giving conclusive evidence that the mosque in question is that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

ʿUmar, his son ʿAbd Allāh, Zayd b. Thābit, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and Ibn Jarīr all agreed with this.

Others say that there is simply no contradiction between the revelation of this verse being applied to the mosque at Qubā' and these traditions. This is so, they say, because this mosque (i.e. the Medina mosque) is simply more worthy of such than is the other since it is one of the three mosques referred to as those worth striving to attend. This is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Only three mosques should be the object of travel: this mosque of mine, the *ḥarām* mosque (in Mecca) and the *Bayt al-Maqdis* mosque (in Jerusalem).'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is a tradition from Abū Sa'īd, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "Only three mosques should be the object of travel" and he named these. It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "A prayer in this mosque of mine is better than a thousand prayers in any other, with the exception of the *ḥarām* mosque."

In the *ḥadīth* collection of Aḥmad, with a good chain of authorities, there is mention of an additional, bounty namely the words, "And that one is better."

In both collections, there is a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Ḥabīb, from Ḥafṣ b. 'Āsim, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Between my house and my pulpit there is one of the gardens of paradise, and my pulpit stands by my pool.'"

There are numerous traditions referring to the virtues of this holy mosque. We will report these in the large work *al-Manāsik min Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, if God wills it. And in Him is all trust and reliance, and there is no power or strength except in God, the Powerful and Wise.

Imām Mālik and his associates support the view that the Medina mosque is superior to the *ḥarām* mosque because the latter was built by Abraham, and the former by Muḥammad (ṢAAS); it being obvious that Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was superior to Abraham, God bless him.

However, the majority opinion opposes this view and maintains that the *ḥaram* mosque is superior. This is because it is in a land made sacred by God at the time when He created the heavens and the earth. And it was made sacred by Abraham *al-Khalīl*, "the True Friend", peace be upon him, and Muḥammad, "the Seal of the Prophets". The (mosque in Mecca) is thus endowed with qualities not present in any other. Discussion of this issue however, belongs elsewhere; and one turns to God for help.

DIVISION

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) built apartments around his mosque which would be dwellings for himself and his family. These were small dwellings with narrow courtyards.

Al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī stated, he having been a youth in the company of his mother Khayra, the freed-woman of Umm Salama, "I used to be able to reach up with my hand to the highest ceiling in the apartment of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

I would observe, however, that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was large in size and tall. God bless him.

Al-Suhayli stated in *al-Rawḍ* (*The Gardens*), "The apartments of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were built of the stalks of palm leaves covered with mud and partly of stones stacked upon one another. The ceilings of all were made of palm fronds."

This account was related from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

His rooms were made of hair-cloth held together with juniper-tree wood.

In al-Bukhārī's work of history we learn that finger nails could knock on the door of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this shows that there were no cloth coverings over his doors.

He stated, "And after the deaths of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) all these apartments were added to the mosque."

Al-Wāqidi, Ibn Jarir and others said, "When 'Abd Allāh b. Urayqit al-Dili returned to Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr dispatched Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Rāfi', both freed-men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to bring back their families from Mecca. They sent with them two loads of goods and 500 dirhams with which to purchase a camel of Qudayd. They left and soon returned with the two daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm, his two wives, Sawda and 'Ā'isha, and the latter's mother, Umm Rūmān, along with other members of his and Abū Bakr's family, including the latter's son, 'Abd Allāh. On the road back, the mounts of 'Ā'isha and her mother Umm Rūmān strayed apart and Umm Rūmān began calling out, 'Bride! My daughter!' 'Ā'isha later said, 'I heard a voice say, "Let loose its bridle!' So I did this and it stopped, at God's will; we give praise to God the Almighty and Glorious.' They stayed at al-Sunḥ on the way. Eight months later, in Shawwāl, as we will relate, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with 'Ā'isha.

"Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr and wife of al-Zubayr b. al-'Awāmm arrived also; she was pregnant and near term with 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, as we will relate in its proper place in material relating to the end of that year.

DIVISION

How the Emigrants suffered from the Medina fever, God be pleased with them all, though the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was spared it through the strength and power of God; he prayed to his Lord who then drew it away from his city.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Wahb b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting Mālik b. Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'Abū Bakr and Bilāl fell sick around the time that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina. I went in to see them and asked, "How are you, father? Bilāl, how are you?"'

She said: "Whenever Abū Bakr developed a fever he would recite,

'Every man might arise among his family, yet his death be closer than his sandal thongs.'

"When the fever was raised from Bilāl he would raise his voice and say,

'O how happy I would be to spend a night in a valley covered with fresh grass and verdure,
Will I ever again descend to Majinna's waters, or see Shāma and Ṭufayl?'"

ʿĀ'isha went on, "So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him and he said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its foods. Turn aside its fever and send it off to al-Juhfa!'"⁴⁴

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba from Hishām in abbreviated form.

In al-Bukhārī's account of it from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, there is an addition after the verses of Bilāl. In this he says, "O God, curse ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Shayba b. Rabīʿa and Umayya b. Khalaf alike for them having forced us out into the land of pestilence!"

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us, as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its prosperity. Turn aside its fever and send it off to al-Juhfa!'

"She said, 'When we arrived in Medina, we found it the most pestilential place on God's earth. It was just two basin-shaped valleys wet with *najl*, that is brackish water.'"

Ziyād quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as follows, "Hishām b. ʿUrwa and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr related to me that ʿĀ'isha stated, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, it was the most pestilential place on God's earth. His Companions fell sick from fever and illness, but God kept that away from His Prophet. Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra and Bilāl, the two freed-men of Abū Bakr, were in one house, struck down by fever. I went in to them to visit them, that being before the *ḥijāb*, the veil, was prescribed for us. Only God knows how very sick they were. I approached Abū Bakr and said, "How are you, father?" He replied, in verse:

"Every man might arise among his family, yet his death be closer than his sandal thongs!"

"I exclaimed, "I swear, my father doesn't know what he is saying!" Then I went over to ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra and asked, "How are you, ʿĀmir?" He replied, in verse,

"I have found death before tasting it; a coward has his demise right above him.

Every man fights hard with all his power, as a bull protects its skin with its horns."

44. According to a footnote in the printed edition of Ibn Kathīr's text, the reference is to a town where largely Jews resided at the time, some 82 miles from Mecca.

"I exclaimed, "By God, he doesn't know what he is saying!" Bilāl was in the habit of resting in the courtyard of the house whenever the fever struck him, then he would raise his voice and say,

"O how happy I would be to spend a night in Fakh, while all around me was fresh grass and verdure.

Will I ever again descend to Majinna's waters, or see Shāma and Tufayl?"

"Ā'isha went on, 'I told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what I had heard from them, saying, "They are raving, irrational from the intensity of the fever." He replied, "O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its prosperity. Turn aside its fever to Mahya'a!" Mahya'a is a reference to al-Juhfa."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yūnus related to us, quoting Layth, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū Bakr b. Ishāq b. Yasār, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Urwa, from 'Urwa, from Ā'isha, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, Abū Bakr and 'Āmir b. Fuḥayra, Abū Bakr's freed-man, and Bilāl, fell sick.' Ā'isha asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to visit them, and he agreed. She then asked Abū Bakr, 'How are you?'

"He replied,

'Any man might arise among his family, yet his death be closer than his sandal thongs!'

"She then asked 'Āmir and he replied,

'I have found death before tasting it; a coward has his demise right above him.'

"Then she asked Bilāl and he said,

'O how happy I would be to spend a night in Fakh, while all around me was fresh grass and verdure.'

"So she went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him. He then looked up to heaven and said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its foods. Turn aside its fever to Mahya'a.' This is a reference to al-Juhfa, so they claim."

Al-Nasā'ī related this similarly from Qutayba, from al-Layth. The Imām Aḥmad related it through 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith from her as above.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "*The ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh related to us, quoting Abū Sa'īd b. Abū 'Amr, both saying, 'Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār and Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from Ā'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina and it was the most pestilential place on God's earth. It was just two basin-shaped valleys wet with *najl*, brackish water."'"

Hishām stated, "Its pestilential nature was well known before Islam. When the valley was disease-ridden and a man were to arrive there, he would be told to neigh like a donkey; if he did this the valley's pestilence would not harm him. A

poet once said, coming to Medina, "By my life, if I, fearing death, were to emit a donkey's neighing, I would be expressing my anxiety."

Al-Bukhārī related from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Salīm, from his father, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I saw what seemed like a black woman, her head in disarray, emerge from Medina and travel to Mahya'a, which is al-Juhfa. I interpreted from this that Medina's pestilence had been transformed to Mahya'a, that is, to al-Juhfa."

This wording is from al-Bukhārī. Muslim did not give this tradition. Al-Tirmidhī did relate it and pronounced it authentic, while al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. 'Uqba.

Ḥammād b. Zayd related, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Medina the pestilence was active." She related the tradition in full as above but gave the final words of the Messenger of God as "remove its fever to al-Juhfa!"

Hishām stated, "A child born in al-Juhfa never reached adolescence without being struck down by the fever."

Al-Bayhaqī related this in the *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* (*Signs of the Prophethood*).

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, the pestilence was active. All his Companions became seriously stricken with that. But God kept it away from his Prophet (ṢAAS)."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions arrived in Mecca flushed and feverish in the year they made the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*,⁴⁵ the 'fulfilment pilgrimage', and the polytheists said, 'There's a group of them arriving who are weakened by the Medina fever.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his Companions to jog around the *ka'ba* except between the two corners where they were permitted to walk. And it was only his concern for them that deterred him from making them jog throughout the performance of the ritual."

I observe that the *'umrat al-qaḍā'* took place in the year 7 AH, in the month of Dhū al-Qa'da. Either his prayer to God to remove the pestilence elsewhere had been delayed to some time close to this, or that it had been removed but some few traces of it had remained. Or they were still suffering from some remaining effects of a previous affliction. But God knows best.

Ziyād stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri related from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions arrived in Medina they became seriously ill from the Medina fever, to the extent that they had to say their prayers seated. However, God kept this affliction from affecting His Prophet (ṢAAS)."

The account states, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out before them while they were praying in this way and told them, 'You should know that

45. The name given to the *'umra* pilgrimage rites the Muslims performed then at Mecca which had been vacated by its inhabitants by prior agreement for this occasion. The circumstances of this will be detailed by Ibn Kathīr later in this text.

the prayer of someone seated is only half as valuable as that of someone standing.' At this the Muslims, despite their weakness and sickness, exerted themselves to stand, in order to gain grace."

Section: On the establishment of friendship between the Emigrants and the Helpers through the document he had drawn up between them. On the nature of that brotherly relationship he made between them, and on the friendly relations he established with the Jews who were in Medina.

In the city's Jewish quarters at that time there were the Qaynuqā', Naḍir and Qurayẓa tribes.

According to al-Ṭabarī they had settled in the Hijāz before the *anṣār*, the Helpers, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered Jerusalem.

When the Iram flood occurred and people had scattered in all directions, the Aws and the Khazraj tribes had settled in Medina with the Jews. They had established pacts of alliance with these Jews and imitated their ways because of the virtue they saw in them that they had acquired through the prophets.

However, God had bestowed guidance and Islam upon those who had been polytheists, while they, in their envy, pride and wrongheadedness, had failed to follow the truth.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Affān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama and 'Aṣim al-Aḥwal, from Anas b. Mālik, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a pact between the Emigrants and the Helpers in the house of Anas b. Mālik.'"

This was also related by Imām Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Abū Dā'ūd, through various lines of transmission from 'Aṣim b. Sulaymān al-Aḥwal, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a pact between Quraysh and the Helpers in my house."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Naṣr b. Bāb related to us, from Ḥajjāj, he being Ibn Arṭat, who said, 'It was related to us by Surayj from 'Abbād, from Ḥajjāj, from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father and grandfather, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wrote up a contract between the Emigrants saying that they would respect one another's strongholds, that they would treat with kindness those in distress and bring peace between the Muslims.'"

Aḥmad stated, "Surayj related to us, quoting 'Abbād, from Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Qāsim, from Ibn 'Abbās, much the same account."

Imām Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

The *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim quotes Jābir as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote an '*aqūla*', a blood-wit pact, for each sub-tribe."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote a contract between the Emigrants and the Helpers in which he expressed conciliation towards the Jews and made a pact with them, confirming them in their religion and their properties. He stipulated their rights and obligations as follows, 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Beneficent, this is a document from Muḥammad, the *ummi* (unlettered) Prophet, between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh

and Yathrib and their followers, allies and supporters, establishing that they are one nation apart from all others. The Emigrants from Quraysh will maintain their current practice and will honour blood-money contracts between themselves and will treat their weaker members with kindness and justice. The Banū 'Awf shall maintain their current practice, and honour their former blood-money contracts, each party treating their weaker members with kindness and justice, among all believers.'

"He then made reference to each clan of the Helpers and to the families of each home, mentioning the Banū Sā'ida, the Banū Jusham, the Banū al-Najjār, the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf and the Banū al-Nabīṭ.

"He went on to say, 'The believers shall not leave anyone among them burdened by debts without giving to him in kindness and in paying for him any ransom money or blood-money he owes. A believer will not ally with any freed-man of a second believer against that man. Pious believers act against any of their own who practise evil or seek to bring harm, sin, aggression or corruption among believers. Believers will unite against anyone doing this, even if he be one of their own sons. No believer shall kill any believer for any non-believer. Nor shall he help any non-believer against a believer. God's protection is all one; the least of them (believers) can offer protection to others. Believers are allies to one another, excluding others.

"Whatever Jews follow us shall receive help and equality. They shall not be maltreated nor will help be afforded others against them. Peace for all believers is one; no peace shall be accepted for any one believer to the exclusion of others when the battle is for God's cause; among them equality and justice must prevail. In every expedition we engage in riders shall take turns on their mounts.

"Believers shall avenge one another for blood shed in God's cause. Believers who are pious are well-guided on the straightest of paths. No polytheist shall be allowed to offer protection for the property or persons of Quraysh nor try to interfere with any believer. Anyone who has clearly aggressed against and caused the death of any believer shall be subject to retaliation for him unless the dead man's executor can be satisfied. Believers as a whole shall take action against him and no excuse for their not doing so will be acceptable.

"It shall not be permissible for any believer who has accepted what is in this document and who believes in God and Judgement Day to give help or shelter to any wrong-doer. Any believer who does this shall be the object of God's curses and anger on Judgement Day and neither compensation nor excuse will be acceptable from him. Any matter in which you disagree must be referred to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and to Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

"The Jews shall pay expenses along with the Muslims so long as they are allied in warfare. The Jews of the Banū 'Awf are one nation with the believers; the Jews shall have their religion, the Muslims their own. This applies to their freed-men and to themselves, except for those who commit sins and are unjust. Such persons only harm themselves and their families.

"What applies to Banū 'Awf shall also apply to the Jews of Banū al-Najjār, Banū al-Ḥārith, Banū Sā'ida, Banū Jusham, Banū al-Aws, Banū Tha'āba and

Jufna, and Banū al-Shuṭayba. The close associates of the Jews shall be viewed as themselves. None of them shall go to war without Muḥammad's permission. However, he is not (thereby) constrained from taking revenge for injury. Whoever attacks another may do so (to protect) himself and his family, but (act) not unjustly, for God condemns such acts. The Jews shall bear their own expenses, the Muslims theirs. Each must help one another against any who fight those who adopt this document. They must give one another advice and consultation; and do good and avoid evil. A man is not held blameworthy on behalf of his ally. Help must be given to those wronged. The centre of Yathrib shall be a sanctuary for those who agree to this document. One's neighbour shall be treated as oneself, without being harmed or sinned against. No property shall be encroached upon without the permission of its owner.

“In the case of any dispute or incident occurring between those agreeing to this document, and involving consequences likely to be harmful, the matter must be referred to God and to Muḥammad, the Messenger of God. God acknowledges what is very good and very pious in this document. Quraysh and those who help them shall receive no protection. (Those accepting this document) must help one another against anyone attacking Yathrib. If they are called upon to make peace and do so and keep to it, they will be making peace; if they make a similar demand, then it is up to the Muslims to agree except if the warfare is over the Faith. Each participant shall receive whatever portion is due to him from his own side's winnings.

“This document will not provide protection for anyone sinful or unjust. Whoever goes to war will be safe; whoever stays in the town will be safe – except for those who have sinned or been unjust. God provides protection for those who are good and pious.”

Ibn Ishāq gives it in approximately this form. Abū Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām, God bless him, criticized this *ḥadīth* at length in his *Kitāb al-Gharīb* (*Book of the Strange*) and elsewhere.

Section: On the establishment by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of a pact of brotherhood between the Emigrants and the Helpers so that they would be friends.

As the Almighty stated, “And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith before them do love those who emigrated to them. They do not find in their hearts a need for what they are given, and prefer (them) even before themselves, despite their own poverty. Those who are saved from the meanness of themselves shall be successful” (*sūrat al-Ḥaṣhr*, LIX, v.9). And He also said, “as for those with whom you made agreements, give them their due; God is witness to all things” (*sūrat al-Nisā*; IV, v.33).

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Al-Ṣalt b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Idrīs, from Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, that Ibn ʿAbbās, commenting on the following verse, ‘And to everyone we have appointed heirs’ (*sūrat al-Nisā*; IV, v.33), said ‘The heirs of “those with whom you made agreements”

were the Emigrants who settled in Medina. They inherited from the Helpers (and vice versa) instead of from their own family, based on the brotherhood pact established between them by the Prophet (ṢAAS). However, when the verse "and to everyone we have appointed agents" was revealed, this practice was abrogated. Then He stated that the following verse, "as for those with whom you have made agreements, give them their due", henceforth referred to help, hospitality and advice. Inheritance was thus stopped and instead, testamentary endowment was made for such persons."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "The following was quoted from Sufyān, 'I heard 'Āṣim say, on the authority of Anas, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) made a pact between the Emigrants and the Helpers in our home."' Sufyān commented, "He seems to be saying that he established brotherhood between them."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established brotherhood between his fellow Emigrants and the Helpers, and said, from what I have heard – and God forbid our attributing to him what he did not say – he said, 'Become brothers in God's cause, each taking a brother for himself.'

"He then took the hand of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and said, 'This is my brother.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), lord of the prophets, the leader of the pious, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, and the most important and peerless of men, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib became brothers.

"Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, lion of God and lion of His Messenger as well as his uncle, and Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), became brothers. It was Zayd that Ḥamza appointed his heir at the battle of Uḥud. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib Dhū al-Janāḥayn and Mu'adh b. Jabal became brothers."

Ibn Hishām pointed out that at that time Ja'far was absent in Abyssinia.

Ibn Ishāq went on: "Abū Bakr and Khārija b. Zayd al-Khazraji, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and 'Itbān b. Mālik, Abū 'Ubayda and Sa'd b. Mu'adh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and Sa'd b. al-Rabī', al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and Salāma b. Salāma b. Waqsh, all became brothers. It is also said that al-Zubayr and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Aws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir al-Najjārī, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Ka'b b. Mālik, Sa'd b. Zayd and Ubayy b. Ka'b, Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr and Abū Ayyūb, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba and 'Abbād b. Bishr, 'Ammār and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-'Absī, the ally of 'Abd al-Ashhal, all became brothers. It is also said, however, that 'Ammār and Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās became brothers."

I observe that this chain of authorities comes through two lines.

He went on, "Abū Dharr Barīr b. Junāda and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, known as 'he who hurried on to death', Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balta'a and 'Uwaym b. Sā'ida, Salmān and Abū al-Dardā', Bilāl and Abū Ruwayḥa 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khath'amī, one of the Faza' – all these became brothers."

He continued, "These are the men who were named to us from among his Companions between whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established pacts of brotherhood. May God be pleased with them all."

I observe that there is controversy in some of what Ibn Ishāq stated.

Regarding the brotherhood established between the Prophet and ‘Ali, some scholars deny this and maintain it to be untrue. Their argument is that this brotherhood was only established to bring about closer feelings and ties between these individuals. There was no sense, therefore, in declaring a brotherly state between the Prophet (ṢAAS) and one of (his) own, nor between two men both of whom were Emigrants, as was the case, according to him, between Ḥamza and Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

Unless the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not wish to place the interests of ‘Ali in the hands of anyone but himself. For he was someone for whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made contributions from his youth on, during the lifetime of Abū Ṭālib, as has been told above from Mujāhid and others.

That might also be the case with Ḥamza, who had looked after the interests of their freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and so established a brotherhood pact with him. But God knows best.

The same applies to Ibn Ishāq’s reference to the brotherhood between Ja‘far and Mu‘adh b. Jabal, which is subject to dispute, as ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām observed. For Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭālib only arrived at the beginning of 7 AH at the time of the battle of Khaybar, as will be told hereafter. How, therefore, could there have been a tie of brotherhood made between him and Mu‘adh b. Jabal immediately following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina? Unless, of course, the arrangement was that this would go into effect whenever he did arrive.

‘Ibn Ishāq’s statement, “Abū ‘Ubayda and Sa‘d b. Mu‘adh became brothers,” contradicts what Imām Aḥmad stated, namely, “It was related to us by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a brotherhood pact between Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ and Abū Ṭalḥa.”

Muslim related this also, being the only one to relate this from Ḥajjāj b. al-Shā‘ir, from ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith.

This seems more reliable than what Ibn Ishāq recounted, of such a pact between Abū ‘Ubayda and Sa‘d b. Mu‘adh. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī’s text reads as follows, “*Chapter on how the Prophet (ṢAAS), established brotherhood between his Companions.* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf stated, “The Prophet (ṢAAS), established a bond of brotherhood between myself and Sa‘d b. al-Rabī‘ when we came to Medina.” Abū Juḥayfa stated, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) established brotherhood between Salmān the Persian and Abū al-Dardā’. God be pleased with him.”

Muḥammad b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, who said, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf arrived and the Prophet (ṢAAS) established brotherhood between him and Sa‘d b. al-Rabī‘, the Helper. The latter suggested that he share his family and his property with him. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān replied, ‘God bless you in both your family and your wealth. Show me the way to the market.’

There he made some profit from cottage cheese and fat. The Prophet (ṢAAS) saw him a few days later and he looked stained with yellow upon him. The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What's the matter with you, 'Abd al-Raḥmān?' He replied, 'I married a woman from among the Helpers.' 'What did you give her as dowry?' he asked. 'The weight of 5 dirhams worth of gold,' he replied. The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'Well, have a feast, if only with a sheep!'"

This is the sole account of this from this line. Al-Bukhārī related this also in other places as did Muslim from various lines, from Ḥumayd.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Affān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, Thābit and Ḥamid, from Anas, that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf came to Medina and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a pact of brotherhood between him and Sa'd b. al-Rabi', the Helper. Sa'd said to him, 'Now brother, I'm the wealthiest man in Medina. Take a share that appeals to you. I have two wives. Look and see which of them you prefer and I'll divorce her!'

"'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, 'May God bless you in your family and in your wealth. Show me the way to the market.' They did so and he engaged in buying and selling and made a profit. He ended up by bringing back some cottage cheese and cooking fat. Some time thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (saw him) with traces of saffron upon him and asked him, 'What's the matter with you?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I married a woman.' 'What did you give her in dowry?' he asked. 'The weight of 5 dirhams worth of gold,' he replied. 'Well,' he commented, 'have a feast, if only with a sheep!'

"'Abd al-Raḥmān observed, 'I was in such a state that if I had lifted a single rock I would have hoped to find gold and silver.'"

The additional comment given here by al-Bukhārī from 'Abd al-Raḥmān seems strange, for the only source given for it was Anas. Unless, of course, Anas was told this by 'Abd al-Raḥmān. God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yazīd related to us, that Ḥumayd informed him, from Anas, as follows, 'The Emigrants said, "O Messenger of God, we've never been to people who are better prepared to give help in hopes of so little or more willing to give from so much. They have spared us such difficulty and shared such comfort with us we're afraid they're the only ones getting rewards." He replied, "No, there's all the great praise you've given them, and you have also prayed to God for them.'"

The line of transmission of this *ḥadīth* is two-thirds in accord with the criteria for both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. None of the authors of the six canonical books of traditions give this particular line. It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections along a different path.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Ḥakam b. Nāfi' informed us, quoting Shu'ayb, quoting Abū al-Zinād, from al-A'raj, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Helpers said, "Divide up the palm trees between us and our brothers." "No," he replied. They said, "You recompense us with your hard work, and we will have you share in the fruits." "We hear and obey," they responded.'"

He is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the Helpers, ‘Your brothers have left behind their wealth and their children and have come forth to you.’ They commented, ‘Our property is to be divided up between us then.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, ‘Well, is there some alternative?’ ‘What could there be, O Messenger of God?’ they asked. He replied, ‘These are people who don’t mind hard work; provide some for them and share the fruits.’ ‘We will,’ they agreed.”

We have previously mentioned the reports and references made concerning the virtues of the Helpers and their fine qualities confirmed by God’s words, “And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith before them” (*sūrat al-Hashr*; LIX, v.9).

Chapter: On the death of Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Zurāra.

He was Ibn ‘Adas b. ‘Ubayd b. Tha‘laba b. Ghanm b. Mālīk b. al-Najjār, one of the 12 leaders on the night of the pledge made by his people the Banū al-Najjār at al-‘Aqaba. He was present at all 3 meetings there, and was the first to make a verbal pledge of his allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the second. He was a young man and was the first to bring the men together in Medina, at Naqī‘ al-Khaḍamāt in the plain of the Nabīṭ. This has been discussed above.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Zurāra died in these months, while the mosque was being built. He died from diptheria or from coughing.”

Ibn Jarīr stated in his history, “Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā informed us, Yazīd b. Zuray‘ related to us, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cauterized As‘ad b. Zurāra in the tongue.”

The men in this chain of authorities are considered reliable.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm related to me, from Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. As‘ad b. Zurāra, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “The death of Abū Umāma is a great pity with respect to the Jews and the Arab hypocrites. They will say, ‘If he were a prophet, his companion would not have died.’ But I have no power from God over this for myself or for my friends.”’”

This means that he has to have been the first man to die after the arrival in Medina of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr has claimed in *al-Ghāba (The Jungle)* that he died in the month of Shawwāl, seven months following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. But God knows best.

Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq related, from ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda, that the Banū al-Najjār asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to appoint a leader for them to succeed Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Zurāra. He replied, “You are my uncles and I am here among you; I will be your leader.” He disliked the idea of singling out any

one of them above the others. It was a credit to the Banū al-Najjār that they took pride among their peers in having the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as their leader.

Ibn al-Athīr observed, "This fact refutes the statements of Abū Nu'aym and Ibn Mundah to the effect that As'ad b. Zurāra was leader of the Banū Sā'ida; in fact he led the Banū al-Najjār."

Ibn al-Athīr was correct in saying this.

Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr stated in his history work, "The first Muslim who died after the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina was, so they say, the owner of his house, Kulthūm b. al-Hadm. He died soon after his arrival. The next to die was As'ad b. Zurāra, whose death was that same year of his arrival and before the construction of the mosque was completed. He died of either diphtheria or from coughing."

I observe here that the full name of this man was Kulthūm b. al-Hadm b. Imru' al-Qays b. al-Hārith b. Zayd b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mālik b. al-Aws, the Helper and member of the Aws tribe. Of the family of 'Amr b. 'Awf, he was a very elderly sheikh who had accepted Islam before the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came there he stayed at night in Qubā' in Kulthūm's house, and then during the day would talk with his Companions in the home of Sa'd b. al-Rabī', God be pleased with them both, until he moved to the home of the Banū al-Najjār, as related above.

Ibn al-Athīr stated, "It has been said that he was the first Muslim to die following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that the death of As'ad b. Zurāra followed his. Al-Ṭabarī stated this."

Chapter: On the birth of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in the month of Shawwāl in the year when the emigration occurred.

The first birth to the Emigrants in the Islamic era was 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Similarly, al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr was the first child born to the Helpers after the emigration. God be pleased with them both.

Some claim that Ibn al-Zubayr was born 20 months after the emigration. Abū al-Aswad said this. Al-Wāqidī related this from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, from his father, from his grandfather.

They claim that al-Nu'mān was born 6 months before al-Zubayr, some 14 months after the emigration.

The truth is as we have said above. Al-Bukhārī stated, "Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from Asmā', who said, regarding her pregnancy with 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, "When I emigrated, I was at term. When I came to Medina I stayed in Qubā' and gave birth to him there. Then I took him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and placed him in his lap. He then called for a date, which he masticated then spat into his mouth. And so the first thing that entered the baby's stomach was the

saliva of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then gave him a date to chew on, prayed for him and blessed him. He was the first baby born in Islam.” This account was followed by one of Khālīd b. Makhḷad, from ‘Alī b. Mushir, from Hishām, from his father, from Asmā’, to the effect that she was pregnant when she emigrated to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Qutayba related to us, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, “The first child born in Islam was ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. They brought him to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he took a date which he chewed, then placed in the baby’s mouth. And so the first food that entered his stomach was the saliva of the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

This refutes al-Wāqīdī and others, because he reported that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Rāfi’ back to Mecca with ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Urayqit’ to bring his and Abū Bakr’s children. They brought them back right after the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Asmā’ was pregnant and near term, that is almost ready to deliver her child. When she did so the Muslims let out great shouts of “God is Most Great” in their joy at the birth because it had come to their attention that the Jews had used magic against them so that they would not have children following their emigration. And so God had refuted what the Jews were claiming.

DIVISION

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with ‘Ā’isha in the month of Shawwāl that year.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Waki’ related to me, quoting Sufyān, from Ismā’īl b. Umayya, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a marriage contract with me in (the month of) Shawwāl and consummated the marriage in Shawwāl; and which of his wives did he favour more than myself?’”

‘Ā’isha used to prefer to have her women marry in Shawwāl.

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā’ī, and Ibn Māja related this on various paths from al-Thawrī. Al-Tirmidhī considered it *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*,⁴⁶ “good and authentic”; we know of it only from Sufyān al-Thawrī.

According to this the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ‘Ā’isha took place in the seventh or eighth month after the emigration. Both statements were related by Ibn Jarīr, who commented earlier, in his treatment of his marriage with Sawda, on how he had married ‘Ā’isha after they had arrived in Medina, and that his marriage was at al-Sunḥ and during the daytime. This is in contrast to the normal practice of people today. In his marrying her in Shawwāl there is a refutation of those who express disfavour for marriage occurring between the two

46. The term designates a *ḥadīth* that is deemed more clearly authentic than one designated as *ḥasan*, but less so than one considered *ṣaḥīḥ*.

feasts, out of fear of the couple's later separation. There is nothing to this, as is shown by what 'Ā'isha said in reply to those people who imagined this for that time, that is, she said, "He made the marriage contract with me in Shawwāl and consummated the marriage in Shawwāl; and which of his wives did he favour more than myself?"

This shows that she understood from him that she was the wife he favoured most. And this belief of hers is shown to have been correct by various clear proofs, if only by that definite statement given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī from 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ which states, "I said, O Messenger of God, which person do you most favour?" He replied, "'Ā'isha." I then asked, "And which man?" "Her father," he replied.

DIVISION

Ibn Jarīr stated, "That same year, the first year of the hegira, the length of the *ṣalāt al-ḥaḍar*, the prayer while at home, was increased by two *rakʿāt*,⁴⁷ prayer cycles, or so it is said. Previously both the prayer at home and while travelling had been two *rakʿāt*. This came about after the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the 12th of Rabiʿ al-Ākhir."

He said, "Al-Wāqidi maintained that there was no dispute among the people of Ḥijāz on this subject."

I observe that previously I have given the *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī through Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When first made obligatory, prayer was prescribed as needing two *rakʿāt*. This was affirmed for prayer while travelling, but it was increased for prayer while at home."

This was also related through al-Shaʿbī back to Masrūq.

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, that when the prayer at home was first made obligatory, it was established as four *rakʿāt*. But God knows best.

We discussed this in the exegesis of *sūrat al-Nisāʾ*, with regards to the words of the Almighty, "And when you travel over the earth, there is no blame on you if you shorten the prayer" (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.101).

Chapter: On the call to prayer and its legitimacy upon the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Medina.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was secure in Medina, his emigrant brothers gathered around him and the Helpers were united, Islam became firmly established. Prayer was instituted and the *zakāt*, the alms tax, and fasting were made obligatory. Punishments were prescribed, and those matters that were made permissible or forbidden were determined. Islam took firm hold there among them.

47. A *rakʿa* is an entire cycle of prayer, consisting of standing, bowing once and prostrating twice.

It was this community of Helpers to whom God made reference in the words, "And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith" (*sūrat al-Ḥaṣhr*; LIX, v.9).

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first came to Medina, the people would gather with him for prayer at the appointed times without any summons to them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then wanted to have a horn blown like that the Jews use to call their people to prayer. But he grew to dislike this and ordered a hand bell be used. One was made to be struck to bring the Muslims to the prayer.

While this was the practice ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Tha‘ālabā b. ‘Abd Rabbiḥī, the brother of Ibn al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, saw a vision and came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, last night I had a vision. I saw a man pass me by who was wearing two green garments and he carried a bell in his hand. I asked him, 'Will you sell me that bell?' He responded, 'What will you do with it?' I replied, 'We'll use it to summon people to prayer.' He asked, 'Shall I tell you a better way?' 'What would that be?' I asked. He told me, 'You should call out, "Allāhu Akbar! Allāhu Akbar! Allāhu Akbar! (God is Most Great) I bear witness that there is no god but God. I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Come to prayer! Come to prayer! Come to salvation! Come to salvation! Allāhu Akbar! Allāhu Akbar! There is no god but God!"'

"Having been told this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'These are – if God wills it – visions of truth. Stand with Bilāl and deliver them to him so that he can use them to announce the call to prayer; he has a stronger voice than you.'

"When Bilāl made the call to prayer using these words ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb heard him while in his house and came out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dragging his cloak behind him and saying, 'O Prophet of God, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth that I saw the same vision!'

"All praise be to God!" exclaimed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith related this *ḥadīth* to me, from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Zayd b. Tha‘ālabā b. ‘Abd Rabbiḥī, from his father."

Abū Dā‘ūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja and Ibn Khuzayma all related this *ḥadīth* through Muḥammad b. Ishāq. Al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Khuzayma and others all deemed it authentic.

According to Abū Dā‘ūd he (the vision) also taught him (‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd) the *iqāma*,⁴⁸ saying, "Then, to begin the prayer, you say, 'God is Great! God is Great! I bear witness that there is no god but God! I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Come to prayer! Come to salvation! The prayer has begun! The prayer has begun! God is Great! God is Great! There is no god but God!'"

Ibn Māja related this *ḥadīth* from Abū ‘Ubayd Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd b. Maymūn from Muḥammad b. Salama al-Ḥarrānī from Ibn Ishāq, as stated above.

48. The second call to prayer, indicating its commencement.

He then stated, "Abū 'Ubayd said, 'Abū Bakr al-Ḥakamī informed me that 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd, the Helper, spoke the following verse on this:

'Praise be to God, the Sublime, the Revered, great
praise for the call to prayer,
For there having come to me the herald from God; honour
him as a herald to me!
For three nights he dedicated thus, and each time he
came to me he brought me greater honour!'"

I observe that this poetry is strange for it implies that 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd saw the vision for three nights before he informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The Imām Aḥmad related this from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq. And he stated, "Al-Zuhri related from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd, approximately the same account as given by Ibn Ishāq from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, but that account did not include the verses."

Ibn Māja stated, "Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī related to us, quoting his father, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from his father, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the advice of the community on what to use to commence the prayer. They mentioned the horn, but he disliked this because of its use by the Jews. They then referred to the bell, but he disliked this because of its use by the Christians. That night a vision of the call to prayer came to a helper named 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd and to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The Helper made his way at night to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who gave orders to Bilāl, who made the call to prayer using it."

Al-Zuhri stated, "Bilāl made an addition in the morning call to prayer, namely twice saying the words 'prayer is better than sleep'. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) agreed to this. 'Umar told him, 'O Messenger of God, I saw the same vision as he did but he preceded me.'"

Material relating to this section will be given in the chapter on the call to prayer in the large work *al-Aḥkām (The Statutes)*. If God Almighty wills it, and in Him is our trust.

In a *ḥadīth* given by al-Suhaylī with the following line of authority through al-Bazzār, Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Makhliḍ related, quoting his father, from Ziyād b. al-Mundhir, from Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father, from his grandfather, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who made reference to the *ḥadīth* respecting the *isrā'*, the ascent to heaven, as follows, "And an angel emerged from behind the screen and he made the call to prayer using this call. Each time he said a word, God Almighty verified it. Then the angel took the hand of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and brought him forward. He then led the family of heaven, who included Adam and Noah, in the prayer." Al-Suhaylī then said, "You may view this *ḥadīth* as authentic for the support it gives and resemblance it has to the *ḥadīth* relating to the ascent to heaven."

But this *ḥadīth* is not, as al-Suhaylī maintained, authentic. In fact it is unacceptable. Ziyād b. al-Mundhir Abū al-Jārūd is he to whom is attributed the

"*Jārūdiyya* sect",⁴⁹ he being among those accused. Moreover, if this had been what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had heard on the night of his ascent to heaven, he would have ordered it to be used in the call to prayer immediately following the emigration. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated that Ibn Jurayj quoted 'Aṭā' as having said, "I heard 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) had discussed with his Companions the use of a bell to summon people to prayer. While 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was planning to buy two pieces of wood for the bell, he had a vision while he slept and was told, "Do not make a bell; instead call people to prayer."'

"'Umar went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) to tell him what he had seen. The Prophet had himself received revelation of that. 'Umar was consequently very surprised to hear Bilāl make the call to prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to him, when he ('Umar) told him of his experience, "Revelation of this preceded you!"'"

This shows that the revelation had come in confirmation of what 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. 'Abd Rabbiḥ had seen in the vision or so some authorities state. But God Almighty knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, that a woman of the Banū al-Najjār told him, 'My house was one of the tallest around the mosque. Bilāl would make the call to prayer on top of it early each morning. He would come just before dawn and sit above the house waiting for daybreak. When he saw it he would stretch out and say, "O God, I praise You and seek Your help for Quraysh to adopt Your religion."' She concluded, 'And then he would make the call to prayer. I never knew him to miss one night.'"

That is, to miss saying those words.

Abū Dā'ūd was the only other to relate this.

Chapter: On the expedition of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, may God be pleased with him.

Ibn Jarir stated, "Al-Wāqidi claimed that in the month of Ramaḍān of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib over 30 of the Emigrants, having presented him with a white standard, to interfere with Quraysh caravans. Al-Wāqidi states that Ḥamza confronted Abū Jahl at the head of 300 Quraysh men, but that Majdī b. 'Amr intervened between them, and so they did not engage in battle.

"He also said that it was Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī who carried the flag for Ḥamza."

Chapter: On the expedition of 'Ubayda b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

Ibn Jarir stated, "Al-Wāqidi also claimed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Shawwāl, at the beginning of the eighth month of that year, entrusted a white banner to 'Ubayda b. al-Hārith and ordered him to proceed into the Rabigh valley.

49. A denomination of the Zaydiyya Shī'a founded by him and known by his name.

"His flag was carried by Mistah b. Uthātha. He reached Thaniyyāt al-Murra, not far from al-Juhfa, in the company of 60 Emigrants, there being no Helpers present. They met up with the polytheists at a well called Ahyā'. They shot arrows at one another, but did not engage in sword play."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The polytheists were 200 in number and were led by Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Harb. This is what we believed to be well established, though it is also said that they were led by Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ.

DIVISION

Al-Wāqidi stated, "In that same first year, in Dhū al-Qa'da, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented a white banner to Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and sent him to al-Kharrār; the flag was carried by al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad.

"Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl related to me, from his father, from 'Āmir b. Sa'd, from his father, who said, 'I left with 20 men, by foot' – or he said 'with 21 men'. 'We would hide by day and travel by night. We got to al-Kharrār on the morning of the fifth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had instructed me to go no further than al-Kharrār. The caravan had preceded me there by a day.'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The caravan consisted of 60; all those with Sa'd were Emigrants."

Abū Ja'far b. Jarir stated, "It was the view of Ibn Ishāq that these three expeditions mentioned by al-Wāqidi all occurred in the second year of the hegira."

I observe that the statements attributed to Ibn Ishāq by Abū Ja'far are not seen as authentic by any who contemplates them, as we will show early in our work on the military expeditions in materials relating to the second year of the hegira. That work will follow the present one, if God wills it.

It is likely that what he means is that these expeditions occurred in the first year. We will give more details and comments on them when we get to them, if God Almighty wills it.

Al-Wāqidi gives full information and a well-organized historical account. He is one of the great Imams of this field of study. He is trustworthy and writes at length. We commented on what is both reliable and unreliable from him in our projected work *al-Takmil fi Ma'rifat al-Thiqāt wa al-Du'afā' wa al-Majāhil* (Full Information on those Authorities who are Trustworthy, Unreliable or Ignorant). All praise and credit are due to God.

DIVISION

Those born in that blessed year, the first of the hegira, included 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. He was the first to be born in Islam following the emigration, as al-Bukhārī related from his mother Asmā' and his aunt 'Ā'isha, mother of the believers, both daughters of Abū Bakr, "the Trusting"; may God be pleased with both women.

There are those who say that al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr was born six months prior to him. According to that, Ibn al-Zubayr would have been the first child born to Emigrants following the emigration.

Some people suggest that they were both born in the second year of the hegira.

The former is obviously correct, as we have shown above. And all credit be to God. We will make reference to this second statement, if God Almighty wills it, in dealing with the end of that second year.

Ibn Jarir stated, "It has been said that al-Mukhtār b. Abū 'Ubayd and Ziyād b. Sumayya were born in that first year. But God knows best."

Among the Companions who died that first year were Kulthūm b. al-Hadm al-Awsī, in whose home the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Qubā' prior to his departure to the home of the Banū al-Najjār, as told above. Later that same year Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra, the leader of the Banū al-Najjār, died, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still building the mosque. This has been related above. May God be pleased with both these deceased men.

Ibn Jarir stated, "That year, the first of the hegira, Abū 'Uḡayḡa died on his property in Ṭā'if. Also al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra died, as did al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il al-Sahmī in Mecca."

I observe that these men died while still polytheists. They did not accept God, the Almighty and Glorious.

An Account of what happened in the second year of the hegira.

In this year many military expeditions took place, the most important and glorious of these being the great battle of Badr, which occurred in Ramaḡān. It was the battle that God used to make a clear distinction between truth and falsehood, right guidance and error.

Now is the occasion to make mention of the military expeditions and the delegations sent. We therefore state (as follows), and we seek help from God in doing so.

THE BOOK OF MILITARY EXPEDITIONS.

Imām Muḡammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār stated the following in his work of biography, after giving information about the Jewish rabbis and their declaration of enmity against Islam and the verses making mention of them. Of these men was Ḥuyayy b. Akḡṭab and his two brothers, Abū Yāsir and Judayy. Also there were Sallām b. Mishkam, Kināna b. al-Rabī' b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, otherwise known as Abū Rāfi' al-A'war. The latter was a trader of the Ḥijāz and one who was killed by the Companions at Khaybar, as will be shown later. Also, there were 'Amr b. Jaḡḡāsh, Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, he being of Ṭā'ī and

of the Banū Nabhān; his mother was of the Banū al-Naḍir. He was killed by the Companions before Abū Rāfi', as will be shown, along with his two allies al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Umar and Kardam b. Qays. God curse them all!

These men were from the Banū al-Naḍir.

From the Banū Thaḷaba b. al-Fityawn there was 'Abd Allāh b. Šūriyā. There was no man in the Ḥijāz more learned in the Torah than he was.

I would observe here that he is said to have accepted Islam.

And there were Ibn Šalūbā and Mukhayriq, the latter accepting Islam, as will be mentioned later, at the battle of Uḥud; he had been his people's rabbi.

From the Banū Qaynuqā' there was Zayd b. al-Laṣīṭ, Sa'd b. Ḥanīf, Maḥmūd b. Sayḥān, 'Uzayz b. Abū 'Uzayz, 'Abd Allāh b. Dayf, Suwayd b. al-Ḥārith, Rifā'a b. Qays, Finḥās, Ashya', Nu'mān b. Aḍā, Baḥrī b. 'Amr, Sha's b. 'Adī, Sha's b. Qays, Zayd b. al-Ḥārith, Nu'mān b. 'Amr, Sukayn b. Abū Sukayn, 'Adī b. Zayd, Nu'mān b. Abū Awfā, Abū Anas, Maḥmūd b. Daḥya, Mālik b. Šayf, Ka'b b. Rashid, 'Azir, Rāfi' b. Abū Rāfi', Khālid, and Azār b. Abū Azār. The last-mentioned should be named Āzar b. Abū Āzar according to Ibn Hishām. Also there were Rāfi' b. Ḥāritha, Rāfi' b. Ḥuraymala, Rāfi' b. Khārija, Mālik b. 'Awf, Rifā'a b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt and 'Abd Allāh b. Salām.

I observe that the last-mentioned had earlier accepted Islam, God be pleased with him. Ibn Ishāq stated, "He was their rabbi and most learned man. His name had been al-Ḥuṣayn, and when he accepted Islam the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) named him 'Abd Allāh."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "From the Banū Qurayza there were al-Zubayr b. Baṭā b. Wahb, 'Azzāl b. Shamwīl, and Ka'b b. Asad. The last-mentioned was the one who had signed for his tribe the agreement they broke in the year of the *aḥzāb*, the schisms. Also there were Shamwīl b. Zayd, Jabal b. 'Amr b. Sukayna, al-Naḥḥām b. Zayd, Kardam b. Ka'b, Wahb b. Zayd, Nāfi' b. Abū Nāfi', 'Adī b. Zayd, al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf, Kardam b. Zayd, Usāma b. Ḥabīb, Rāfi' b. Rumayla, Jabal b. Abū Qushayr and Wahb b. Yahūdḥā.

From the Banū Zurayq there was Labīd b. A'ṣam, who had put a spell on the Messenger of God (ŠAAS).

From the Jews of the Banū Ḥāritha there was Kināna b. Šūriyā.

From the Jews of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf there was Qardam b. 'Amr.

From the Jews of the Banū al-Najjār there was Silsila b. Barḥām."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "All these men were rabbis and men of evil intent and full of antagonism towards the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) and his Companions, God be pleased with them. They were those who asked the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) many questions in their desire to confuse and to express their obstinacy and disbelief. They were men who made difficulties for Islam and who tried to extinguish it. Exceptions to this were 'Abd Allāh b. Salām and Mukhayriq."

Ibn Ishāq then related the acceptance of Islam by 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, along with that of his aunt Khālidā, as we mentioned above.

He also told of the conversion to Islam by Mukhayriq on the day of the battle of Uḥud, details of which will come later. He told his people, it being a Sabbath, "O Jews, you well know that Muḥammad has a right to expect your help." They replied, "But today is the Sabbath." He replied, "You shall have no Sabbath!" He then took his weapons and went off to battle. He made a charge upon his people who were staying behind, as follows, "If I should be killed today, then my properties are to go to Muḥammad to dispose of as God shows him." He was a very wealthy man.

"He then joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fought until he was killed. God be pleased with him."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, as I have been told, 'Mukhayriq was the best Jew.'"

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq then listed the names of those hypocrites from Aws and Khazraj, who joined the Jews antagonistic to Islam.

From Aws there were: Zuwayy b. al-Ḥārith, Julās b. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, the Helper. It was about him that the verse was revealed, "They swear by God that they did not speak. But they did speak words of disbelief; they apostatized after accepting Islam" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.74). This was because he said, after having withdrawn from the expedition against Tabūk, "If this man speaks the truth, then we are worse than donkeys!"

"The son of al-Julās's wife, a man named ʿUmayr b. Saʿd reported this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) but al-Julās denied it, swearing that he had never said that. The verse was therefore revealed concerning him."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "It is claimed that he later truly repented and that he was known for his piety.

"Also there was his brother al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd; it was he who killed al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād al-Balawī and Qays b. Zayd, one of the Banū Dubayʿa at the battle of Uḥud. Al-Ḥārith had gone to war on the Muslims' side, but he was a hypocrite and when the battle was joined he fought and killed both these men and joined the Quraysh forces."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Al-Mujadhdhar had killed his father Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit in an engagement before the coming of Islam. Al-Ḥārith was taking revenge upon him at the battle of Uḥud."

This is what Ibn Hishām said, but according to Ibn Ishāq it was Muʿadh b. ʿAfrāʾ who killed him in a non-military engagement before the battle of Buʿāth, by shooting him with an arrow.

Ibn Hishām denied that it was al-Ḥārith who killed Qays b. Thābit, on the grounds that Ibn Ishāq did not include the latter among those killed at Uḥud.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to kill him if he could catch him. Al-Ḥārith, however, sent a message

to his brother al-Julās seeking forgiveness so that he could return to his people. And so it was, as I have been informed on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, that God revealed, "How could God lead a people aright who have apostatized after having believed and given testimony that the Messenger is the truth, and after they had received proofs? God does not guide a people who are unjust" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.86).

"Also there were Bijād b. 'Uthmān b. 'Āmir and Nabtāl b. al-Ḥārith. It was about the latter that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Whoever would like to see Satan, let him look at this man!' He was a very tall, black man with a mass of hair, red eyes and flushed cheeks. He used to listen to what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said then report on it to the hypocrites. It was he who said, 'Muḥammad is just ears; he believes what anyone says to him!' God revealed concerning him, 'And among them are those who harm the Prophet by saying that he is ears' (*sūrat al-Taḥā* or *al-Bārā'a*; IX, v.61).

"And there was Abū Ḥabība b. al-Aẓ'ar. He was one of those who built the mosque at al-Ḍirār. Also there were Tha'labā b. Ḥāṭib and Mu'attib b. Qushayr. It was these two who promised God that if He gave them of His bounty they would believe. They, however, broke their promise upon which the above was revealed. It was Mu'attib who said at the battle of Uḥud, 'If we had any say in it, we'd not be killed here!' A verse was then revealed about him. It was also he who said, at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, the 'schisms', 'Muḥammad used to promise us we would enjoy the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar, but we're not safe to go to the toilet!' The verse revealed about him was 'and when the hypocrites, and those in whose breasts is disease, say, "All that God and His Messenger have promised us is mere fancy"' (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.12).

Ibn Ishāq went on, "And there was al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib."

Ibn Hishām commented, "Regarding Mu'attib b. Qushayr, and Tha'labā and al-Ḥārith, the two sons of Ḥāṭib, they were of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd and took part in the battle of Badr. These were not hypocrites, or so I have been told by a scholar whom I trust. Ibn Ishāq in fact mentioned Tha'labā and al-Ḥārith as being of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd and gave their names as participants in the battle of Badr."

Ibn Ishāq's account continues, "Also there were 'Abbād b. Ḥunayf, brother of Sahl b. Ḥunayf, and Baḥzaj, who participated in building the mosque, al-Ḍirār. And there were 'Amr b. Khidhām, 'Abd Allāh b. Nabtāl, Jāriya b. 'Āmir b. al-'Aṭṭāf and his two sons Yazīd and Mujmi', also involved in the construction of the Ḍirār mosque. Mujmi' was a young man who had collected most parts of the Qur'ān and would pray with the others in prayer there. When the Ḍirār mosque was destroyed, after the Tabūk expedition, as will be explained hereafter, during the reign of 'Umar, the people of Qubā' asked the Caliph whether Mujmi' could lead them in prayer. He refused, saying, 'By God, was he not the Imām of the hypocrites in the Ḍirār mosque?'"

"But Mujmi' swore by God that he knew nothing about them; and they say that 'Umar let him go and that he did lead them in prayer.

"And there was Wadī'a b. Thābit, also one of those who built the Dīrār mosque. It was he who said, 'But we're only being sociable and having fun.' And a reference was made in the Qur'ān to that.

"And there was Khidām b. Khālid; it was he from whose house the Dīrār mosque was made."

Ibn Hishām added to the names given by Ibn Ishāq of the hypocrites of the Banū al-Nābit b. al-Aws those of Bishr and Rāfi', two sons of Zayd.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "And there was Mirba' b. Qayzā; he was blind. It was he who said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was crossing through his garden on the way to the battle of Uḥud, 'I'll not allow you, even if you are a prophet, to pass through my garden!' And he picked up a handful of dirt and said, 'I swear, if I knew I would not strike anyone but yourself, I'd throw this at you!' The Muslims made for him to kill him, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Leave him alone. This blind man is blind in his heart as well as in his sight.' Sa'd b. Zayd al-Ashhal, however, had already injured him with his bow.

"And there was Mirba's brother Aws b. Qayzā, who made the comment, 'Our houses are exposed.' And so God said, 'They are not exposed; all they want is to take flight' (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.13).

"And there was Ḥaṭīb b. Umayya b. Rāfi'. He was a powerful sheikh who was long set in the ways of pre-Islamic ignorance. He had a son who was among the best of Muslims. His name was Yazīd b. Ḥaṭīb, and he was so injured at the battle of Uḥud that his wounds disabled him and he was borne to the home of the Banū Zafar.

"Aṣīm b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that the Muslims there, both men and women, gathered around him while he was dying and began telling him, 'Rejoice in the gardens of paradise, Ibn Ḥaṭīb!' His father's hypocrisy then emerged and he began saying, 'Right! Gardens of rue! You have, by God, deluded this poor wretch about himself!'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "And there was Bashīr b. Ubayriq Abū Tu'ma, the man who stole the two breast-plates. It was of him that God spoke in the words, 'Do not argue for those who are treacherous to themselves' (*sūrat al-Nisā*; IV, v.107).

"And there was Quzmān, the ally of the Banū Zūfīr, who killed seven men at Uḥud and then when in pain from his own wounds, killed himself, saying, 'I swear, I only fought in defence of my people!' He then died, God damn him!"⁵⁰

50. In Ibn Ishāq's text as translated by Guillaume, *op. cit.* p. 245, Quzmān is reported to kill seven polytheists and to have been well treated by the Muslims when he was wounded. It was, according to that text, when he was congratulated by the Muslims on his valour for the cause that he responded with the words attributed to him here, and that he then killed himself. Presumably he is being damned in this text both for denying that he had been fighting for Islam rather than for his people, and for committing suicide.

Ibn Ishāq then stated, "There are no men or women of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal known as hypocrites; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Thābit, however, was charged with hypocrisy and love of the Jews."

All the above persons were from Aws.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And of Khazraj there were Rāfi' b. Wadī'a, Zayd b. 'Amr, 'Amr b. Qays, Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl and al-Jadd b. Qays. It was the last-named who said, 'Give me leave; do not try me.'⁵¹

"And there was 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl who was the chief hypocrite and leader of the Aws and Khazraj as well. They had previously agreed, before the coming of Islam, to appoint him their king, but when God led them to Islam before they did so, the accursed fellow was greatly offended and angered. It is he who said, 'If we get back to Medina the strong will definitely drive out of it the weak!'"

Very many verses were revealed about this man and also about Wadī'a, a man of the Banū 'Awf, as about Mālik b. Abū Qawqal, Suwayd and Dā'is who were all of his gang. About them the Almighty revealed, "If they are driven out, they will not go forth with them" (*sūrat al-Ḥaṣhr*; LIX, v.12). This was when they allied secretly with the Banū al-Naḍir.

DIVISION

Then Ibn Ishāq made mention of those Jewish rabbis who had accepted Islam as if God-fearing men while in secret they were unbelievers; and they were followed by the worst of the hypocrites among whom were: Sa'd b. Ḥanīf and Zayd b. al-Laṣīṭ. It was the latter who commented, when the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) strayed, 'Muḥammad claims that information reaches him from heaven, yet he doesn't know the whereabouts of his camel!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'I only know what God tells me; and He has guided me towards it. My camel is in this defile, her bridle caught in a tree.' Some of the Muslims then went and found it just so."

Ibn Ishāq went on: "And there were Nu'mān b. Awfā, 'Uthmān b. Awfā and Rāfi' b. Ḥuraymala. The last-mentioned is the one of whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, so I have been told, when the man died, 'One of the great hypocrites has died today.'

"Also there was Rifā'a b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt. On the day of his death a great wind arose just as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was returning from Tabūk and he said, 'It is blowing due to the death of a great unbeliever.' And when they reached Medina they found that Rifā'a had died that day.

"Also there was Silsila b. Burhām, and Kināna b. Ṣūriyā.

"These, then, are the Jewish hypocrites who had accepted Islam."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "These hypocrites would attend the mosque and listen to the Muslims' talk, ridiculing and making fun of their religion.

51. Presumably a reference to *sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barā'a*; IX, v.49.

"Some of them gathered in the mosque one day and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw them talking among themselves, sitting together and speaking in low voices. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that they be removed from the mosque and they were, forcibly.

"Abū Ayyūb went up to 'Amr b. Qays, one of the Banū al-Najjār, who had been the guardian of their gods in the pre-Islamic era, took him by the foot and pulled him until he had got him outside, while the other man said, 'God damn! Would you evict me, Abū Ayyūb, from the date shed of the Banū Tha'labā?"

"Abū Ayyūb then went up to Rāfi' b. Wadī'a al-Najjārī and grabbed him by the cloak, pulled at him hard, slapped his face and threw him out of the mosque, saying, 'Yekh! You dirty hypocrite!"

"Umāra b. Ḥazm seized Zayd b. 'Amr, who had a long beard, and pulled him along by it until he had evicted him from the mosque. 'Umāra then clenched his fists and hit him with them hard in his chest, knocking him down. Zayd complained, 'Umāra, you've grazed me!' At this 'Umāra replied, 'Clear off with you, hypocrite! What God has in store for you is far worse! Don't ever come near the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) again!"

"Abū Muḥammad Mas'ūd b. Aws b. Zayd b. Aṣram b. Zayd b. Tha'labā b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, who fought at Badr, went up to Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl, who was just a lad, the only youth among the hypocrites. Abū Muḥammad pushed Qays by the back of his neck till he had evicted him.

"One of the Banū Khudra approached a man called al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr who wore his hair thick, seized him by it and pulled him violently across the ground until he had evicted him. At this the hypocrite yelled, 'You're being very rough, Abū al-Ḥārith!' 'You deserve it,' he was told, 'you enemy of God you, for what has been revealed about you. Don't you come near the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) again; you're filth!"

"A man of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf went for the previous man's brother, Zuwayb b. al-Ḥārith and forcibly evicted him, expressing his disgust for him and saying, 'Satan and his work have charge of you!"

Ibn Ishāq then referred to the passages in *sūrat al-Baqara* (Qur'ān, II) and in *sūrat al-Tawba* (Qur'ān, IX) that refer to the hypocrites and offered full and effective explanations of these. God bless him!

An Account of the first military expedition, that of al-Abwā', also called Waddān, and the first of the delegations sent.

This involved the dispatch of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib or 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith, as will be explained regarding the military expeditions.

Al-Bukhārī's text reads as follows: *Book of the Military Expeditions*. Ibn Ishāq stated, "The first battle fought by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that of al-Abwā', followed by that of Buwāt, followed by that of al-'Ushayra."

He then related how Zayd b. Arqam was asked how many military expeditions the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent. He replied, "There were 19, in 17 of which he participated; the first of these was to al-ʿUsayra (or al-ʿUshayra)."

An account will follow in the sequel of the expedition to al-ʿUshayra, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust, along with the chains of authority and words used in reporting on it as well as comments about it.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from Burayda, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set in motion 16 military expeditions."

Muslim quoted Burayda as saying that he accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on 16 expeditions. He also quotes him as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 19 expeditions and himself fought in 8 of them.

Al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid stated, from Ibn Burayda, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 17 expeditions and fought in 8, those at Badr, Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, al-Muraysīʿ, Qudayd, Khaybar, Mecca and Ḥunayn, and that he sent out 24 raids.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated, "Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Dimashqī al-Tanūkhī related to us, quoting al-Haytham b. Ḥumayd, quoting al-Nuʿmān from Makhḥūl, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 18 expeditions and himself fought in 8. The first of these was at Badr, followed by Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, Qurayza, Bīr Maʿūna, that against the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzāʿa, Khaybar, Mecca, Ḥunayn and al-Ṭāʾif."

His placing that of Bīr Maʿūna after that of Qurayza is open to dispute. The truth is that it followed Uḥud, as will be shown.

Yaʿqūb stated that Salama b. Shabīb related to him, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, (who stated) "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 18 expeditions.' But on another occasion I heard him say 24. I don't know whether this was mere fancy or something he heard later."

Al-Ṭabrānī recounted from al-Dabari, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 24 expeditions."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumayd stated in his *ḥadīth* collection, "Saʿīd b. Sallām related to us, quoting Zakariyyāʾ b. Ishāq and Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 21 expeditions.'"

Al-Ḥākim recounted, through Hishām, from Qatāda, that the expeditions and night raids organized by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 43. Al-Ḥākim then commented, "Perhaps he meant raids apart from the military expeditions, for in the work *al-Iklil* (*Three Bright Stars*) more than 100 raids of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) are arranged in order."

He went on, "A reliable scholar of Bukhārā told me he had read in the work of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Naṣr that the raids and delegations sent out totalled some 70, not counting the actual battles."

This information related by al-Ḥākim is very strange; and the statements he attributes in them to Qatāda are controversial.

Imām Aḥmad recounted, from Azhar b. al-Qāsim al-Rāsibī, from Hishām al-Dastuwā'ī, from Qatāda, that the military expeditions and raids of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 43, consisting of 24 missions and 19 military expeditions. In 8 of these he himself participated, at Badr, Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, al-Muraysī', Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn, and al-Ṭā'if.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba quoted al-Zuhri as stating, "These were the military expeditions in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought: Badr in Ramaḍān of 2 AH; Uḥud in Shawwāl, 3 AH; and *al-khandaq*, which was also known as al-Aḥzāb and the 'Banū Qurayza battle', in Shawwāl, 4 AH. He then fought the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq and the Banū Liḥyān in Sha'bān, 5 AH; at Khaybar in 6 AH; at the Yawm al-Faṭḥ (Mecca) in Ramaḍān, 8 AH. Thereafter he fought at al-Ḥunayn and besieged the people of al-Ṭā'if in Shawwāl, 8 AH. Then, in 9 AH Abū Bakr performed the pilgrimage, and in 10 AH the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on the so-called *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, the 'farewell pilgrimage'. He organized 12 expeditions that did not result in fighting. The first of his expeditions was that of al-Abwā'."

Hanbal b. Hilāl stated, from Ishāq b. al-'Alā', from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Raqqī, from Muṭrif b. Māzin al-Yamānī, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, who said, "The first verse revealed on making war was, 'Those who do battle are given permission (to do so), for they have been wronged' (*sūrat al-Ḥajj*; XX, v.39). This came after the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina.

"The first battle witnessed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that at Badr, on Friday, 17th of Ramaḍān."

His account proceeds to his comments as follows, "He then went on the expedition against the Banū al-Naḍir, then in Shawwāl, the battle of Uḥud took place, that is, in 3 AH. Thereafter he was at the battle of *al-khandaq* in 4 AH, fought the Banū Liḥyān in Sha'bān of 5 AH, and fought at the battle of al-Faṭḥ (i.e. the 'victory', at Mecca, tr.) in Sha'bān 8 AH, followed by Ḥunayn in Ramaḍān 8 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 11 expeditions in which he did not fight. The first on which he fought was al-Abwā', then came al-'Ushayra, Ghaṭafān, Banū Sulaym, al-Abwā' (sic), the first battle of Badr, Ṭā'if, al-Ḥudaybiyya, al-Ṣafra', and Tabūk, the last expedition." He then went on to refer to the *bu'ūth*, the delegations he sent.

This account that I have copied from the history of the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir is very strange. We will relate later, in its proper order, what truly occurred.

This is an area of expertise requiring care and proper training; as Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi related, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Alī, from his father, who said, "I heard 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn say, 'We used to teach the military expeditions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) just as we would chapters from the Qur'ān.'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "I heard Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh say, 'I heard my uncle al-Zuhri say, "In knowledge of the military expeditions there is knowledge of the hereafter as well as of this world.'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq gave further information concerning the military expeditions after having given that we have quoted above. In this he named the chief unbelievers from among the Jews and the hypocrites, God damn them all and gather them in the depths of hell.

He stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prepared to do battle against them, to wage war and fight against his enemies and their allies as God had ordered him.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had arrived in Medina on a Monday when it was very hot, and the sun was near its zenith; it was the 12th of Rabi' al-Awwal. At that time he was 53 years old, and God had given him his mission 13 years before. He stayed there for the remainder of Rabi' al-Awwal and for Rabi' al-Akhir, for both Jumādas, Rajab, Sha'ban, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhū al-Qi'da, Dhū al-Ḥijja, the polytheists being in charge of the pilgrimage that month, and al-Muḥarram. He then, in Ṣafar, at the start of the 12th month after his arrival there, went forth to do battle."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Sa'd b. 'Ubāda in charge of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He continued as far as Waddān; this was the expedition to al-Abwā'." Ibn Jarīr commented, "It is also known as the Waddān expedition."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "He was heading for Quraysh and the Banū Ḍamra b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna. The Banū Ḍamra made peace with him there; the one who actually did this was Makhshī b. 'Amr al-Ḍamrī, who was their leader at that time.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina without having engaged in battle, remaining there for the rest of Ṣafar and the early part of Rabi' al-Awwal."

Ibn Hishām added, "This was the first expedition made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Wāqidī commented, "His banner was entrusted to his uncle Ḥamza; it was white."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "While resident then at Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy along with 60 – or 80 – men, mounted and of the Emigrants; not one of them was a Helper. The party went as far as a well in Hijāz below Thaniyyat al-Murra, where he met a large contingent of Quraysh. There was no engagement with them, however, except that Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ did that day cast one arrow. That was the first arrow shot for God's cause after the coming of Islam.

"The two forces separated thereafter, the Muslims positioning a rear-guard. Miqdād b. 'Amr al-Bahrānī, an ally of the Banū Zuhra, fled from the polytheists to the Muslims, along with 'Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir al-Māzinī, an ally of the Banū Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf. These were really Muslims, but they had gone forth to have contact with the unbelievers."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ikrima b. Abū Jahl was leader of the polytheists on that occasion."

Ibn Hishām related, from Ibn Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’, that Abū ‘Amr al-Madani said, “It was Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ who led them.”

I observe that al-Wāqidi’s account, heretofore, gives two statements, one that the leader was Mikraz, the second that it was Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb; but it seemed to him more likely that it was Abū Sufyān. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq then gave the ode attributed to Abū Bakr “the Trusting”, written about this night raid. It begins,

“Is it for your vision of Salmā in the flat desert
plains you lay awake, and for something happening in the
tribe?

In Luṭayy you see a faction that no preaching, no
messenger’s mission could keep from unbelief.

A truth-telling messenger came to them but they denied
him and told him he could not stay among them.

When we called them to the truth, they turned their
backs and fled like panting dogs retreating to their
lair.”

He then gave the response of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zibā‘rā:

“Is it because of the traces of a home now desolate
amidst the sand dunes that you weep, your tears soon gone,
And because of time’s surprises, and destiny is all
surprises, of things gone by and new.

A great army that came to us, led by ‘Ubayda who is
called Ibn Ḥārith, in battle,

So we would leave idols set up in Mecca, passed down by
heir to noble heir.”

Ibn Ishāq goes on to give the complete ode. And nothing prevents us from doing the same except for the fact that Imām ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, God bless him, who was an Imām in language, reported that many scholars, expert in poetry, deny the authenticity of both these poems.

Ibn Ishāq further stated, “Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqāṣ spoke the following verses concerning his having shot an arrow, or so they say,

“Has the Messenger of God heard that I protected my
companions with my arrow?

Through it I well protected their front ranks over land
both rough and easy.

And no one shooting an arrow at an enemy will be
counted before myself, O Messenger of God!

And that was because your religion is that of truth; it
was with truth and virtue that you brought it.

By it the believers are saved, by it the unbelievers
are punished at a place of boiling pitch.

Take care, for you have erred, and do not decry me; woe
upon you, Ibn Jahl, misleader of your tribe!"

Ibn Hishām commented, "Most authorities on poetry deny that this poem is to be attributed to Sa'd."

Ibn Ishāq stated further, "The banner given to 'Ubayda, so I have been told, was the first awarded by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to any Muslim."

Al-Zuhri, Mūsā b. 'Uqba, and al-Wāqidi disputed Ibn Ishāq in this and maintained that Ḥamza received a flag before 'Ubayd b. al-Ḥārith. But God knows best.

It will be related hereafter, from a *ḥadīth* of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, that the first leader of these raids was 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadi.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Some scholars maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him out when he arrived from the mission to al-Abwā' before he reached Medina. Mūsā b. 'Uqba related it so from al-Zuhri."

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while resident there, sent Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim to the sea coast near al-ʿĪṣ along with 30 mounted men drawn from the Emigrants; there were no Helpers among them. Ḥamza confronted Abū Jahl b. Hishām and 300 mounted Meccans there on the shore. But Majdi b. 'Amr al-Juhani interposed himself between the opposing parties, for he was at peace with both. Both sides withdrew from one another and so no fighting occurred."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Some people say that Ḥamza's banner was the first awarded by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to any of the Muslims. This was because he had dispatched Ḥamza and 'Ubayda at the same time; this confused people."

I comment that Mūsā b. 'Uqba quoted al-Zuhri as saying that he had dispatched Ḥamza before 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith. He maintained that Ḥamza's mission came before the expedition to al-Abwā'. And that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Abwā' he dispatched 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith along with 60 Emigrants. He then related much as above.

It has been stated above that al-Wāqidi said, "The raid made by Ḥamza in Ramaḍān took place in 1 AH; 'Ubayda's expedition came thereafter, in Shawwāl in the same year." But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq quoted from Ḥamza, God be pleased with him, poetry indicating that his banner was the first awarded in Islam. However Ibn Ishāq stated, "If Ḥamza did speak this, then so it was. He only ever spoke the truth. But God knows best what happened. What we have heard from scholars was that 'Ubayda was first. The poem is as follows:

'O my people, contemplate wisdom and foolishness and
failure in man's thought and intellect,
About those who have wronged us while we have not
violated their people or property.

As though we had been hostile to them, but we have no hostility for them; all we told them is to be chaste and just.

And we told them of Islam, but they do not accept it and treat it as if it were a joke.

They kept this up till I was appointed to raid them where they reside, seeking security in virtue.

At the order of the Messenger of God, being the first to have his banner fly above me, it not having appeared before.

A flag bringing victory, from a God of honour and power, His deeds the best of all.

They left in the evening, gathered together, the cooking pot of each of us boiling with the rage of his Companions.

When we saw one another they made their mounts kneel and tied up their mounts, and we tied ours an arrow's reach away.

We told them, "Our connection to God is our aid. But the only connection you have is to error."

Abū Jahl arose to fight there, acting in evil, but he was disappointed, for God rejected Abū Jahl's tricks.

We had only thirty mounted men, while they numbered two hundred, with one extra yet.

O Lu'ayy, do not obey your evil men; come over to Islam, to the path that is plain.

For I fear that you will have pain wrought upon you and you will cry out in regret and mourning."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "And Abū Jahl b. Hishām, God damn him, spoke the following verses in response,

'I was amazed at the reasons for false worship and ignorance and at those who seek to do harm through division and idiocy,

At those who abandon the practices of our fathers and forebears, those fine and noble leaders.'

He then quoted the rest of the poem.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Most poetry scholars deny that the first poem can be attributed to Ḥamza, God be pleased with him, or the second to Abū Jahl, God damn him!"

THE EXPEDITION TO BUWĀT, IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF RAḌWĀ.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition against Quraysh in the month of Rabi' al-Awwal, that is in 2 AH."

Ibn Hishām commented, "He left al-Sa'ib b. 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn in charge over Medina."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "He left Sa'd b. Mu'adh in charge of it. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was accompanied by 200 mounted men. His banner was entrusted to Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ. His purpose was to interfere with a Quraysh caravan which consisted of Umayya b. Khalaf with 100 men and 2,500 camels."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "He proceeded until he reached Buwāt, near Raḍwā. He then returned to Medina without engaging in battle. He remained there for the remainder of Rabī' al-Ākhir and part of Jumādā al-Ūlā."

THE EXPEDITION TO AL-'USHAYRA.

He then made an expedition against Quraysh. This refers to the expedition known by the name "*al-'Ushayra*" or "*al-'Usayra*".

Ibn Hishām commented that he left Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad in charge of Medina.

Al-Wāqidī stated that his banner was carried by Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth to interrupt the Quraysh caravans going to Syria."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "He made his way through the territory of the Banū Dīnār, then past Fayfā' al-Khayyār, and made camp beneath a tree in the Ibn Azhar valley at a place called Dhāt al-Sāq. He said his prayers there, where his mosque is now. Food was prepared for him there which he ate, and the others ate there with him. The remains of the supports used for his cooking pot are still known there. He used the water from a place called al-Mushayrib.

"He then moved on, leaving al-Khalā'iq to his left and traversed the 'Abd Allāh defile. From there he kept left, coming down the Yalyal trail till it meets that of al-Ḍabū'a. He then crossed the Malal plain until he met the road at Ṣukhayrāt al-Yamām and then went on along it till he reached al-'Ushayra, in the Yanbu' valley.

"There he remained for Jumādā al-Ūlā and some nights of Jumādā al-Ākhira; there he made peace with the Banū Mudlij and their allies of the Banū Ḍamra, then returned to Medina, without having engaged in battle."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "'Abd Allāh related to us, quoting Wahb, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Ishāq, who said, 'I was standing next to Zayd b. Arqam when he was asked, "In how many military expeditions did the Messenger of God (SAAS) take part?" He replied, "Nineteen." "And on how many did you accompany him?" "Seventeen," he replied. "Which of them came first?" I enquired. "Al-'Ushayr – or al-'Usayr," he replied. I told this to Qatāda and he said it was "al-'Ushayr".'"

This *ḥadīth* is clear in stating that the first of the military expeditions was at al-'Ushayra, which can also be spelled "al-'Usayra", and that in both of these spellings the final feminine ending, the "a" may be dropped or a lengthened "a"

be substituted. However, what could be meant here is that al-ʿUshayra was the first expedition in which Zayd b. Arqam participated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and there could have been earlier ones which he did not witness. This could reconcile between this *ḥadīth* and that of Ibn Ishāq. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "It was on that occasion that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his comment to 'Alī. Yazid b. Muḥammad b. Khaytham related to me, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī, quoting Abū Yazid Muḥammad b. Khaytham, from 'Ammār b. Yāsir, who said, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and I were companions on the expedition to al-ʿUshayra in the Yanbuʿ valley. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) encamped there he remained for a month and made peace with the Banū Mudlij and their allies of the Banū Ḍamra. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib said, "Abū al-Yaqzān, how would you like for us to go and watch these men of the Banū Mudlij who are doing some work on a well of theirs?" So we went to them and watched for a while, then were overcome by sleep. We made our way over to a place where there were young date-palms growing and the ground was soft and there we slept. And, by God, we were eventually woken up by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moving us with his foot. We sat up, soiled with the earth there and it was then that he said to 'Alī, 'What have you been up to, Abū Turāb?' (i.e. 'father of dirt') because of the soil that was upon him. We told him what had happened to us and he said, 'Shall I tell you who are the two most pitiable men?' We replied, 'Yes, do tell us.' He replied, 'They are Uḥaymir of the tribe of Thamūd who slaughtered the camel and the man who will strike you on this' – and he placed his hand on 'Alī's head – 'so that this' – and he touched 'Alī's beard – 'will become wet from it.'"

This *ḥadīth* is unique in this line given. From another line there is also testimony to reference being made to 'Alī as 'Abū Turāb'. Similarly, in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī it states that 'Alī left his house angry at Fāṭima and went and slept in the mosque. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to his house to ask after him, Fāṭima told him he had left angry. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the mosque and woke him up and, wiping the dirt from him, told him, "Up you get, Abū Turāb! Up you get!"

THE FIRST EXPEDITION TO BADR.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Upon his return from al-ʿUshayra, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been in Medina only a few days, less than ten, when Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri made a raid on the town. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in search of him and travelled as far as a valley called Safwān, near Badr. This, then was the first expedition to Badr; Kurz evaded him and was not captured."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "His banner was entrusted to 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Both Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī related that he had left Zayd b. Ḥāritha in command of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned, he spent Jumādā, Rajab and Shaʿbān in Medina. He had previously sent out Sa'd with a party of eight Emigrants. He reached as far as al-Kharrār in the Ḥijāz."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars maintain that this mission of Sa'd's took place after that of Ḥamza. He returned without engaging in battle."

This is how Ibn Ishāq briefly reported this. Al-Wāqidi's account of these three expeditions is given above; by this I mean those of Ḥamza in Ramaḍān, 'Ubayda in Shawwāl, and Sa'd in Dhū al-Qi'da, all during 1 AH.

Imām Aḥmad stated that "Abd al-Mu'tal b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb related to him, quoting Yahyā b. Sa'd; and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Sa'd b. Yahyā b. Sa'd al-Umawī related to him, quoting his father, from Mujālid, from Ziyād b. 'Alāqa, who quoted Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he was visited by some of the Juhayna who told him, 'Now you have come to live among us, make a pact with us so we can join you.' He did so, and they accepted Islam. In Rajab the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out, a force of less than 100, with orders to make a raid on a quarter of the Banū Kināna, who were over next to the Juhayna. We did raid them, but there were many of them and we took refuge with the Juhayna who gave us protection. They asked us, 'Why are you fighting in the holy month?' We asked one another what to do and some of us thought we should go back to the Prophet of God (ṢAAS) and tell him. Others thought they should stay there. I, and some others decided we would do neither and would attack and cut off a Quraysh caravan. The arrangement over booty at that time was that you could keep anything you won."

"So we set off against the caravan, while some of our Companions went back to the Prophet (ṢAAS). When they told him the situation, he became very angry and red-faced and said, 'You left me as one group and you've returned divided! Those before you who became divided were only ever destroyed! I will appoint over you someone who is no higher than you in rank, but who will give you fortitude against hunger and thirst.'

"He then appointed over us 'Abd Allāh b. Jahsh al-Asadī, who was the first commander in Islam."

Al-Bayhaqī related this in *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, from a *ḥadīth* of Yahyā b. Abū Zā'ida, from Mujālid, in much the same form. That account adds, after their words to their companions "Why are you fighting in the holy month?" that the others replied, "We are fighting in the holy month those who expelled us from the holy city!"

He then recounted it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Usāma, from Mujālid, from Ziyād b. 'Alāqa, from Quṭba b. Mālik, from Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ. This account is similar, but it adds Quṭba b. Mālik in the chain of authorities between Sa'd and Ziyād. This is more appropriate. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* requires that the first of the raids was that of 'Abd Allāh b. Jahsh al-Asadī and this is contrary to what Ibn Ishāq recounted, namely that the first

of these was entrusted to ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib. It also contradicts al-Wāqidī, who maintained that the first of the raids was entrusted to Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. But God knows best.

Chapter: On the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh that was the cause for the great engagement at Badr.

This was the day of the *Furqān* (the line distinguishing good from evil) when the two forces met in battle. And God has power over all things.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "In Rajab, following his return from the first expedition to Badr, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent forth ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Riḥab al-Asadī along with eight Emigrants; their number included none of the Helpers. The names of these men were as follows: Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba, ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Hurthān, an ally of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma, ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, an ally of the Banū Nawfal, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ al-Zuhri, ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa al-Wāʿilī, an ally of the Banū ʿAdī, Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿArin b. Thaʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ al-Tamīmī, also an ally of the Banū ʿAdī, Khālīd b. al-Bukayr, one of the Banū Saʿd b. Layth, also an ally of the Banū ʿAdī, and Sahl b. Baydā al-Fihri. These seven men were led by their commander ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, God be pleased with him."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating that there were eight men and their commander was their ninth. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "He wrote a letter for ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh which he told him not to open until he had travelled for two days. After opening it he was to do as it ordered him, but not to force any of his companions to do so too.

"Having travelled for two days, he opened the letter. It stated, 'Having read this letter, proceed to Nakhla, between Mecca and Ṭāʾif. Stay there and observe Quraysh and report back to us news of them.' Having read the letter, he said, 'To hear is to obey!' And he told his men what was in the letter. He said, 'It forbids me from forcing any of you to comply with this. Those of you seeking martyrdom should go forward. Those reluctant to do this should return. As for myself, I shall proceed to fulfil the order of the Messenger of God (SAAS).'

"He then proceeded forward accompanied by his men, none of whom stayed behind. He travelled through Hijāz until he reached a mine above al-Furʿ known as Bahrān. There Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and ʿUtba b. Ghazwān lost a camel they had that they had been riding, so they remained behind to look for it. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh continued ahead with the rest of the party and made camp at Nakhla.

"There a Quraysh caravan in which was ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī – Ibn Hishām commented that his full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād, one of the Ṣadīf – along with ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, and his brother Nawfal, along with al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, the freed-man of Hishām b. al-Mughīra.

"When the caravan party saw them they were concerned because the Muslims had encamped near themselves. But ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan appeared before them,

having cut his hair.⁵² When they saw him, they felt secure. 'Ammār told them, 'You don't need to worry about them.'

"The Companions consulted about how to treat them. They realized that if they were to leave them unharmed, that night they would enter sacred territory and be safe, but if they were to kill them they would be doing so on the last day of the sacred month of Rajab. They were undecided and ill at ease about attacking them.

"But then they encouraged one another to do so, deciding eventually to kill those they could and to seize their goods. And so Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī shot an arrow at 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī and killed him, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān were taken prisoner, and Nawfal b. 'Abd Allāh evaded them and escaped. 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and his men then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with the caravan and the two prisoners.

"Some of 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh's family maintain that 'Abd Allāh told his men, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is due one-fifth of what we have taken' and that he set this portion aside and divided up the rest between them. This was before the revelation came down concerning that fifth." When this revelation came down it was as 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had divided it, as Ibn Ishāq observed.

"When they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he told them, 'I did not order you to kill anyone in the sacred month!' He suspended disposition of the caravan and the prisoners and refused to take any of it.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said this, the raiders were very worried and thought they were ruined, and their fellow Muslims criticized them harshly for what they had done. Quraysh said, 'Muḥammad and his men have made it lawful to use violence in the sacred month; they have shed blood and taken booty and seized prisoners during it.' Those Muslims in Mecca opposing Quraysh, however, maintained that the action had occurred in Sha'ḥān. Some Jews said, 'You must consider this an omen against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The killing of 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī by Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh means as follows, "Amr" stands for 'amarat al-ḥarb', (i.e. 'war has spread'). 'Al-Ḥaḍramī' stands for 'ḥaḍarat al-ḥarb', (i.e. 'war has come') 'Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh' stands for 'wuqīdat al-ḥarb', (i.e. 'war has been kindled'). God, however, turned this around against them.

"When people gossiped excessively about this, God Almighty sent down the following words to His Messenger (ṢAAS), "They will ask you about the sacred month, and about fighting in it. Say: 'fighting therein is a grave matter; but blocking off God's path and disbelief in Him and (hindering men from) the sacred mosque, and expelling its people from it, (all this) is extremely grave in God's view; and causing unrest is worse than killing. And they will not stop fighting you until they turn you from your religion, if they can!'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.217).

52. That is, as if he had just fulfilled the rites of the pilgrimage.

This means "Even if you have fought in the sacred month, they have blocked you from God's path by disbelieving in Him, and also by keeping you from the holy mosque and expelling you from it when you were of its people. This is more grave in God's view than your fighting those of them you did. For causing unrest is worse than killing. That is, they used to seduce Muslims from their religion, trying to return them to disbelief from faith. This was worse in God's view than the fighting. Their conduct was far worse and they were completely unrepentant. This is why God Almighty stated, 'They will not stop fighting you until they turn you from your religion, if they can!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When the Qur'ān was revealed about this and God had alleviated the concerns of the Muslims, the Messenger of God (SAAS) took possession of the caravan and the two prisoners. Quraysh then sought to provide ransom for 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, 'We will not release them to you until our two men come forth.' He was referring to Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and 'Utba b. Ghazwān. 'We are concerned', he told them, 'about your treatment of them. If you kill them, we will kill your men.'

"Sa'd and 'Utba then came forth, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) ransomed them. Al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān accepted Islam and became a Muslim, remaining with the Messenger of God (SAAS) until he was killed, a martyr, at the battle of Bī'r Ma'ūna. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh stayed in Mecca where he died an unbeliever."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and his companions had been relieved of their anxiety when the revelation came in the Qur'ān, they sought reward. They asked, 'O Messenger of God, may we hope that this be considered an expedition for which we will be given reward as warriors for God's cause?' And so God revealed concerning them, 'Those who believe and those who have emigrated and those who have fought for God's cause, those persons may hope for the mercy of God, for God is merciful and forgiving' (*sūrat al-Baqara* II v.218). Through this God gave them very great hope."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The *ḥadīth* concerning this is from al-Zuhri, and Yazīd b. Rūmān from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related, in his work on the military expeditions, from al-Zuhri, a similar account, as did Shu'ayb from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa. Their account stated, "Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī was the first man killed in fighting between Muslims and polytheists."

'Abd al-Malik b. Hishām stated, "He was the first person killed by the Muslims. And this was the first booty taken by the Muslims; 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān were the first prisoners taken by Muslims."

I comment that in his aforementioned report Imām Aḥmad quoted Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ as having said, "'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh was the first *amīr*, commander, appointed in Islam."

We have given in our *Tafsir* (*Exegesis*) various testimonies, with their chains of authorities, in support of what Ibn Ishāq recounted.

One such is what was reported by *al-hāfiẓ* Abū Muḥammad b. Abū Hatim, namely, "My father related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī, quoting al-Muṭtamir b. Sulaymān, quoting his father, quoting al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting from Abū al-Siwār, from Jundab b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth some men, having appointed Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh – or 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith – as their commander. But when he came to leave, he wept in longing for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and sat down. And so he appointed 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh over them and wrote a letter to him, telling him not to read it until he reached a certain place. He told him, 'Do not force any of your men to proceed further with you.'

"When he read the letter, he spoke the words, 'We are God's and to Him do we return,' and said, 'To hear is to obey, both God and His Messenger.' He then told them what the letter contained. Two of their number then went back, while the rest stayed. They met up with Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and killed him, not knowing whether that day was in the month of Rajab or Jumādā. The polytheists told the Muslims, 'You have killed a man in the sacred month!' God then revealed, 'They will ask you about the sacred month, and about fighting during it. Say: fighting then is a grave matter'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.217).

Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī al-Kabir stated in his exegesis, from Abū Mālik, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās, and from Murra, from Ibn Mas'ūd, from a group of the Companions regarding this verse, "They will ask you" that it referred to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having sent out a raiding party of seven men commanded by 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. Among them were 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, 'Utba b. Ghazwān, Sahl b. Bayḍā', 'Amir b. Fuhayra and Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yarbū'ī, an ally of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

(The narration states) "He wrote a letter for Ibn Jaḥsh and ordered him not to read it before he reached the Malal valley. When he arrived there he opened the letter. It told him to proceed on to the valley at Nakhla. He told his companions, 'Whoever desires death, let him proceed and appoint an executor; I have appointed one and am proceeding to carry out the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"He proceeded further and Sa'd and 'Utba lost their mount and stayed behind to find it. Ibn Jaḥsh and his companions went on and encamped in the Nakhla valley. There they found al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, al-Mughīra b. 'Uthmān and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīra." His account then related how Wāqid killed 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī and how they went back with the booty and the two prisoners. This was the first booty taken by the Muslims. The polytheists said, "Muḥammad claims that he obeys God. Yet it is he who makes killing lawful in the holy month, having killed our man in Rajab." The Muslims responded that it was in Jumādā that they had killed him."

Al-Suddi stated, "Their killing of him occurred in the first night of Rajab, and the last night of Jumādā al-Ākhira."

I observe, that perhaps Jumādā was yet unfinished, and they believed the month would last through the 30th night. The new moon however, was seen that night. But God knows best.

Al-ʿAwfi related it thus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that it occurred on the last night of Jumādā, which was also the first of Rajab, but they were not aware of this.

This is also given above in the *ḥadīth* of Jandab that was related by Ibn Abū Ḥatim.

In the account of Ibn Ishāq previously given it is stated that that was the last night of Rajab, and that they feared that if they did not take the booty and seize the opportunity the polytheists would go on into the holy territory and they would then be unable to proceed; they therefore acted in full knowledge of it.

The account of al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, is similar. Al-Bayhaqī related it too. But God alone knows which version is correct.

Al-Zuhri quoted ʿUrwa as saying, "We have been informed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) paid the blood-money for Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and recognized the sacred nature of the holy month as he always had until God sent down his exemption." Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Bakr 'the Trusting' spoke verses about the raid led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh in response to the polytheists and the charges they had made about making killing permissible in the holy month." Ibn Hishām, however, attributed these verses to ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh.

"You consider killing in the holy month as a grave matter, but there are graver matters to those who view aright:

(like) Your rejection of what Muḥammad says and your disbelief in him, and God sees and knows all.

And your expelling its people from God's temple so that no one may be seen there prostrating before Him,

Even though you blame us for killing him, more damaging to Islam is the evil-doer and the envier.

We slaked our lances on Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī at Nakhla when Wāqid set war alight in blood.

While Ibn ʿAbd Allāh ʿUthmān is among us restrained by a strong leather strap."

Section: Concerning the change in the prayer direction in 2 AH before the battle of Badr.

Some authorities maintain that this occurred in Rajab of the second year of the hegira. Qatāda and Zayd b. Aslam stated this, in a tradition related from Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Aḥmad related, from Ibn 'Abbās, evidence supporting this and that is what is clearly implied by the account of al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, as will be shown. But God knows best. It is also said to date from Sha'bān in that year.

Ibn Ishāq stated, after his account of the raid conducted by 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, "It is said that the change in the direction of the prayer occurred in Sha'bān, at the beginning of the 18th month following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina."

Ibn Jarīr related this through al-Suddī with a chain of authorities from Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Mas'ūd and various Companions.

The great majority of scholars maintain that it was changed in fact in the middle of Sha'bān, at the start of the 18th month following the hegira.

It was also related from Muḥammad b. Sa'd, on the authority of al-Wāqidī to the effect that it was changed on a Tuesday in mid-Sha'bān, though there is some dispute about this. God knows best.

We argued against this, with evidence, in the *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* regarding the words of the Almighty, "We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a *qibla* that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque; wherever you may be, turn your face towards it. Those to whom the Book has been brought know that it is the truth from their Lord. And God is not unaware of what they do" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.144).

(My commentary also examines) the objections made both before and after the change by foolish Jews, hypocrites and low-down ignorant people, and their criticisms were because this was the first abrogation that occurred in Islam.

Regarding this, God had previously stated in the course of the Qur'ān the permissibility of making abrogation. He had stated, "Whatsoever verse we may cancel or cause to be forgotten we replace with one better or similar. Do you not know that God is capable of all things?" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.106).

Al-Bukhārī had stated, "Abū Nu'aym related to us, (that he had) heard Zuhayr (say) from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed towards Jerusalem for 16 or 17 months, though it would have pleased him to have faced towards the *ka'ba*. He also said that the first time he worshipped towards it was during the *al-ʿaṣr* (late afternoon) prayer. Others were praying along with him at that time. Afterwards a man who had been with him there passed by some people in a mosque prostrated in prayer. He told them, 'I swear by God, I have prayed with the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the direction of Mecca.' They turned right then and there towards the *ka'ba*. We didn't know what to say about people who had died or been killed before the direction for prayer was changed. And so God sent down, 'God is not one to consider your prayer as valueless; God is merciful and kind towards people'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143).

Muslim related this from another path.

Ibn Abū Ḥatīm stated, "Abū Zur'ā related to us, quoting al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭīyya quoting Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', who said, 'The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) had been praying towards Jerusalem for 16 or 17 months though he wanted to face towards the *kaʿba*. And so God sent down, "We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a *qibla* that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.144). And so he did face towards the *kaʿba*.

"The foolish people – the Jews – asked 'What could it be that turned them from the prayer direction they had previously?' And so God sent down the verse, 'Say: To God belong both East and West; he guides whomever He wishes to the straight path'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.142).

In short, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to pray in Mecca towards Jerusalem, while the *kaʿba* was directly in front of him, so Imām Aḥmad related from Ibn ʿAbbās, God be pleased with him. And when he emigrated to Medina it was not possible for him to combine both and so he prayed towards Jerusalem immediately after his arrival there, keeping his back directed to the *kaʿba* for 16 or 17 months. This would require it to have been until Rajab of 2 AH. But God knows best.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to change his prayer direction towards the *kaʿba*, the *qibla* of Abraham, and often prayed and entreated God, Almighty and Glorious is He, to allow this. In doing so, he would raise his hands and sight to the sky in supplication. And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the words, "We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a *qibla* that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque."

When the order came down to change the direction of prayer, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the Muslims and told them of this, as al-Nasaʿī related, from Abū Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā, and this was at noon.

• Some scholars say that the change was revealed between two prayers. Mujāhid and others stated this.

This is substantiated by what is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from al-Barāʾ. Namely, that the first prayer he made in Medina towards the *kaʿba* was that of *al-ʿaṣr*.

It is strange that the people of Qubāʾ did not hear of this until the early morning prayer of the next day, as is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Ibn ʿUmar. He stated, "While the people in Qubāʾ were at the morning prayer someone came to them and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has received tonight a Qurʾān revelation! He has been ordered to face the *kaʿba* in prayer, so you must too.' They had been facing towards Syria, but they now turned towards the *kaʿba*."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from Anas b. Mālīk there is a similar account.

What is shown here is that when the change in the direction of the prayer to the *kaʿba* was decreed, and God Almighty abrogated the direction of prayer towards Jerusalem, various fools and ignorant people made criticisms, asking "What was it that turned them away from the direction of prayer they had before?"

They said this even though the unbelieving "People of the Book"⁵³ well knew that the order came from God, since they recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the description of him given in their books, from the information there that Medina would be the place to which he would emigrate, and also that he would be ordered to face towards the *ka'ba* in his prayer. As God stated, "Those to whom the Book was brought know well that it is the truth from their Lord" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.144).

Despite all this, God Almighty responded to their question and mentioned them specifically when He stated, "The fools will ask, 'What was it that turned them away from the direction of prayer they had before?' 'Say: To God belong both East and West; He guides whomever He wishes to the straight path'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.142). That is, He is the Lord, the Judge and Ruler of the Universe, whose decree no one can revise, He who does as He wishes with His creation, He who decrees whatever He wishes in His law, He who leads whomever He wishes to the straight path, misleading whomever He wishes away from the right road; in all that, His is the wisdom to which all must agree and accept.

Then the Almighty stated, "And thus We have made you an intermediate nation" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143). That is, the best "so that you may be witnesses to the people and have the Messenger be witness for you" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143). That is, just as We have chosen for you the best of directions for your prayer, having led you to the *qibla* of your father Abraham, father of the prophets, to which thereafter Moses and those messengers before him also turned. Likewise We have made you the best of nations, the very essence of the world, the most noble of all groups, the most honourable of the ancient and the high-born, so that you may be witnesses on Judgement Day against those who have combined against you, and so that they may give testimony on that day to your great virtue.

This is so substantiated in a *marfū'*⁵⁴ account in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukharī, from Abū Sa'īd, referring to Noah's testimony to this nation on Judgement Day. And if Noah should testify for them despite the fact of his own time having been so much before, then it is even more appropriate and proper a course for those after him.

God then mentioned His wisdom in sending his retribution to those who doubted and denied this reality, and His pleasure to those who believed and accepted this actuality. He said, "And We decreed the *qibla* you used to observe only to know who it is who follows the Messenger" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143).

Ibn 'Abbās commented, "That is, only to see those who follow the Messenger, and those who turn back upon their heels."

53. The term commonly applied to members of religions based upon Holy Books, most specifically to Jews and Christians.

54. A term denoting a tradition traceable in ascending order of traditionaries directly to the Prophet.

And “even though this was a grave matter” (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143). That is, even though this matter was difficult and of great impact and importance, except for those guided by God. For they had full faith and belief in it, and were without doubt or uncertainty, but rather were satisfied, had faith and took action, for they were obedient to the Great Ruler, the Mighty and All-Powerful, the Patient and All-Knowing, the Gracious and Omniscient.

And God’s words, “God is not one to consider your prayer as valueless” (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143). That is, by His decision regarding facing towards Jerusalem and prayer towards it, (for) “God is merciful and kind towards people” (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143).

The accounts and proofs of this are very numerous and would take long to enumerate; this issue is examined in the exegesis and we will include additional comments thereupon in our work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr* (*The Major Statutes*).

Imām Aḥmad recounted quoting ‘Alī b. ‘Āṣim, quoting Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from ‘Amr b. Qays, from Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, in regards to the ‘People of the Book’, that is, ‘They envy us for nothing so much as for our Friday to which God led us, but they erred from it, the *qibla* that God guided us to while they strayed, and our saying “Amen” after the Imām.”

Section: On the institution of the fasting month of Ramaḍān in 2 AH, before the battle of Badr.

Ibn Jarīr stated, “It was in that year that fasting for the month of Ramaḍān was made obligatory. It is also said that it was declared obligatory in Sha‘bān of that year. It is related, moreover, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he found that the Jews were fasting for the day of ‘Āshūrā’. He asked them about it and they told him, ‘This was the day when God rescued Moses.’ He replied, ‘But we have a greater claim to Moses than you do!’ So he fasted it and told his people to do so too.”

This *ḥadīth* is firmly substantiated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Ibn ‘Abbās.

God Almighty stated, “O believers, fasting has been prescribed for you as it was for those who preceded you, so that you may be properly pious. (It shall be) for a specific number of days. Those of you who are ill or travelling (shall fast) a different number of days. And those with the means to do so may redeem this by feeding a poor person. And whoever does more good than he is bound to do does good unto himself thereby; for you to fast is better for you, if only you knew it. It was the month of Ramaḍān in which the Qur’ān was revealed, as a guidance to man, and as clear proof of guidance and of the differentiation (between good and evil). Whoever of you are present that month, let them fast it; whoever is sick or travelling should fast a (like) number of other days” (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.183–5).

We have written at sufficient length on this in the *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*, giving those *ahādith* and related evidences relevant to it, along with the regulations arising therefrom. And all praise be to God.

Imām Aḥmad has stated, "Abū al-Naḍr related to us, quoting al-Mas'ūdī, quoting 'Amr b. Murra from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from Mu'adh b. Jabal, who said, 'The prayer underwent three changes and fasting underwent three changes.' He referred to those respecting prayer, then went on, 'Regarding the changes in fasting, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he began fasting three days each month, and he also fasted 'Āshūrā'.

"Then God made fasting incumbent upon him and sent down the words, "O believers, fasting has been prescribed for you as it was for those who preceded you" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.183), and so on to the words, "And those with the means to do so may redeem this by feeding a poor person" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.184). As a result, those who wished to fast did so, while those who preferred to feed a poor person did so, and that was considered sufficient for them. Then God sent down another verse, "the month of Ramaḍān in which the Qur'ān was revealed" up to the words "whoever of you are present that month, let them fast it" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.185). This firmly prescribed fasting for those who were at home and healthy, and exempted those who were sick or travelling. It also established that the elderly unable to fast should be fed. These, then, were two changes."

(Mu'adh b. Jabal) then said "Thereafter people would eat, drink and go to their women before retiring to bed; after retiring for sleep they would refrain from these. One Helper, however, a man named Ṣirma, once fasted while working until evening, went home to his family, performed the evening prayer and then retired without eating or drinking before the next morning, when he again began fasting. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him under great strain and so he asked him, 'How is it I see you under such great stress?' So he informed him.

He went on, "Umar was in the habit of having sexual relations even after he had slept a while and he came to the Messenger of God and told him this. And so God sent down, 'It is lawful for you to visit your wives on the night of the fast; they are as apparel for you' and so on, to the words, 'and then complete the fast till the night' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.187)."

Abū Dā'ūd related this in his work, *Al-Sunan al-Mustadrak*, as did al-Ḥākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* quoting a *ḥadīth* of al-Mas'ūdī in similar terms.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri from 'Urwa which quotes 'Ā'isha as saying, "'Āshūrā' was fasted until fasting in Ramaḍān was made obligatory. Thereafter, those who wished to continue with the fast (of 'Āshūrā') did so, while those who wished not to refrained." A similar account is given by al-Bukhārī from Ibn 'Umar and Ibn Mas'ūd."

This subject is examined in another section of the exegesis as well as in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr (The Major Statutes)*. God is the source of all aid.

Ibn Jarir stated, "In that year people were commanded to give the *zakāt al-ḥiṭr*.⁵⁵ It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed the people ordering this a day or two before the *ʿid al-ḥiṭr*".⁵⁶

He also stated, "In that same year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the *ṣalāt al-ʿid* prayers for the first time and conducted the people to the *muṣallā*.⁵⁷ They set out in front of him carrying the *ḥarba*, a spearhead, that had belonged to Zubayr to whom it had been presented by the Negus. It would be carried forth before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on feast days."

I comment, and it was this year too, as several later authorities have reported, that the payment of *zakāt* alms was prescribed. Details of all this will be given following the account of the battle of Badr, if God wills it, and in Him is all confidence and reliance. And there is no power nor strength except in God, the All-High and Almighty.

*THE GREAT BATTLE OF BADR; THE DAY OF THE FURQĀN, THE
DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN GOOD AND EVIL, THE
DAY THE TWO HOSTS MET.*

God Almighty stated, "God gave you assistance at Badr when you were weak; fear God then, and may you give Him thanks" (*sūrat al-ʿImrān*; III, v.123). He also said, "Even as your Lord sent you forth from your house with the truth, a faction of the believers were indeed reluctant. They disputed with you over the truth even after it had become clear, as if being led to death while they watched. And (remember) when God promised you that one of the two parties would be yours, and you wished that, for you, it would be the one that was unarmed, but God wished to fulfil the truth by His words and wipe the unbelievers out to the last. This was to fulfil the truth and to nullify falsehood, even if the evil-doers disliked this" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.5–8).

We have discussed this in our exegesis of this *sūrat*. Here we will give reference appropriate to each passage.

Ibn Ishāq, God bless him, stated, after giving his account of the expedition led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then heard that Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb was arriving from Syria with a great Quraysh caravan consisting of money and goods, as well as 30 or 40 men, who included Makhrama b. Nawfal and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, from al-Zuhri, that this was two months after the killing of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī. He also said that the caravan consisting of 1,000 camels carried property belonging to all of Quraysh except for Ḥuwaytib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and that this was why he was not present at Badr.

55. An obligatory donation given annually during the month of Ramaḍān.

56. The feast marking the end of the fasting of Ramaḍān.

57. A building or area set aside solely for prayer.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb, 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and others of our scholars, from Ibn 'Abbās, each of these having related to me a part of this *ḥadīth* which I have joined together in the following account about Badr. They said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard that Abū Sufyān was arriving from Syria, he sent the Muslims out against them, saying, 'This caravan belongs to Quraysh, and will carry much wealth. Attack it; God may present it to you.'

"The men got ready, some pleased, others apprehensive because they had not thought the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would make war. When Abū Sufyān approached Ḥijāz he sought information from each mounted man he encountered since he was concerned what might develop. Eventually he received news from some travellers that Muḥammad had readied a force of men against him and his caravan. This alarmed Abū Sufyān and he commissioned Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī, sending him on to Mecca with orders to go to Quraysh and get them to prepare for battle to save their property, by telling them that Muḥammad and his men were about to attack it. Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr raced into Mecca to do so."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "An unimpeachable source related to me, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās and Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr as follows: 'Ātika, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had, three nights prior to the arrival of Ḍamḍam, a dream that had terrified her. She sent for her brother al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and told him, 'Last night, brother, I swear I had a vision that really scared me. I'm concerned that because of it some harm might come to you or your people, so please keep confidential for me what I'm about to tell you.'

"'What was it you saw?' he asked.

"She replied, 'I saw a man arrive mounted on a camel who came to a halt in the valley then shouted out at the top of his voice, "Come forth to your deaths in three days hence, you people of perfidy!" I saw people gather around him. He then entered the mosque, with the people following. While they were there around him, his camel took him to the top of the *ka'ba*. Once there he called out as before: "Come forth to your deaths in three days, you people of perfidy!" His camel next took him up to the top of Mt. Abū Qubays where he shouted the same. Then he picked up a rock, flung it away and it came on down, bursting into fragments when it reached the bottom of the mountain. And no one house or building in Mecca escaped being pierced by one of its fragments.'

"Al-'Abbās told her, 'That was some vision! Keep quiet about it. Don't tell anyone!'

"Al-'Abbās then went off and met with al-Walid b. 'Utba, who was a friend of his, told him of it and asked him to keep it confidential. Thereafter al-Walid told it to his son 'Utba, and so soon the story was spread all about and all Quraysh were discussing it.

"Al-'Abbās said, 'I arose early to circumambulate the *ka'ba* and there was Abū Jahl b. Hishām sitting with a group of Quraysh leaders discussing 'Ātika's

dream. When Abū Jahl saw me, he said, "Abū al-Faḍl, why don't you come and join us when you finish your circumambulation?" When I had finished I went over to him and sat down among them. Abū Jahl then asked me, "How long has your family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had this prophethood?" "How do you mean?" I asked. "I'm talking about the visions 'Ātika saw," he replied. "What were they?" I enquired. He responded, "Aren't you 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib satisfied with having your men become prophets? Has it got to be your women too? 'Ātika claims that in her vision a man said, 'Come forth in three days! We're going to watch you closely for these three days and if what you say is true, so be it. But if three days pass with nothing happening, then we'll judge you the biggest liars of all the temple-worshippers among the Arabs!'"

"Al-'Abbās commented, 'I swear, I've never had any problem with him before. All I did was repudiate what he said and deny that she had seen anything.'

"He went on, 'We then parted company. That night every woman of the 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib clan came to see me and said, "Have you agreed to let that dirty old reprobate attack first your men and then your womenfolk while you just listened? Didn't anything you heard him say offend you?" I replied, "I would have done something, but I never had a problem with him before. I swear I will confront him and if he repeats it, I'll take care of him for you!"'

"He went on, 'On the morning of the third day after 'Ātika's vision, I was extremely angry, feeling I had let him get away with something I should have put a stop to. I went into the mosque and saw him. I swear I was making towards him to confront him to get him to retract what he had said – he was a slight man, with a face, voice and gaze that were all sharp – when he hurried off towards the door of the mosque. I asked myself what could be the matter with the fellow, and whether he was doing this because he feared I was about to confront him. But he had heard something I had not – the voice of Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī who was out in the centre of the valley, standing by his camel. He had lopped its ears and turned its saddle back to front, rent his shirt and was yelling, "O Quraysh! The baggage camels! The baggage camels! Your goods being brought by Abū Sufyān have been waylaid by Muḥammad and his men! I don't think you can save them! Help! Help!"'

"Ibn 'Abbās concluded, 'And so all this diverted us both from our personal conflict.

"The Meccans then made quick preparations commenting, "Do Muḥammad and his men think it's going to turn out as it did with the raid on the caravan of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī? No way! By God, they'll find out differently!"'

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related the vision of 'Ātika in much the same terms as did Ibn Ishāq. He stated, "And when Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr spoke in this fashion the Meccans were very worried about 'Ātika's vision and went forth to battle feeling insecure and fearing the worst."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Meccans used to respond in two ways. They either went forth themselves or sent another in their place. Not one of their leaders

stayed behind now, except for Abū Lahab b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; he sent al-ʿĀṣi b. al-Mughīra in his place. He hired him for a debt of 4,000 dirhams al-ʿĀṣi owed him that he could not pay."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ibn Abū Najih related to me that Umayya b. Khalaf had made up his mind to stay behind; he was a dignified old sheikh, tall and portly. 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayt came up to him, while he was sitting there in the mosque with some of his family, carrying a censer with lit scented embers which he placed before him, saying, 'Here, Abū 'Alī, enjoy the perfume! You're just a woman!'

"Umayya responded, 'God damn you, and what you bring!' He then got himself ready and left with the others."

This, then, is the anecdote as given by Ibn Ishāq. Al-Bukhārī told it quite differently. He stated, "Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān related to me, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Ishāq quoting 'Amr b. Maymūn, that he heard 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd relate the following from Sa'd b. Mu'adh. Sa'd recounted that he was a friend of Umayya b. Khalaf and that when Umayya visited Medina he would stay with him, just as Sa'd would stay with Umayya when he came to Mecca.

"After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had moved to Medina, Sa'd went to stay with Umayya in Mecca while performing the *umra*, the 'lesser pilgrimage'. Sa'd asked Umayya, 'Would you look out for me some time when it's empty there and I can circumambulate the *ka'ba*?' Umayya accompanied him forth at close to midday, but they were met by Abū Jahl, who said, '(Abū) Ṣafwān, who is this with you?' He replied, 'This is Sa'd.' Abū Jahl said (to Sa'd) 'What's this? Do I really see you going in safety around Mecca when you've given shelter to the Sabians and proclaimed your help and protection for them? I swear, if you weren't in the company of Abū Ṣafwān you'd not return home safely!'

"Sa'd replied, raising his voice, 'If you were to block my way here I'd do worse to you by blocking yours to Medina!'

"Umayya asked him, 'Sa'd, don't raise your voice to Abū al-Ḥakam; he is the leader of our valley.'

"Sa'd responded, 'Let's talk no more of it; and, I swear, I've heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say that they are going to kill you!' Umayya asked, 'In Mecca?' Sa'd replied, 'I don't know.'

"Umayya was very much afraid at this.

"When he returned home he asked his wife, 'Umm Ṣafwān, do you know what Sa'd told me?' 'What did he say?' she asked. 'He claims that Muḥammad told them they would kill me! I asked him whether in Mecca, and he said he didn't know. So, I swear, I'm not leaving Mecca,' Umayya told her.

"When the day of the battle of Badr arrived, Abū Jahl assembled the Meccan force by asking them to save their caravan. Umayya did not want to go to battle, but Abū Jahl came to him and said, 'Abū Ṣafwān, when people see that you are staying behind, you, one of the valley leaders, they will remain with you.'

"Abū Jahl kept on at him until Umayya responded, 'You win! I'll purchase the finest camel in Mecca!'

"He then told his wife, 'Umm Ṣafwān, get my equipment ready!' 'But have you forgotten what your Yathrib friend told you?' 'No,' he replied, 'I only want to go a little way with them.'

"After leaving, Umayya tied up his camel at every stop they made, right on up to Badr, where God took his life."

Al-Bukhārī also told this elsewhere, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, that account being similar.

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Khalaf b. al-Walīd, from Abū Sa'īd, both of them quoting Isrā'īl. In Isrā'īl's account Umayya's wife commented, "I swear, Muḥammad never lies."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When they had gathered their equipment and were assembled to depart, Quraysh remembered the dispute they had with the Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna. They expressed fear that they might attack their rear. This quarrel related to a son of Ḥaṣṣ b. al-Akhyaf of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy who had been killed by a man of the Banū Bakr, on the orders of 'Āmir b. Yazīd b. 'Āmir b. al-Mulawwah. His brother Mikraz b. Ḥaṣṣ took revenge for him, killing 'Āmir by plunging his sword into his stomach.

"He then brought the sword by night and hung it up in the curtains of the *ka'ba*. Quraysh therefore feared the Banū Bakr for what had occurred between them."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, 'When Quraysh were ready to leave they remembered their problem with the Banū Bakr and that almost diverted them. But *Iblīs*, Satan, appeared to them in the form of Surāqa b. Mālīk b. Ju'sham al-Mudliji, one of the nobles of the Banu Kināna. He told them, "I will give you protection against Kināna attacking you from your rear." They therefore hurried away to battle.'"

I observe that this illustrates the words of the Almighty, "Do not be like those who left their homes exulting and showing off before men, blocking people from the way of God, for God was aware of what they were doing. And when the devil made their works look good to them, he said, 'No one will overcome you today; I will be your protector.' But when the two factions met he turned on his heels, saying, 'I am quit of you; I see what you do not see. I fear God! God is fierce in punishing.'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.47-8).

He, God curse him, deceived them, so that they left, with him following behind them, stage by stage, bringing his troops and his banners with him, as several of them reported. And so he delivered them to their deaths. When he saw the strife, and the angels coming down to help and sighted Gabriel, he turned on his heels and said, "I am quit of you; I see what you do not see. I fear God!"

This is similar to the words of God Almighty, "like the devil, when he says to man, 'Disbelieve!' and when man disbelieves, he says, 'I am quit of you; I fear God, the Lord of the worlds'" (*sūrat al-Hashr*; LIX, v.16).

And God Almighty said, "And say: 'The truth has come; and falsehood has vanished; falsehood is ever bound to vanish'" (*sūrat Banū Isrā'īl* or *al-Isrā'*; XVII, v.81).

And so when Satan, God damn him, on that day saw the angels descend to give victory, he fled. He was the first to flee, though he had been the chief encourager and helper of Quraysh, deceiving them and making them false promises. Satan's promises were only to mislead.

Yūnus stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, "Quraysh went forth with a sense of anxiety and weakness. They consisted of 950 warriors led by 200 cavalry. They had slave girls with them striking tambourines and chanting invective against the Muslims."

He lists day by day those providing food for the Quraysh force.

Al-Umawī stated, "The first person to slaughter for them following their departure from Mecca was Abū Jahl. He slaughtered ten camels. At 'Asfān Umayya b. Khalaf slaughtered nine, and Suhayl b. 'Amr ten more at Qadīd. At Qadīd they turned off to the wells in the direction of the sea coast and remained a day there. Shayba b. Rabi'ā slaughtered nine more for them. Next morning they reached al-Juhfā, where 'Utba b. Rabi'ā slaughtered ten and the next morning, at al-Abwā', Nubih and Munbih, two sons of al-Ḥajjāj slaughtered ten. Next, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib slaughtered ten, and Abū al-Bakhtari ten more at the well at Badr. They then ate from their provisions."

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to us, quoting Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, as follows, 'The polytheists had with them 60 horses and 600 coats of mail, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had with him 2 horses and 60 coats of mail.

This, then, was how they left Mecca and moved towards Badr.

Regarding the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out with his men several days after the start of Ramaḍān. He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm to lead the people in prayer and he sent back Abū Lubāba from al-Rawḥā' to administer Medina.

"He entrusted the banner, which was white, to Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, while he was preceded by two black flags one, called *al-'Uqāb*, the standard, carried by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, the other borne by one of the Helpers."

Ibn Hishām stated that the Helpers' flag was carried by Sa'd b. Mu'adh. Al-Umawī said it was with al-Khabbāb b. al-Mundhir.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Qays b. Abū Ṣaṣ'a, a brother of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, over the rear guard."

Al-Umawī said that they had two horses, on one of which rode Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, and on the other al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. Sa'd b. Khaythama had charge of the right flank, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad that of the left.

Imām Aḥmad recounted, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ishāq, from Ḥāritha b. Maḍrab, who quoted ‘Alī as saying, “The only horseman we had at Badr was al-Miqdād.”

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Ibn Wahb, from Abū Sakhb, from Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Balkhī, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that ‘Alī told him, “We only had two horses with us – that of al-Zubayr and that of al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad.” He was referring to the battle of Badr.

Al-Umawī stated, “My father related to us, quoting Ismā‘īl b. Abū Khālīd, from al-Taymī, who said, ‘At the battle of Badr the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had with him two horsemen, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām on the right flank, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad on the left.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “They had with them 70 camels they would ride in turn. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shared one with ‘Alī and Marthad b. Abū Marthad, while Ḥamza and Zayd b. Ḥāritha, along with Abū Kabsha and Anisa, two freedmen of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took turns with another.”

This is what Ibn Ishāq stated, may God Almighty have mercy on him.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “‘Affān related to us, from Ḥammād b. Salama, ‘Āṣim b. Bahdala related to us, from Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, who said, ‘At Badr we were three to a camel. Abū Lubāba and ‘Alī were the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ He also said, ‘They were the ones taking turns riding with him, and they told him, “Let us walk.” He replied, “You are no stronger than me; nor can I dispense with the reward more than you can.”’”

Al-Nasā‘ī recounted this, from al-Fallās, from Ibn Mahdī, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

I would comment that this might have been before Abū Lubāba was sent back from al-Rawḥā, and that it was thereafter that he shared with ‘Alī and Marthad instead of Abū Lubāba. But God knows best.

The Imām Aḥmad stated, “Muḥammad b. Ja‘far related to us, quoting Sa‘īd, from Qatāda, from Zurāra b. Abū Awfā, from Sa‘īd b. Hishām, from ‘Ā’isha, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the bells be cut off the necks of the camels at the battle of Badr.”

This line of transmission accords with the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. However, al-Nasā‘ī recounted it from Abū al-Ash‘ath, from Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith, from Sa‘īd b. Abū ‘Urūba, from Qatāda.

Our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Sheikh al-Mizzī, stated in *al-Aṭraf* (*The Extremes*): “It was Sa‘īd b. Bishr who quoted directly from Qatāda. And also Hishām gave it from Qatāda, from Zurāra, from Abū Hurayra.” But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yahyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from ‘Uqayl, from Ibn Shihāb, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b b. Mālīk, who quoted ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b as reporting, “I heard Ka‘b b. Mālīk say, ‘The only expedition in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) participated, that I did not attend, except for the raid on Tabūk, was the battle of Badr. And God did not reproach anyone who stayed behind from it. Because when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth on it he was heading for the Quraysh

caravan; God, however, brought the Muslims into contact with their enemies unexpectedly.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his way out towards Mecca via the upper part of Medina. His path then led by al-‘Aqīq, Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and Ūlāt al-Jaysh. From there he passed by Turbān, Malal, Ghamīs al-Ḥamām, Ṣukhayrāt al-Yamāma, al-Sayyāla, Fajj al-Rawḥā’ and Shunūka, this being the direct route.

“Arriving at ‘Irq al-Zabiyya he met a bedouin. They asked him about other people, but received no news from him. The Muslims told him, ‘Pay your respects to the Messenger of God! (ṢAAS).’ The man asked, ‘Do you have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) among you?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. The man then did greet him, but asked, ‘If you’re the Messenger of God, then tell me what is inside the belly of this female camel of mine.’ Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh responded, ‘Don’t you put questions to the Messenger of God! (ṢAAS). Come on over to me, and I’ll tell you that. You mounted her and so she has a little goat inside her belly from you!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘You’ve used obscene language to the man!’ He then turned away from Salama.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt at Sajsaj, where there is the well of al-Rawḥā’, and proceeded on to al-Munṣaraf, where he left the Mecca road which goes to the left and took that to the right, towards al-Nāziyya, heading for Badr. He continued on this path for some way, crossing a valley called Ruḥqān, between al-Nāziyya and the al-Ṣafrā’ pass. He crossed through the pass, then emerged from it and continued to near al-Ṣafrā’. From there he sent Basbas b. ‘Amr al-Juhānī, an ally of the Banū Sā‘ida, and ‘Adī b. Abū al-Zaghba’, an ally of the Banū al-Najjar, on to Badr to seek any news of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb and his caravan.”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated that he had dispatched them both before he left Medina and that when they returned and reported on the status of the caravan, he sent people ahead to it.

If what both Mūsā b. ‘Uqba and Ibn Ishāq stated is correct, then he sent them forward twice. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq, God bless him, went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded ahead and approached al-Ṣafrā’, a village set between two mountains. He asked what were the names of the two mountains and was told that one was called Musliḥ and the other Mukhrī’. He then asked about the people living on them and they were named as the Banū al-Nār and the Banū Ḥurāq, two sub-tribes of Ghifār. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not like these names, thinking them an ill-omen,⁵⁸ and so he left them and al-Ṣafrā’ to his left, making his way along a valley called Dhafirān. Having gone through it, he made camp.”

58. The words *musliḥ* and *mukhrī’* can both be interpreted as “he who defecates”; *al-nār* means fire, and *ḥurāq* means conflagration.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "There he received the news that Quraysh had set out to protect their caravan.

"He told his men about this, and asked their opinion.

"Abū Bakr arose and spoke, giving good advice.

"Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb arose and spoke, giving good advice.

"Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr then got up and said, 'Carry on as ever God tells you, O Messenger of God. We are with you. We will certainly not say to you what the people of Israel said to Moses – that is, "You and your Lord go and fight together; we are staying here!" Rather, (we say) you and your Lord go and fight together, and we will fight along with you! By Him who sent you with the truth, if you were to take us even to Bark al-Ghimād,⁵⁹ we would fight with you all over the place until you reached it!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed his appreciation and blessed him. He then said, 'Now you advise me, men!' He was really addressing the Helpers, because they were the majority and because, when they had given him allegiance at al-'Aqaba they had told him, 'We are free of responsibility for you until you reach our territory. When you join us, you will be under our protection, and we will then protect you as we do our own sons and women.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was therefore apprehensive that they would feel obliged to help him only against those enemies attacking him in Medina, and that they had no duty to proceed against an enemy beyond their lands.

"When he said this, Sa'd b. Mu'adh responded, 'Is it us you are asking, O Messenger of God?' When he said that it was, Sa'd affirmed, 'We do believe in you and bear witness that you bring the truth. We have given you our oaths and agreement to listen to and to obey all your commands. Proceed as ever you decide, for we are with you. I swear, if you were to plunge into the sea, we would do so with you, not one of us would remain behind. We would have no reluctance to accompany you in confronting our enemy tomorrow. We are stoic in battle, trustworthy in the fray. Let us hope that God will give you pleasure in us. Go forward with God's blessings!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was delighted with Sa'd's words and they spurred him on. He then said, 'Go forward in good spirits! God has promised me I shall take one of the two parties. I swear by God I feel I can already see their destruction!'"

This was how Ibn Ishāq, God have mercy on him, related it. And there are various testimonies to it.

One such is what al-Bukhārī related in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He stated that, "Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Isrā'īl, from Mukhāriq, from Ṭāriq b. Shihāb, who quoted Ibn Mas'ūd as having said, 'I witnessed a scene involving al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad such as to make me more his friend than I would have

59. Apparently the reference is to a place some five days' journey away from Mecca towards Yemen; presumably the name is used to imply a distant and inaccessible place.

been from what was reported of him. He went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was praying against the polytheists. Al-Miqdād said, "We will not say as Mūsā's people did to him, 'You go off with your Lord and fight along with Him; we're staying here!' Instead, we will fight on your right and your left, and in front of you and behind you!"

"(Ibn Mas'ūd went on) 'At that I saw the face of the Prophet (ṢAAS) light up in delight.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this; Muslim did not. The former related it several places in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Mukhāriq. Al-Nasā'ī also recounted it from his *ḥadīth*; his version states, "At the battle of Badr, Miqdād rode a horse." He then related it.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ubayda related it to us, he being the son of Humayd, from Humayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought advice concerning going to battle at Badr. First Abū Bakr gave him advice and again he sought it from all. Then 'Umar gave him advice and again he sought it. One of the Helpers observed, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wants your advice, O Helpers.'

"One of them said, 'Well, O Messenger of God, we'll not speak as the people of Israel did to Moses, that is, "Go off with your Lord and fight; we're staying here!" If you were to race all the way to Bark al-Ghimād, we'd follow you!"

Two-thirds of this chain of authorities meets the conditions for being considered *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic".

Aḥmad also stated, "Affān related to us, quoting Hammād, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālīk, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought advice when he learned of the approach of Abū Sufyān. Abū Bakr spoke, and he turned away from him. Then 'Umar spoke, and he turned away from him. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda then said, 'It's to us the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is wanting to respond. By Him in whose hand is my soul, if you were to order us to plunge into the sea we would do so. And if you told us to race all the way to Bark al-Ghimād we would do so.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) urged his men forward.

"They set off and reached Badr. People came to them with reports of Quraysh, and one of these was a black youth of the Banū al-Ḥajjāj whom they captured. The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him about Abū Sufyān and those men with him. He would respond, 'I have no knowledge of Abū Sufyān. But it was Abū Jahl b. Hisham, 'Utba b. Rabī'ā and Umayya b. Khalaf.' When he said this they beat him. When they did so, he would then say, 'Yes, I will tell you! It was Abū Sufyān.' When they let him go and asked him, he said, 'I have no knowledge of Abū Sufyān. But it was Abū Jahl, 'Utba, Shayba and Umayya.' When he said this too, they would beat him.

"Meanwhile the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was standing there praying. When he saw this scene, he left, saying, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hands, you beat him when he speaks the truth, and you leave him alone if he lies!"

"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This is the place where so and so shall fall. He then placed his hands on the ground here and here." And no one effaced the place where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had placed his hand.'"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr, from 'Affān in a similar form.

Ibn Abū Ḥatīm related in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), as did Ibn Mardawayh, and the wording is his, through 'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Aslam, from Abū 'Imrān, who said he had heard Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while we were in Medina, 'I have received information that Abū Sufyān's caravan is approaching. Do you want us to go out against it in the hope that God will grant it to us as booty?' We replied, 'Yes.'"

"And so he went forth as did we too. When we had travelled for a day or two, he asked us, "What should we do about their force? They have been informed of our advance." We replied, "No; we just don't have the strength to do battle with them. We came seeking the caravan."

"Again he asked what we thought of engaging them in battle and we replied as before."

"Then al-Miqdād b. 'Amr arose and said, "In such case we would not say to you what Moses' people told him – that is, 'You and your Lord can go off and fight; we're staying here.'"

"We wished that our people, the "Helpers", had spoken as al-Miqdād had done, preferring that to great wealth. And then God the Almighty and Glorious made revelation to His Messenger, with the words, "just as your Lord brought you forth from your house with the truth. A group of the believers are reluctant"" (sūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.5).

He then related the rest of the *ḥadīth* as above.

Ibn Mardawayh also related, through Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqama b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Badr and, having gone as far as al-Rawḥā', there he addressed his force. 'What do you think?' he asked them. Abū Bakr replied, 'O Messenger of God, we have heard that they are so-on and so-forth.' Again he asked them what they thought, and 'Umar responded as Abū Bakr had done. But he asked a third time what they thought.

"Sa'd b. Mu'adh then asked him, 'O Messenger of God, is it us you ask? By Him who honoured you and sent down the Book to you, I've never travelled this road before and so have no knowledge of it. But if you were to travel on to Bark al-Ghimād, in Yemen, we'd accompany you. We'll not be like those who told Moses, "Go off with your Lord and fight; we're staying here." Instead, you go off with your Lord and fight, and we will follow you. And if you proceeded for one purpose and God gave you another, then recognize what God has charged you with and proceed. Make or break with whomever you wish, make war or peace with whomever you wish, and take from our wealth whatever you wish.'"

There was a revelation in the Qur'ān concerning Sa'd's words, "Just as your Lord brought you forth from your home with the truth. A group of the believers are reluctant" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII. v.5).

Al-Umawī related this in his work on the military expeditions and he added, after his words, "and take from our wealth whatever you wish" the phrase "and give us what you wish. And what you take from us will be dearer to us than what you have left. Whatever orders you give us we will follow completely. And, I swear, if you were to go on until you reached al-Bark of Ghamdān, we would go with you."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled on from Dhafrān and traversed the passes called al-Aṣāfir. From there he went down to a town called al-Dābba, leaving al-Ḥannān on his right. This is a huge sandhill, like a mountain, and from there he went on down to near Badr. He and another man then rode on further."

Ibn Hishām stated that this man was Abū Bakr.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "This was related to me by Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Ḥabbān. They went on and finally stopped near an old bedouin sheikh. He asked him about Quraysh and about Muḥammad and his Companions and what news he had of them. The old man replied, 'I'll not tell you until you tell me to whom you belong.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You tell us and we'll tell you.' The sheikh asked, 'This for that?' 'Yes,' he agreed.

"The old man then said, 'I have been told that Muḥammad and his Companions left on such and such a day. And if the person who told me this spoke the truth, then today they should be at such and such a place.' This was the name of the very place where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) actually was. 'And,' he went on, 'I was told that Quraysh left on day so-and-so. And if the person who told me this spoke the truth, then today they should be at such-and-such.' This was the place where Quraysh then were.

"When he had finished his report, he asked, 'And who are you?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'We are from *mā'*, "water".' He then left. As he did so the old man was asking, 'What's that about *mā'*? You mean you're from the *mā'*, the water, of Iraq?'"

Ibn Hishām said that this man's name was Sufyān al-Ḍamrī.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to his Companions. That evening he dispatched 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, along with a number of his men, to the well at Badr to seek news; it was Yazīd b. Rūmān who told me this, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

"They came across a watering-party of Quraysh among whom were Aslam, a youth of the Banū al-Ḥajjāj, along with 'Arīḍ Abū Yasār, a youth of the Banū al-ʿĀṣ b. Sa'd. They brought them back and questioned them, while the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was standing praying. The youths told them they were water carriers sent to bring them water.

"The Muslim force disliked what they said and, believing they were under the command of Abū Sufyān, beat them. After they had been severely beaten, the youths said that they were from Abū Sufyān. The Muslims then released them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bowed and prostrated in prayer twice and said, 'When they spoke the truth you beat them and when they lied you released them! They did speak the truth, by God. They are of Quraysh. Now, you two, tell me about Quraysh!' They responded, 'They are beyond that sandhill you can see over on the far side of the valley.' That sandhill was called al-ʿAqanqal.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'How many men do they have?' 'Very many,' they replied. 'How many in number?' he asked. 'We don't know,' they answered. 'How many camels do they slaughter each day?' he next asked. 'Some days nine, others ten,' they told him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concluded, 'So their force must be between 900 and 1000 men.'

"He then asked them, 'What Quraysh nobles do they have among them?'

"They replied, "Utba b. Rabiʿa, Shayba b. Rabiʿa, Abū al-Bukhtārī b. Hishām, Hākim b. Hizām, Nawfal b. Khuwaylid, al-Hārith b. ʿAmir b. Nawfal, Ṭuʿayma b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal, al-Naḍr b. al-Hārith, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf, Nabih and Munabbih, two sons of al-Ḥajjāj, Suhayl b. ʿAmr and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to his men and told them, 'This Mecca has thrown at you slices of its very liver!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Basbas b. ʿAmr and ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zaghbāʾ had gone on ahead to Badr and halted at a hill near the well. They then took a water-skin they had and went to fetch water. Majdī b. ʿAmr al-Juhani was there at the well and ʿAdī and Basbas heard two girls from the village laying claims on the water. The one under obligation was saying to her companion, 'The caravan will arrive tomorrow or the day after. I will work for them, then pay you what I owe you.' Majdī answered, 'You are right.' He then made a settlement between them.

"ʿAdī and Basbas overheard that, mounted their camels and left, riding back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and telling him what they heard.

"Abū Sufyān led the caravan cautiously ahead to the well and asked Majdī b. ʿAmr, 'Did you see anyone?' He replied, 'I saw no one suspicious, except for two riders who dismounted over at that hill, took water in a skin they had, then left.'

"Abū Sufyān made his way to where they had dismounted and picked up some of the droppings of their camels, broke it up and found it contained date-stones. He then said, 'I swear this is from feed of Yathrib.'

"He then hurried back to his men, struck his camel to direct it away from the road and headed it towards the sea coast, leaving Badr to his left and moving off at top speed.

"Quraysh advanced and at al-Juhfa Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf had a vision. He said, 'I had a vision in my sleep, while half-way between waking and sleeping, of a man riding a horse and leading a camel, who came to a halt. He then said, 'Uṭba b. Rabi'a, Shayba b. Rabi'a, Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf and so on, are all killed!' He went on to enumerate other chiefs of Quraysh as well who were killed at Badr.

"Juhaym went on, 'I then saw him strike the upper chest of his camel and send it on into the camp. And every single tent there was splattered with its blood.'

"When Juhaym's vision was reported to Abū Jahl, God damn him, he said, 'So he too is a prophet from the 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib family! He'll know tomorrow who will be killed, if we meet in battle!'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Thinking he had saved his caravan, Abū Sufyān sent word to Quraysh, 'You came out to do battle in order to protect your caravan, people and wealth; God has now saved these, so go back!'

"But Abū Jahl b. Hishām said, 'By God, we'll not turn around until we reach Badr!'"

Badr was a place where the Arabs would hold a fair and market each year.

(Abū Jahl went on) "'We'll stay there three days, slaughter some camels, eat well, drink wine and the entertainers will play music for us. The bedouin will get to hear of our journey and of our gathering there, and they will always respect us for it. Let's proceed ahead.'

"Al-Akhnas b. Sharīq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of the Banū Zuhra, who lived in al-Juhfa, said, 'O Banū Zuhra, God has saved your wealth for you and has now rendered your companion Makhrama b. Nawfal safe; since you only came out to protect him and the wealth he bears, put the blame for cowardice on me and go back. There is no need for you to go to battle when you have suffered no loss. Don't do as he says.'

"And they did go back; not one member of the Zuhra tribe took part in the battle of Badr. They obeyed him because they recognized his authority.

"Every sub-tribe of Quraysh except the Banū 'Adī did participate. Not a single one of them took part.

"And so the Banū Zuhra went back with al-Akhnas; not a man from these two tribes engaged in the battle."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "And so the force proceeded. There was some debate between Ṭalib b. Abū Ṭalib, who was present there, and some of the Quraysh. They told him, 'We well know, you men of the Banū Hashim, that even though you have come out with us, that your sympathy lies with Muḥammad.' And so Ṭalib went back to Mecca with some other men. On that subject he spoke the following verses,

'O God, if Ṭalib goes to battle with a force allied to
fight in great troops like there,

Then let him be the one despoiled, not the despoiler,
the one defeated, not the one defeating.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Quraysh proceeded and made camp on the far side of the valley, behind the sandhill called al-‘Aqanqal. The floor of the valley, called Yalyal, was between Badr and the huge sandhill, al-‘Aqanqal, behind which were Quraysh. The well at Badr was on the other side of the valley, nearest to Medina.”

I would comment that on this subject the Almighty said, “You were on the nearer side, they on the further, and the caravan was below you” (that is, over towards the coast) “and had you made appointment for this you would have failed to keep it; however, (the battle did take place) in order for God to bring about something already ordained” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.42).

Ibn Ishāq went on, “And God dispatched the heavens (with rain). The valley was soft ground and the water from the sky merely dampened the earth for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his force but did not impede their progress. But Quraysh had such rain fall upon them that they could not move ahead.”

I comment that on this God spoke, “And He sent down upon you water from the sky to purify you thereby, to remove from you the devil’s filth, to strengthen your hearts and to steady your feet” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11).

Here God refers to cleansing them both inside and out, to steadying their feet and giving them courage, to thwarting the devil and his inspiring them with fear and doubts. This action was to give strength both within and without. He sent down His help for them from above, as exemplified in His words, “when your Lord revealed to the angels that I am with you. And so make those who believe; for I shall cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike above their necks” (upon their heads, that is) “and strike off all their finger-tips” (so that they cannot grip their weapons). “This is because they were hostile to God and to His Messenger. And God is violent in His punishment of those who are hostile to God and His Messenger. Taste that then! And (know) that the punishment of hell is for disbelievers” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.12–14).

Ibn Jarīr stated, “Hārūn b. Ishāq related to me, quoting Muṣ‘ab b. al-Miqdām, quoting Isrā’īl quoting Abū Ishāq, from Hāritha, from ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, ‘That night – the one preceding the morning when the battle of Badr occurred – it drizzled and we took shelter from it beneath the tree and under leather shields. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained up praying and he exhorted us for the battle ahead.’”

The Imām Aḥmad stated, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī related to us, from Shu‘ba, from Abū Ishāq, from Hāritha b. Miḍrab, from ‘Alī, who said, ‘The only horseman we had at the battle of Badr was al-Miqdād. From what I saw, all slept except for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who remained beneath a tree praying and weeping until morning came.’”

This *ḥadīth* will be given hereafter at greater length.

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Bundār, from Ghundar, from Shu'ba. Mujāhid stated, "He sent down upon them rain which settled the dust and compressed the soil for them. It pleased them to have their feet tread upon it."

I comment that the night before Badr was the eve of Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent that night near the stump of a tree there, praying. He kept prostrating himself and repeating, "O Everlasting One! O Self-Reliant One!" (*sūrat al-Baqara*, II, v.255).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to urge his men on to the well, and when he reached the nearest source at Badr, he stopped there.

"It was related to me by some men of the Banū Salama, that they had been told that al-Ḥubāb b. Mundhir b. al-Jamūḥ said, 'O Messenger of God, is this the place about which God revealed to you that we should not advance beyond nor stop before? Or is this a question of opinion, warfare and tactics?'

"He replied, 'It's one of opinion, warfare and tactics.'

"Al-Ḥubāb then said, 'Well, O Messenger of God, this isn't a place to stop. We should go ahead till we get to the well nearest to their force and stop there. We should then stop up the wells behind it and build a cistern and fill it with water. Then we can fight them and have water to drink, while they'll have none.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'You've had a good idea!'"

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to us as follows: 'Al-Kalbī claimed, quoting Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was gathering the men into groups with Gabriel on his right, an angel came to him and said, 'O Muḥammad, God greets you with peace.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'He is peace; from Him comes peace, and to Him peace goes.' The angel then said, 'You are to do as al-Ḥubāb b. Mundhir told you.'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "O Gabriel, do you know this man?" He replied, "I don't know all the people of heaven, but he is truthful. He is no devil."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and those with him arose and proceeded on to the well nearest to the Quraysh force, where they halted. He then ordered that the other wells be blocked and built a cistern at the well where he had stopped and filled it with water. They then threw the water jugs into it."

Some say that when al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir made his suggestion to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) an angel descended from the sky while Gabriel was there with him. The angel said, "O Muḥammad, your Lord greets you with peace and says to you that you are to do what al-Ḥubāb advised you." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked up at Gabriel who said, "I don't know all the angels, but he is an angel, not a devil."

Al-Umawī stated that they halted at the well that was nearest to the polytheists at midnight and made camp there. They completely filled the cistern, and so the polytheists had no water.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that he was informed that Sa’d b. Mu’adh stated, ‘O Prophet of God, should we not build you a cover where you could stay and near which we could tether your mounts, and then we can meet our enemy. If God gives us victory over our enemy, that will be fine by us; but if the opposite happens, you can mount up and join those of our people behind us; those who stayed do not love you any less than we do. If they had thought you would be going into battle, they would not have stayed. God will protect you through them and they will give you sincere counsel and will fight hard with you.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thanked him and prayed for him. Then a shelter was constructed for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) where he stayed.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When morning came, the Quraysh force advanced.

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw them coming forward into the valley from their position behind the sandhill at al-‘Aqanqal, he said, ‘O God, these men advancing are Quraysh in all their vanity and pride; they are antagonistic to You and are calling Your Prophet a liar. O God, give us Your victory You promised us! O God, destroy them this morning.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, having seen ‘Utba b. Rabi‘a in the Quraysh force mounted on a red camel, ‘Whatever good may be in them resides in the man mounted on the red camel. If they were to obey him, they would be well guided.’

“Khufāf b. Aymāḥ b. Raḥaḍa, or his father Aymāḥ b. Raḥaḍa al-Ghifārī, had sent to Quraysh a son of his with some slaughtered camels which he was donating to them, telling them, ‘If you wish us to provide you with weapons and men we will do so.’ Quraysh sent back with his son the following response, ‘You have maintained family ties and fulfilled your duty. If we are only fighting men, we will not lack the power. But if we are fighting God, as Muḥammad claims, no one could stand up to Him.’

“When the Quraysh force made camp, some of their men came forward to the water cistern of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); they included Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Let them come.’ And every man who drank that day was killed, except for Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who survived. He later accepted Islam and became a good Muslim; whenever he later made a serious oath, he would say, ‘By Him who saved me at the battle of Badr.’”

I would comment that the troops of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consisted of 313 men, as will be shown in a chapter we will give following the account of the battle in which we will list their names in alphabetical order, if God wills it.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from al-Barāʾ, there is the *ḥadīth*: “We used to relate that those Muslims present at Badr totalled 300 men and some tens more, the same number as the companions of Ṭālūt, who crossed the river along with him; and all those who did so were believers.”

Al-Bukhārī also quotes from the same source as follows, "I and Ibn 'Umar were deemed too young to participate in the battle of Badr. The Emigrants there numbered some 60 men, while the Helpers totalled some 240."

Imām Aḥmad related from Naṣr b. Rṣāb, from Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Muqsim, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Those participating at Badr totalled 313, while the Emigrants numbered 76. The defeat occurred on Friday, 17th Ramaḍān."

God Almighty stated, "And recall when God showed them to you in your sleep as few; and if He had showed them to you as many, you would have lost courage, and would have disputed about the matter. However, God granted salvation" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.43).

That related to a dream he had that night. It is said that he slept in the shelter and that he told his men that they should not fight until they received permission. When the Quraysh force approached, Abū Bakr began to wake him up, saying, "O Messenger of God, they are getting close! Wake up!" God had showed them to him in his sleep as being few in number.

Al-Umawī related this, and it is very strange.

The Almighty stated, "And when He showed them to you, when you met, as few in number in your sight, as He diminished you in theirs, in order to bring about a matter already decreed" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.44).

When the two sides were to engage in battle, God made each of them fewer in the view of the other so that they would have courage to face each other, there being very great wisdom in this.

This is not contrary to the statement of God Almighty: "There was a sign for you in the two sides battling together, one fighting for God, the other unbelieving and seeing them by their own sight as twice their own like. And God aids with His victory those He wishes" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.12).

The meaning according to the most authentic statements is that the unbelievers did indeed view the believers as twice their number. This was when the battle and swordsmanship had begun, God cast weakness and terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. He first led them on by showing them as few in the initial engagement and then aided the believers by making them seem twice as many as they were so that the enemy was weakened and overcome. For this reason God stated, "God aids with his help those He wishes. And there is a lesson in that for those who have vision" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.12).

Isrā'īl stated, from Abū Ishāq, Abū 'Ubayd and 'Abd Allāh, "They were made fewer in number in our sight on the day of the battle of Badr, to the point where I said to a man by my side, 'Do you think they are 70 strong?' He replied, 'I see them as 100!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated that Abū Ishāq b. Yasār and other scholars related to him that sheikhs of the Helpers had said, "When the Quraysh force felt secure they sent out 'Umayr b. Wāḥb al-Jumāḥī with orders to estimate the size of the force of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"He circled the camp on his horse and returned, saying, 'They are approximately 300 men in number; but be patient while I check out whether they have any others hidden or in reserve.'"

"He rode far off into the valley but saw nothing. So he came back and told them, 'I saw nothing more; but what I did see, O Quraysh, was camels bearing death. The Yathrib mounts bear imminent death. They are people whose only aid and refuge is their swords. I swear I don't foresee any of them being killed before he kills one of you. And if they do kill of you a like number as their own, what good will it be to live after that? Consider carefully.'

"When Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām heard that he walked through the force to 'Utba b. Rabi'a and said, 'Al-Walīd, you are a leader and a commander of Quraysh; do you wish to be remembered with pride by your people until the end of time?'

"'How do you mean, Ḥakīm?' he asked. 'Take your force back and deal with the issue of your ally 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī.' 'Consider it done,' he agreed, 'you have my guarantee of it. He was under my protection and so it is my duty to pay his bloodwit and provide compensation for what was taken from him. Go and talk to Ibn al-Ḥanzaliyya – meaning Abū Jahl – he is the only one I fear might make trouble.'

"'Utba then arose to speak, saying, 'O Quraysh, by fighting Muḥammad and his Companions you will accomplish nothing. If you do attack him, each of you will always be looking at others who will dislike looking back at you; you will be known to have killed their cousin or a member of their tribe. Go home and leave Muḥammad up to the other Arabs. If they kill him that will be accomplishing your aims and if otherwise, he will find you not to have been exposed to (the risk of) what you now plan.'

"Ḥakīm went on, 'So I went on to Abū Jahl whom I found to have put on a coat of mail and was getting it ready. I told him, "Abū al-Ḥakam, 'Utba has sent me to you." And I told him what he had said. He replied, "I swear, his lungs filled with terror when he saw Muḥammad and his men. By God, we will not return until God decides the issue between us and Muḥammad. 'Utba is not sincere in what he says. He sees Muḥammad and his men as fodder for camels awaiting slaughter, and his own son is there among them. He's scaring you for his own sake.'"

"Abū Jahl then sent for 'Āmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī and told him, 'This ally of yours wants our force to return home. Yet you see before you your vengeance; stand up and demand your rights for the slaying of your brother.'

"'Āmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī arose, uncovered his head and proclaimed, 'Woe for 'Amr! Woe for 'Amr!'

"And so the mood for warfare became heated and the attitude of the Quraysh force hardened and they became set in their evil course, while 'Utba's advice was ignored.

"When Abū Jahl's words 'his lungs filled with terror' reached 'Utba, he exclaimed, 'That fellow with the filthy yellow backside will find out whether it's me or him whose lungs filled in terror!'

"Utba then looked for a steel helmet to put on his head. But he could not find one with the army that was big enough for his skull. Realizing this, he wrapped his head in a cloth he had."

Ibn Jarīr related through al-Musawwar b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Yarbū'ī, from his father, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "While we were at the home of Marwān b al-Ḥakam, his doorkeeper came in and said, 'Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām asks if he can come in.' Marwān said that he could, and when Ḥakīm came in, he said to him, 'Welcome to you, Abū Khālīd, do sit close by.' He then moved away from the central cushion, taking a seat with the cushion next to him. He then greeted him and said, 'Tell us about the battle of Badr.'

"Ḥakīm then said, 'We went out as far as al-Juhfa, at which point one entire Quraysh tribe went back, none of their polytheists consequently being at Badr. We then went on to al-'Udwa where we stopped as the Almighty had said. I then went to 'Utba b. Rabi'a and asked, 'Abū al-Walīd, how would you like to enjoy honour for this day for as long as you live?' "What should I do?" he asked. I replied, "Ask of Muḥammad only compensation for the death of your ally, al-Ḥaḍramī; be satisfied with his blood-money and the force will go home."

"“You have convinced me,” he said, “go on to Ibn al-Hanzaliyya (meaning Abū Jahl) and tell him his cousin asks him if he is willing to now return home with his men.”

"“So I went to him (Abū Jahl) and found him with a group of his men all around him. There too, standing in front of him, was Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī who was saying, “I have cancelled my contract with ‘Abd Shams; now it stands with the Banū Makhzūm.”

"I said to him (to Abū Jahl), “Utba b. Rabi'a asks you whether you will now return with your men?” He replied, “Are you the only messenger he could find?” I answered, “No; and I'd be the messenger for no one but him.””

"Ḥakīm went on, 'I hurried off to 'Utba to be sure I would miss nothing that happened. He was leaning over Aymā' b. Raḥaḍa al-Ghifārī, who had donated to the polytheists ten camels for slaughter.

"Abū Jahl then appeared, looking extremely mean, and said to 'Utba, "Have your lungs filled with terror then?" 'Utba replied, "You'll find out!" At that Abū Jahl drew his sword and slapped the flank of his horse with it. Aymā' b. Raḥaḍa commented, "This is a bad omen." And at that point warfare began.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had established very effective battle lines for his force.”

Al-Tirmidhī related, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, that Ḥakīm used the words, "It was during the night that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established us in battle lines at Badr."

Imām Aḥmad related, from an account of Ibn Lahī'a, as follows, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me that Aslam Abū 'Imrān related to him that he heard Abū Ayyūb say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established our battle lines at

Badr, and our heralds went out in front of our lines. The Prophet (ṢAAS) looked over at them and said, "With me! With me!"

Aḥmad alone gives this account. The line of transmission is good.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ḥabbān b. Wāsi' b. Ḥabbān related to me, from sheikhs of his tribe, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lined up his forces at the battle of Badr, he held an arrow which he used to indicate how they should adjust their position. He passed by Sawwād b. Ghaziyya, an ally of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, and a little ahead of the line. He poked him in the belly with the arrow, saying, 'Straighten up, Sawwād!'

"He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth and justice that you hurt me! So let me retaliate!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) promptly uncovered his stomach and said, 'Retaliate then!' Sawwād hugged him and then kissed his stomach. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asked, 'Why did you do that, Sawwād?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, you can see what is about to happen; I wanted my last contact with you to be my skin touching yours.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke a prayer for him."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith, he being 'Afra's son, said, 'O Messenger of God, what is it about His worshippers that pleases God?' 'For them to charge into the enemy unprotected by helmet or chain-mail,' he replied.

"At this 'Awf removed the suit of chain-mail he wore, threw it aside, then drew his sword and fought until he was killed; may God be pleased with him!"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Having arranged the position of his forces, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to his shelter and went in, accompanied by Abū Bakr, no one else being there with him."

Ibn Ishāq and others also said, "Sa'd b. Mu'adh, God be pleased with him, was standing at the door of the shelter wearing his sword. With him were some of the Helpers standing guard over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fearing he might be attacked by the polytheist enemies, while choice horses stood there at the ready for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ride back to Medina if necessary, as Sa'd b. Mu'adh had suggested."

Al-Bazzār related in his *Musnad* (collection of *aḥādīth*), from an account of Muḥammad b. 'Uqayl, that 'Alī (once) addressed the forces, saying, 'Who is the bravest of all the people?' 'It is you, O Commander of the Faithful!' they responded.

"Well,' he commented, 'I have never refused anyone's challenge, but it was in fact Abū Bakr. We made a shelter for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to prevent his being attacked by one of the polytheists. And, I swear, it was Abū Bakr alone who came over to us, holding his drawn sword above the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And when anyone came towards him, Abū Bakr would raise his sword before him. This man was the bravest of all.'

"Ali went on, 'Once I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the hands of some Quraysh men, some blocking his way, others jostling him, and saying, "You made the gods into just one!" And, I swear, the only one of us who intervened was Abū Bakr, striking and pushing and jostling them, saying, "Shame on you! Would you kill a man for saying that God is his Lord?"'"

"Ali then raised up the mantle he wore and wept, his beard wet with tears. He said, 'Were the believers among Pharaoh's people better than him?' The crowd was silent, and Ali went on, 'By God, an hour of Abū Bakr is better than an earth full of the believers from among Pharaoh's people. Those were people who concealed their belief, while he was a man who made his faith public.'"

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of this anecdote only from this account."

This reflects the special distinction of Abū Bakr; it was he who was with the Messenger of God in the shelter, just as he had been with him in the cave. May God be pleased with him and please him!

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was meanwhile making invocations, pleas and prayers saying, among other things, 'O God, if this force perishes, You will never again be worshipped on earth!' He cried out to God the Almighty and Glorious, 'O Lord, fulfil what You promised me; O God, give me aid!'

"In saying this he would raise his hands so high that his cloak would slip down over his shoulders, and Abū Bakr, God bless him, would stand close behind him repositioning it for him and saying, in sympathy at the effusiveness of his supplication, 'O Messenger of God, lessen your appeals to your Lord; He will fulfil His promise to you.'"

This, then, is how it is related by al-Suhaylī, from Qāsim b. Thābit. Abū Bakr only used the words meaning "lessen your appeals to your Lord" out of his concern for what he saw as his being so engrossed in his prayer and supplications that his mantle had slipped down over his shoulders. By saying these words he was in effect asking, "Why are you so exhausting yourself; God has made you a promise of His help." Abū Bakr, God bless him, was a tender-hearted man with great empathy and compassion for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Suhaylī related that his teacher, Sheikh Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in a situation of *khamf*, fearing, while Abū Bakr was in one of *rajāʾ*,⁶⁰ hoping. And this was really a time of fearing." By this he meant that *khamf* (in this instance) was more appropriate, "because it was up to God to do as He wished; and he feared that God would not be worshipped thereafter. His fear was therefore worship."

I would comment that the view of some Sufi ascetics that this situation was analogous to that of the day in the cave is to be rejected. For this person did not make mention of the weakness of his viewpoint, nor the consequences thereof.

60. These are terms used especially by Muslim mystics to describe the attitudes one can adopt in one's relationship to the Divine being.

In any case, the contending forces did confront one another in battle, the outcome resting in the hands of the All-Merciful. The greatest of the prophets called upon his Lord's help, his Companions too raising their voices loud in invocation of the Lord of heaven and earth, Who hears all prayers and discovers all heroic action.

The first of the polytheists to be killed was al-Aswad b. 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "This was a mean and disreputable fellow who had said, 'I swear to God I will drink from their cistern or destroy it, or die before I get there!' And when he came forth to do battle, Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went out to confront him. When they met, Ḥamza struck him and off came his foot and half his leg, before he had reached the cistern. He fell down on his back, his leg spurting blood back towards his companions. He then crawled on in the direction of the cistern, plunging into it intending, so they say, to fulfil his oath. Ḥamza pursued him and struck him again and again until he had killed him, there in the cistern."

Al-Umawī stated, "At that 'Utba b. Rabi'a became excited and determined to demonstrate his bravery. He came forth with his brother Shayba on one side of him and his son al-Walid on the other and, standing out in the centre between the two lines, they issued a challenge for single combat. Three young men from the Helpers went out to confront them; they were 'Awf and Mu'adh, the two sons of al-Ḥārith, their mother being 'Afrā', along with 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, so they say. 'And who are you?' they were asked, and they replied, 'We are from among the *anṣār*, "the Helpers".' 'We have no quarrel with you,' they were told."

In one account it is said that the Quraysh warriors then said, "These are our honourable peers, but send forth some of our own people." Their herald then called out, "O Muḥammad, send forth our peers from our own people."

"The Prophet (SAAS) replied, 'You go, 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith, and you Ḥamza, and you, 'Alī.'"

According to al-Umawī, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was displeased when the three Helpers stepped forth. This was because this was the first battle pitting his men against his enemies, and he would have preferred his warriors to have been from his own tribe. He therefore ordered the first three men to withdraw and ordered out the three men named above.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the three combatants approached the three Quraysh warriors, the latter asked their names." (This is an indication that they were wearing armour and they could not be recognized by their weapons.) "'Ubayda, Ḥamza and 'Alī each gave their names in turn. The Quraysh champions then commented, 'Worthy peers.'"

"'Ubayda then stepped forward, he being the oldest of them, and faced 'Utba, while Ḥamza addressed Shayba and 'Alī stood before al-Walid b. 'Utba.

"Ḥamza soon killed Shayba, as 'Alī did al-Walid. 'Ubayda and 'Utba exchanged blows and each brought the other down. Ḥamza and 'Alī then turned

their swords against 'Utba and finished him off. They then picked up their fallen comrade and carried him back to their side. May God be pleased with him."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Mijlāz, from Qays b. 'Ubād, that Abū Dharr used to swear on oath that this verse, "These two are adversaries who dispute about their Lord" (*sūrat al-Ḥajj*, XXII, v.19) was revealed about Ḥamza and his opponent and about 'Utba and his, referring to their coming forth at Badr.

This is the wording al-Bukhārī gives in explaining this verse.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to us, quoting al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān, who said, 'I heard my father say that Abū Mijlāz related to him, from Qays b. 'Ubād, who quoted 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib as having said, "I will be the first person who kneels before the All-Merciful one, Almighty and Glorious is He, among the adversaries on Judgement Day."'

"Qays stated, 'And it was about them that the verse was revealed, "These two are adversaries who dispute about their Lord."' He went on, 'This referred to those who stood forth to do battle at Badr – 'Alī and Ḥamza, 'Ubayda and Shayba b. Rabī'a, and 'Utba b. Rabī'a and al-Walid b. 'Utba.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this.

We have discussed this at sufficient length in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*; and to God be all praise and credit.

Al-Umawī stated, "Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr related to us, from Abū Ishāq, from Ibn al-Mubārak, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from 'Abd Allāh al-Baḥiyy, who said, 'Utba, Shayba and al-Walid, stood forth to do battle and Ḥamza, 'Ubayda and 'Alī went out to face them. The Quraysh champions said, "Speak, so we may know you." Ḥamza replied, "I am *Asad Allāh*, 'God's lion', and the lion of the Messenger of God; I am Ḥamza, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib." They responded, "A worthy peer." 'Alī then said, "I am 'Abd Allāh, 'God's slave', and the brother of the Messenger of God." 'Ubayda said, "I am he who is among the allies." Each then engaged in man-to-man conflict, and God killed them.'"

Hind spoke the following on that subject,

"Eyes of mine, make copious tears flow down for the
best of heroes who did not turn aside.

His people called out to him on the morning when the
Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib did battle,

Making him taste the sharpness of their swords, raising
him aloft even after he had been destroyed."

This was why Hind swore she would eat Ḥamza's liver.

The 'Ubayda referred to here was the son of al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf. They carried him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and placed him on a bed next to where he stood. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then honoured him by allowing his cheek to rest on his foot.

“Ubayda then said, ‘O Messenger of God, if Abū Ṭālib could only see me, he would know that it was to me his words applied, “We will serve him until we are laid out before him, uncaring even of our sons and our wives.”’

“He then, God be pleased with him, died, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I bear witness that you are a martyr!’”

Al-Shāfi‘ī, God bless him, related this.

The first Muslim killed in the battle was Mihja‘, the freed-man of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; he was shot with an arrow.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “He was the first man killed. Then Ḥāritha b. Surāqa, one of the Banū ‘Adī b. al-Najjār, was shot at as he drank from the cistern. An arrow hit him in the throat, and so he died.”

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Anas, that Ḥāritha b. Surāqa was killed at Badr. He was in the vanguard and was struck by a stray arrow which killed him. His mother later came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, “O Messenger of God, tell me about Ḥāritha. If he is in heaven, I will be content. Otherwise, let God show me what to do.” That is, to engage in mourning for him, a practice not yet forbidden. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “Have you gone crazy? There are eight gardens there, and your son has earned the very highest of paradise!”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The forces moved slowly towards one another. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told his men not to attack until he gave them the order. He said, ‘If the enemy should surround you, then force them back with arrows.’”

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, al-Bukhārī quotes Abū Usayd as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told us at the battle of Badr, ‘If they close in on you’ – meaning the polytheists – ‘then shoot at them and gather up your arrows.’”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Al-Ḥākim informed us, quoting al-Aṣamm, that Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār related to us, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Abū Ishāq, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, as follows, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the battle-cry of the Emigrants at Badr, “O Banū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān!” (that is, “O tribe of the worshipper of the All-Merciful”) and that of al-Khazraj, “O Banū of ‘Abd Allāh” (that is “O tribe of the worshipper of God”), that of al-Aws, “O Banū ‘Ubayd Allāh” (that is, “O tribe of the slaves of God”). He named his cavalry “God’s horsemen.”’”

Ibn Hishām stated that the war cry used at Badr by the *ṣaḥāba*, the Companions, was “One! One!”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the shelter with Abū Bakr, God bless him, he called out to God the Almighty and Glorious for help. As the Almighty stated, ‘When you sought aid from your Lord, and he answered you, saying, “I will help you with 1,000 angels, following after one another. And God made of it nothing but glad tidings, to ease your hearts by it. And victory comes only from God. God is powerful, wise”’” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.9, 10).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Nūḥ Qurād related to him, quoting 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, quoting Simāk al-Ḥanafī, father of Zumayl, quoting Ibn 'Abbās, quoting 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, as follows, "At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked over at his force numbering some 300 and viewed the polytheists, totalling more than 1,000. He then turned in the direction of the *qibla*, wearing his shawl and pants and spoke the words, 'O God, fulfil what you promised me; O God, if this force perishes You will never again be worshipped on earth.'

"He kept up his appeals and prayers to his Lord until his mantle fell down. Abū Bakr then came and replaced it, remaining close behind him. He then said, 'Let your appeals to your Lord be enough now. He will fulfil what He has promised you.' And so God revealed, 'When you sought aid from your Lord, and He answered you, saying, "I will help you with 1,000 angels, following after one another"' (sūrat al-Anfāl, VIII, v.9).

He then related the conclusion of the *ḥadīth* as will come hereafter.

Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Jarīr and others all related this, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār al-Yamānī. 'Alī b. al-Madīnī and al-Tirmidhī declared it authentic.

Others also stated, from Ibn 'Abbās, al-Suddī, Ibn Jarīr and others, that this verse was revealed concerning the prayers said by the Prophet at Badr.

Al-Umawī and others stated that the Muslims shouted out loudly to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, seeking His aid.

As for the words of the Lord "with 1,000 angels, following after one another", it implies that "they are following on towards you and giving aid to your party".

Al-'Awfī related this *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās along with Mujāhid, Ibn Kathīr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd and others. Abū Kudayna stated, from Qābūs, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the word *murdiḥīn*, i.e. "following after one another", meant that each angel was followed by another one. In another account from him, with the same chain of authorities *murdiḥīn* is taken to imply that each came immediately after the other. Abū Zabyān, al-Dahḥāk and Qatāda said this.

'Alī b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-Walībī related from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "God provided His Prophet and the believers with 1,000 angels. Gabriel was there with one wing of 500, while Michael had another wing of 500. This is very well known."

However, Ibn Jarīr stated, "Al-Muthannā related to me, quoting Ishāq, quoting Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān, from al-Raba'ī, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr, from 'Alī, who said, "Gabriel came down along with 1,000 angels on the right flank of the Prophet (ṢAAS) where Abū Bakr was, while Michael came down with 1,000 angels on the left flank of the Prophet (ṢAAS) where I was."

Al-Bayhaqī related this in his work *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Jubayr, from 'Alī. He added the words, "And Isrāfīl came down with 1,000 angels."

He related in that account that he was stabbed that day by a lance, with the result that his armpit was reddened with blood, and that 3,000 angels came down.

This is strange, and there is some weakness in its chain of authorities. If true, the account would strengthen even further the prior statements. This is substantiated by the alternative reading of some authorities who read the word *murdaḥina*,⁶¹ with an “a” following the “d”. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Al-Ḥākim informed us, quoting al-Aṣamm, while Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz related to us, quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Majīd Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥanafī, quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mawḥab, quoting Ismā‘īl b. ‘Awf b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Rāfi‘, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, ‘At the battle of Badr, I fought for a while, then hurried to see what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was doing. When I got there, I found him prostrate in worship, saying, “*Yā Ḥayy! Yā Qayyūm!*” “O Living One! O Eternal One!”; he was saying nothing else. I returned to the fighting, then came back to find him still prostrate and still repeating the same. Again I went off to battle, and once more returned to find the same. He kept saying this till God gave him victory.’”

Al-Nasāʿī related it in *al-Yawm wa al-Layla (Day and Night)* from Bundār, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Majīd Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥanafī.

Al-Aʿmash stated, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū ‘Ubayda, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, “I never heard any worshipper imploring God more strongly than did Muḥammad (ṢAAS) at the battle of Badr. He was saying, ‘O God, I beseech you in the name of Your promise and Your pact! O God, if this force perishes, You will not be worshipped!’ He then turned, and it was as if the moon had cleft its face! He said, ‘I seem to be seeing the enemy’s destruction in the late evening!’”

Al-Nasāʿī related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash.

He also said, “When we met in battle at Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose, and I never saw anyone implore God more strongly for his rights than did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).” And he related as above.

It has been definitively stated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, on the authority of Anas b. Mālīk, as stated, above, how the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave details of the circumstances of the deaths at Badr of the polytheists leaders. This information will also be reported later from the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim on the authority of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

The conclusion to be drawn from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Masʿūd is that he gave notice of this on the actual day of the engagement. This is appropriate. The other two accounts, from Anas and from ‘Umar, suggest that he gave this information one day prior thereto.

There is no objection to combining between these. He could have given this information a day or more before, and (again) an hour before, on the actual day of the battle. But God knows best.

61. Changing the vowel i to a has the effect of changing the word from an active to a passive participle.

Al-Bukhārī related through several different lines of transmission, from Khālīd al-Hadhā', from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Prophet (ṢAAS), while in a pavilion he had at Badr, spoke the words, "O God, I appeal to Your pact and to Your oath! If You wish it, You will not be worshipped ever again after this day!" Abū Bakr took him by the hand and said, "That is enough, O Messenger of God! You are pestering your Lord." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside, walking vigorously in his armour, speaking the verse, "The force will be defeated! They will retreat! The hour will come, and it will be most bitter!" (*sūrat al-Qamar*; LIV, v.45).

This verse was revealed in Mecca. Its truth was substantiated at the battle of Badr, as Ibn Abū Ḥakīm related, as follows, "My father related to us, quoting Abū al-Rabi' al-Zahrānī, quoting Ḥammād, from Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, who said, 'When the verse was revealed, "The force will be defeated! They will retreat!" 'Umar asked, "Which force will be defeated, and which will be supreme?" And 'Umar (later) said, "On the day of the battle of Badr, I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walking vigorously in his chain-mail and reciting, 'The force will be defeated! They will retreat! Their hour will come, and it will be most bitter!' I then realized how it was to be interpreted."'"

Al-Bukhārī related, through Ibn Jurayj, from Yūsuf b. Māhān, who heard 'Ā'isha say, "While I was a girl playing in Mecca, there was revealed to Muḥammad the words, 'Their hour will come, and it will be most bitter.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began appealing to his Lord for the aid He had promised him, saying, 'O God, if this force perishes, You will not be worshipped.' Abū Bakr was saying meanwhile, 'O Prophet of God, diminish your appeals to your Lord. God will fulfil for you what He has promised you.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a brief nap while he was in the shelter. When he awoke, he said, 'Be joyful, Abū Bakr, God's help will come to you; I saw Gabriel taking his horse by the reins and leading it. And on its front teeth there was *al-naq'*!' By this word he meant 'dust'."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside to the men and urged them on, saying, 'Every man who fights them bravely and advances without retreating will have God give him entry into heaven.'

"Umayr b. al-Ḥumām, a brother of the Banū Salama had some dates in his hand that he was eating. He shouted, 'Great! Great! Is all that stands between me and paradise to have them kill me?' He then tossed away the dates, took his sword and fought the enemy until he was killed. God bless him!"

Imām Aḥmad said, "Ḥāshim b. Sulaymān related to us, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Basbas off as a scout to see what had become of Abū Sufyān's caravan. He then returned to the house where only I and the Prophet (ṢAAS) were present, as far as I know, except for some of his wives. He (Basbas) then made his report to him.'

"Anas went on, "Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out and made an address, saying, "We have a request to make: whoever presently has a camel may ride with us." Some men there sought permission to fetch their camels from the upper parts of the town but he replied, "No; only those who have their camels present."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men then set off and arrived at Badr before the polytheists. When the latter did arrive, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "None of you may advance for any purpose unless I am right behind."

"When the polytheists advanced, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Go forth towards a garden the size of the heavens and the earth combined."

"Anas continued, 'At this 'Umayr b. al-Ḥammām al-Anṣārī asked, "O Messenger of God, could a garden really be the size of the heavens and earth combined?" "Yes," he replied. 'Umayr then said, "Fine! Fine!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "What makes you say 'fine'?" 'Umayr replied, "O Messenger of God, by God, it is only because of my hope of being one of its people." "You certainly will be," responded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"'Umayr then took some dates out of his quiver and began eating them. He then said, "If I were to live long enough to eat these dates, it would be a long life!" He then threw away all the dates he had and engaged them in battle until he was killed, God bless him."

Muslim related this anecdote from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and a group of authorities, from Abū al-Naḍr Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughira.

Ibn Jarīr recounted that while 'Umayr fought he spoke the verses,

"Racing on to God, my only provision is my piety and
action for the life to come,
And my persistence in fighting for God; for all other
provisions soon become exhausted,
Except for piety, goodness and right-guidedness."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from Ḥāritha b. Miḍrab, from 'Alī, who said, 'When we got to Medina we fell sick from its fruits and the marshes there. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was preparing for Badr. When we received news that the polytheists were advancing, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out to Badr, it being the site of a well. We arrived there ahead of the polytheists but we did discover two men there. One was of Quraysh, the other a freed-man of 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'īt. The man of Quraysh escaped, but we took the freed-man and asked him how large was their force. He replied, "I swear, their numbers are great and their morale is very high." When he said this, the Muslims would beat him.

"Eventually they took him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who asked him how many they were, and the freed-man replied as before. The Prophet (ṢAAS)

tried hard to get him to tell their numbers, but he refused. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked how many camels they were slaughtering for food. He replied that it was ten each day. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "Their force numbers 1,000; each slaughtered camel would feed 100 men and their attendants."

"That night rain drizzled down on us and we moved beneath a tree and took shelter from the rain beneath leather shields. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set about praying to his Lord, saying, "O God, if this force is destroyed, You will not be worshipped."

"When dawn came, he called out, "Come to prayer, O worshippers of God!" The men emerged from beneath the tree and the leather shields, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed with us and urged the men on to battle. He then said, "The Quraysh force is over behind those red slopes of the mountain."

"When the enemy force drew near and we lined up to face them, there was one man among them mounted on a red camel. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, "Ali, summon Ḥamza!" This Quraysh man was the closest to us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Who is it on the red camel?" When Ḥamza came, he said the man was 'Utba b. Rabi'a. He was advising them against going to war, telling them, "Tie it up to my head; tell people, 'Utba b. Rabi'a turned cowardly.' Though you well know I'm no more cowardly than any one of you."

"Abū Jahl heard of this and said, "You say this? I swear, were it anyone else who spoke thus, I would set my sword upon him! Your lungs have filled your belly with fear!"

"He ('Utba) then said, "You dare to revile me, you yellow-bottomed one! You will discover today which one of us is cowardly."

"Utba, his brother Shayba and his son al-Walid went forth challengingly and called out, "Who will come and oppose us?" Some young warriors from among the Helpers stepped forward, but 'Utba called out, "We don't want them. We will do battle against our own relatives of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."

"At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Off you go, Ḥamza, and you 'Ali and you too, Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib."

"God then killed 'Utba and Shayba, sons of Rabi'a, and al-Walid, 'Utba's son. Ubayda was wounded; of their men we killed 70 and took 70 prisoner.

"One of the Helpers brought in al-'Abbās b. al-Muṭṭalib as a prisoner, and al-'Abbās said, "O Messenger of God, this is not the man who captured me. A bald, fine-looking man on a piebald horse whom I had not seen with your men was he who took me prisoner." The Helper insisted, "No; it was I who captured him, O Messenger of God!"

"But he replied, "Keep quiet! God gave you the help of a noble angel."

"Ali went on, "Of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib we captured al-'Abbās, 'Uqayl and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith."

This account is good. It corroborates what is given above and will come hereafter. Imām Aḥmad alone gives it in full. Abū Dā'ūd gave part of it, quoting a *ḥadīth* of Isrā'īl.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had come out of the shelter and urged the men on to fight, they remained in their battle lines, firm and frequently invoking God's name, as the Almighty had ordered them to do in the words, "O believers, when you meet a force in battle, remain firm and invoke frequently the name of God" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.45).

Al-Umawī stated, "Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr related to us, from Abū Ishāq, who quoted al-Awzā'ī as having stated, 'It used to be said that rarely did an armed force remain firmly in place. Those who can stay in place at such times, cast their eyes down and make frequent mention of God are likely to remain safe from the charge of hypocrisy.'"

ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa said to his men at the battle of Badr, "Do you not see them" – referring to the force of the Prophet (ṢAAS) – "how they crouch down on their mounts, keeping firmly in place, licking their lips like *al-ḥayyāt*, 'serpents'? Or he may have used the word *al-afāʿ*, 'snakes'."

Al-Umawī stated in his work on the military expeditions, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) urged the Muslims on to battle, he promised that each man would keep any spoils they took and said, 'By Him in whose hands is my soul, any man who fights them hard and valiantly, advancing and not retreating, who is killed, will be allowed entry to heaven by God.'"

Al-Umawī's account then repeats the anecdote relating to ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥamām given above.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself fought with heart and soul, as did Abū Bakr, just as they had exerted themselves in the shelter in prayer and entreating. Thereafter, they went forth, and urged on the men to fight, themselves participating physically, thus combining their two noble functions.

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Abū Ishāq, from Ḥāritha b. Miḍrab, from ʿAlī, who said, 'I saw at Badr how near we kept to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was the one of us most close to the enemy. He was one of the bravest men there that day.'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ishāq, from Ḥāritha, quoting ʿAlī as having said, "When the forces engaged and the battle grew fierce we sought protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū Nuʿaym related to us, quoting Miṣʿar, from Abū ʿAwn, from Abū Ṣālih al-Ḥanafī, from ʿAlī who said that he and Abū Bakr were told at Badr, 'With one of you is Gabriel and with the other is Michael. Isrāfīl, a great angel, will witness the battle but not fight.' Or the words used were 'will witness the ranks.'"

This account is similar to the information preceding, namely, that Abū Bakr was on the right flank, and that at Badr when the angels descended Gabriel was there with 500 of them on one flank, the right along with Abū Bakr, while Michael was on the other, the left, with 500 more angels, along with ʿAlī.

In a *ḥadīth* related by Abū Yaʿlā, through Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, ʿAlī is quoted as saying, "At Badr, I was swimming in the water-hole when a

great wind arose, then another, then another. Finally Michael came down along with 1,000 angels. He took up position on the right of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) where Abū Bakr was positioned. Isrāfīl came to the left flank where I was, with another 1,000 angels. Gabriel was present, also with another 1,000." 'Alī then said, "That day the water reached up to my armpits."

The author of *al-ʿIqd*⁶² and others maintain that the finest verse ever spoken by the Arabs is that of Ḥassān b. Thābit,

"And a well at Badr when Gabriel and Muḥammad held back
their mounts, beneath our banner."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Muʿadh b. Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ al-Zurqī, who quoted his father, who had been one of those present at Badr, as saying, 'Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, 'How do you consider those of you who were at Badr?' He replied, 'As the best of Muslims,' or some such phrase. Gabriel commented, 'Likewise those of the angels who were present at Badr.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*.

God Almighty had said, "When your Lord reveals to the angels that I am with you. And so strengthen those who believe; for I shall cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers! Therefore strike above their necks" (meaning their heads) "and strike off all their finger-tips" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.12).

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, through ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Abū Zumayl, (it states) that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "While one of the Muslim warriors was vigorously pursuing one of the unbelievers ahead of him he heard above him the noise of a whip striking and a rider's voice saying, 'Giddy up, Ḥayzūm!' When the Muslim warrior looked at the polytheist in front of him, he found him prostrate on the ground. Examining him more closely he found that the man's nose had been smashed and his face split apart by a blow from a whip, all having turned dark in colour. The warrior, a Helper, went and told this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said, 'You speak true. That was help from the third heaven.' That day they killed 70 and captured 70 more."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazam related to me, from someone who related it to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from a man of the Banū Ghifār, who said, 'I and a cousin of mine were present at Badr, though we were still polytheists then. We were up on a mountain waiting for the battle to take place and to see who would win, when a cloud approached. When it drew near the mountain we heard the sound of horses galloping and a voice saying, 'Giddy up, Ḥayzūm!' My companion suffered a heart attack and died on the spot, while I almost expired, but later recovered.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, from a man of the Banū Sāʿida, from Abū Usayd Mālik b. Rabiʿa, who was present at Badr, who

62. Presumably the reference is to *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, d. 940 AH.

said, his sight by then having gone, 'If I were there today at Badr and had my sight back, I would show you the defile from which the angels emerged. I would have no doubt whatsoever about it.

"When the angels came down and Satan saw them, God revealed to them the verse, "I am with you. And so make firm those who believe" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.12). "Making them firm" referred to the fact that the angels would come to someone in the form of a person they would know and would say, "Be glad! For they are as nothing, and God is with you. Attack them!"

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ibn Abū Ḥabība related to him, from Dāūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The angel would appear in the form of someone they knew and would say, 'I went close to them and heard them say, "If they attack us, we'll not hold firm. They are as nothing." And so on.'" This relates to the words, "When your Lord reveals to the angels that I am with you. And so make firm those who believe."

When Satan saw the angels he turned on his heels and said, "I'm quit of you. I see what you do not see." He was then in the guise of Surāqa.

Abū Jahl came forward haranguing his men and saying, "Don't be scared by the nonsense Surāqa is telling you. He has a rendezvous with Muḥammad and his men." He then said, "By al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā, we'll not return until we scatter Muḥammad and his men into the mountains. Don't kill them; take them prisoner."

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Salāma, from ʿUqayl, from Ibn Shihāb, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl b. Saʿd, who said, "Abū Usayd stated, he being by then blind, 'Cousin, I swear by God, that if you and I were at Badr and God were to restore my sight, I'd show you the defile through which the angels came out to us; I'd do so without any doubt or difficulty at all.'"

Al-Bukhārī related, from Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, from Khālid, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the day of the battle at Badr, "This is Gabriel over here, holding the head of his horse and fully accoutred for battle."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Ibn Abū Ḥabība related to us, from Dāūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī informed us, from his father, and ʿĀbid b. Yahyā related to me, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from ʿUmāra b. Ukayma al-Laythī, from ʿIkrima, from Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who all said, 'When the time for battle arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood with his arms raised imploring God's aid and fulfilment of His promise, saying, "O God, if they prevail over this force, then polytheism too will prevail and You will have no religion left." Meanwhile Abū Bakr was saying, "I swear that God will give you aid and will make you content." And then God sent down 1,000 angels descending *en masse* and surrounding the enemy.'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Rejoice, Abū Bakr! I saw Gabriel wearing a yellow turban, holding the reins of his horse, up there between heaven and earth! When he came down to earth, I lost sight of him for a while, but then

he appeared again; he was dusty all over and he was saying, "God's aid did come to you when you prayed to Him!"⁶³

Al-Bayhaqī related from Abū Umāma b. Sahl who quoted his father as saying, "My son, I saw for myself at Badr that all any of us had to do was to point to the head of a polytheist and it would fall from his body before a sword even touched it!"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "My father related to me, quoting some men of the Banū Māzin, quoting Abū Wāqid al-Laythi, as saying, 'I was pursuing one of the polytheists, wishing to strike him, when his head came off – before my sword reached him! I realized that someone other than myself had killed him.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from ʿIsā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Taymī, from al-Rabīʿ b. Anas, who said, "Our men could differentiate the ones the angels had killed from those they had struck by the blow having occurred above their necks, and by their finger-tips looking as if they had been burned by a branding iron."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A reliable source related to me, from Muqsim, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The distinguishing dress of the angels at Badr was the white turbans they wore that hung down over their backs. Except for Gabriel, that is; he had on a yellow turban."

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "The only battle in which the angels participated was at Badr. At the other battles they constituted auxiliaries and reinforcements that did not actually fight."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā b. Abū Umayya related to me, from Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh, from a freed-man of Suhayl b. ʿAmr, who quoted Suhayl b. ʿAmr as saying, 'At the battle of Badr, I saw white men on piebald horses riding between heaven and earth, bearing banners, killing and taking prisoners.'

"And Abū ʿUbayd used to say, he being by then blind, 'If I were there at Badr with you now and had my sight back, I could show you the defile from which the angels came without any doubt or confusion.'"

Al-Wāqidī went on, "Khārīja b. Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting his father as saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Gabriel, "Which one of the angels was it who said at Badr, 'Giddy up, Ḥayzūm?'" Gabriel answered him, "O Muḥammad, I am not familiar with every denizen of the heavens!"'"

I comment that this is a *ḥadīth mursal*,⁶³ it refutes those, like al-Suhaylī and others, who maintain that Ḥayzūm is the name of Gabriel's horse. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ishāq b. Yaḥyā related to me, from Ḥamza b. Ṣuhayb, from his father, who said, 'I can't tell you how many were the severed arms and deep wounds I saw at the battle of Badr that did not bleed!'"

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā related to me, from Abū ʿUqayl, from Abū Burda b. Niyār, who said, "I gathered up three heads at Badr and placed them before the

63. One in which the Prophet is quoted without mention of the Companion who narrated the statement.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) telling him, "Two of these I myself killed. Regarding the third, I saw a tall man kill him and I then took his head."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'O, that was so-and-so, one of the angels.'"

Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting his father, as saying, "Al-Sa'ib b. Abū Ḥubaysh used to relate, during the period of 'Umar's rule, 'I swear, it was no man who took me prisoner.' 'Who was it then?' he would be asked, and he would respond, 'When Quraysh were defeated, so was I with them. A tall, long-haired man on a white horse took me and tied me up. Then along came 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and found me there bound. He called out to the men, 'Who was it captured this man?' Eventually he took me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who asked, 'Who was it took you prisoner?' I told him I did not know, but I was reluctant to tell him what I had seen. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'It was an angel who took you prisoner. Take your captive away, Ibn 'Awf.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ābid b. Yahyā related to me, as did Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from 'Imāra b. Ukayma, from Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who said, 'At the battle of Badr, I witnessed striped cloth come down from the sky and it blocked off the horizon. And then the valley streamed with water. It occurred to me that this was something from heaven with which Muḥammad was to be helped. And it was not long before there was the defeat and the advance of the angels to the forefront.'"

Ishāq b. Rāhawayh stated, "Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim related to us, saying, 'My father told me, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, 'My father quoted to me Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm as saying, 'Before the enemy force was defeated, and while the men were still fighting, I saw something like a black striped cloth descend from the sky, like black ants; I had no doubt it was the angels, and soon the enemy force was defeated.'"

The angels descended to give their help and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw them when he took a nap and, upon waking up, he told Abū Bakr the good news, saying, "Rejoice at this, Abū Bakr; for Gabriel was there, leading his horse and with dust all over him." By this he meant from the battle.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left the shelter, dressed in chain-mail, and began urging on the men to battle. He told them of heaven and gave them encouragement in news of the coming of the angels. The men were meanwhile still in their battle ranks, not yet having advanced against their enemy. The result was that they felt tranquility and confidence.

They felt that calmness that is the sign of confidence, security and faith, just as God stated, "When He caused calm to overcome you, as a security from Him" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11). This similarly happened to them thereafter, at the battle of Uḥud, as in the reference in the Qur'ān.

This is why Ibn Mas'ūd remarked, "Calm in the battle ranks is a sign of faith; calm during the prayer is a sign of hypocrisy."

God Almighty stated, "If you sought judgement, it has come to you. If you desist, it will be better for you. If you go back, so will we. Your forces will serve you nothing, no matter how numerous they are. God is with the believers" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.19).

Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn and Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Zuhri from 'Abd Allāh b. Thālabā that Abū Jahl said, when the two sides met in battle, 'O God, he (Muḥammad) was willing to destroy the ties of kinship, and the one to introduce us to that which was foreign to us, so destroy him this morning.' It was Abū Jahl who 'sought judgement'."

Ibn Ishāq related it thus in his biography. Al-Nasā'ī related it through Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhri. And al-Ḥākim related it also from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri. He then said, "It is authentic and in accordance with the criteria of both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim); though neither one of them mentioned it."

Al-Umawī stated, "Asbāṭ b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī related to us, from 'Aṭīyya, from Muṭrif, concerning God's words, 'If you sought judgement, it has come to you' that Abū Jahl said, 'O God, assist the better of the parties, the more noble of the tribes, and the more numerous of the forces.'" And the words came down, "If you sought judgement, it has come to you."

'Alī b. Abū Ṭalḥa quoted Ibn 'Abbās as saying, regarding the words, "And when God promises you that one of the two parties is yours" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.7). "The caravan belonging to the people of Mecca approached on its way to Syria. Those in Medina got news of this and they went forth, accompanied by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to attack the caravan.

"News of this reached the Meccans and they hurried out to the caravan to prevent the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his force from seizing it. The caravan outstripped the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); God had promised them one of the two parties, and they had wanted to meet up with the caravan.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did set forth with the Muslims heading for the enemy force, but they were reluctant to leave, being aware of the strength of their opponents. The Prophet (ṢAAS) made a halt with his Muslims at a place where there was a large sandhill between them and the wells. The Muslims were extremely tired, and Satan made them discontented by whispering to them, 'You claim to be partisans of God and to have His Messenger among you, yet it was the polytheists who reached the wells before you did, leaving you like this.'

"Then God sent down upon them a heavy rain. The Muslims drank and cleaned themselves and God withdrew Satan's evil from them. The sand became packed down and so both men and their animals could walk easily upon it. They then went out to fight the enemy force, and God aided his Messenger and the believers with 1,000 angels. Gabriel was there with 500 angels on one flank, and Michael was on the other with another 500 angels.

"Satan also brought a force of devils, including some of his own progeny, these being in the guise of men of the Banū Mudlij. Satan himself was in the

form of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ja'sham; he addressed the polytheists, saying, 'No one will defeat you today. I shall protect you!'

"When the battle lines were drawn, Abū Jahl spoke the words, 'The one more worthy of the truth, provide him with assistance.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) raised up his hands and prayed, 'O God, if this force is destroyed, You will never be worshipped on earth.'

"Gabriel told him to pick up a handful of soil. He did so and threw it into the faces of the polytheists. Every one of those whose eyes, nostrils or mouth any of this soil touched turned and retreated.

"Gabriel went towards Satan and at the time when the former saw him his hand was holding that of a polytheist. Satan withdrew his hand and retreated, along with his party of devils. The polytheist asked him, 'I thought you claimed to be our protector?' He replied, 'I see what you do not. I fear God, for God is mighty in His punishment.' He said this when he saw the angels."

Al-Bayhaqī related this in *Dalā'il (The Signs)*.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated, "Mas'ada b. Sa'd al-ʿAṭṭār related to us, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān and Hishām b. Sa'd, from ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Sa'd b. Qays al-Anṣārī, from Rifā'a b. Rāfi', who said, 'When Satan saw how the angels dealt with the polytheists at Badr, he was afraid that the same would happen to him. Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām was staying very close to him, believing him to be Surāqa b. Mālik; Satan struck al-Ḥārith hard in the chest, then hurried away and threw himself into the sea, raising his hands into the air and pleading, "O God, I ask you to look kindly down upon me!" He was afraid that he was going to be killed. Abū Jahl came up and called out, "O people, do not be disturbed by the rambling of Surāqa b. Mālik; he was about to attend a meeting with Muḥammad! And don't be scared by the killing of Shayba, ʿUtba and al-Walid; their time had come. I swear by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā, we'll not go back home before we have scattered them into the mountains. I don't expect any of you to kill any of them. Just capture them roughly and make them aware of their bad behaviour in parting company with you and in abandoning al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā.'"

"Abū Jahl then quoted the line:

'Fierce warfare will not take revenge on me, spry like
a two-year old camel; I am young in years.

It was for such as this that my mother bore me."

Al-Wāqidī related, from Mūsā b. Ya'qūb al-Zam'ī, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Sulaymān, from Abū Ḥatma, (who said), "I heard Marwān b. al-Ḥakam ask Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām about the battle of Badr. The sheikh was reluctant, but when Marwān insisted Ḥakīm said, 'We met and engaged in battle, and I heard a sound of something falling from the sky to the ground, making a noise like pebbles dropping into a brass basin. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of dirt and threw it. And we were defeated.'"

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh related to us, from 'Abd Allāh b. Thaḥlaba b. Ṣuqayr (who said), "I heard Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya al-Dīlī say, 'We were defeated at Badr as we heard a noise like that of pebbles dropping into a bowl, right inside us and behind us! That had a terrifying impact on us.'"

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to us, quoting Ibn Abū Ishāq, quoting al-Zuhri from 'Abd Allāh b. Thaḥlaba b. Ṣuqayr, that Abū Jahl said, when the forces met, 'O God, in the morning destroy the one who introduced us to that which was foreign to us and who ruined the family ties.' This was the 'judgement sought'.

"While they were in this state, God had encouraged the Muslims in meeting their enemy and had so diminished their enemy in their eyes that they were eager to fight them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took a nap in the shelter, then woke up and said, 'Rejoice, Abū Bakr; Gabriel is here, wearing a turban and holding the reins of his horse he is leading, with dust upon him. God and His forces have come to you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) issued orders picked up a handful of pebbles, went outside and faced the enemy and said, 'You are disgraced!' He then cast the pebbles out over them and said to his men, 'Attack!'"

The defeat soon came. God killed some of their leaders and took some prisoner. Ziyād stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of pebbles, approached Quraysh carrying them and said, 'You are disgraced!' He cast the pebbles out over them and ordered his men, 'Attack them!' The defeat then occurred and God killed some of their chieftains and captured others."

Al-Suddī al-Kabīr stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Alī at the battle of Badr, 'Give me some pebbles from the ground!' He handed him some pebbles with dirt on them which he threw into the faces of the enemy. None of the polytheists escaped having a little of that dirt enter their eyes. The Muslims forced them back, killing and capturing them. God revealed on that subject, 'You did not kill them; it is God who killed them. It was not you who threw when you threw, but God who threw'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.17).

Urwa, Ikrima, Mujāhid, Muḥammad b. Ka'b, Muḥammad b. Qays, Qatāda, Ibn Zayd, and others all spoke similarly, agreeing that this verse came down about the battle of Badr.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did the same during the expedition of Ḥunayn, as we will explain in the proper place, if God wills it, and in Him we trust.

Ibn Ishāq reported that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) urged his men on to battle, cast the dirt at the polytheists and God Almighty defeated them, he went back up into the shelter accompanied by Abū Bakr. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh, along with some of the Helpers stood guard at its door, bearing swords, concerned that some of the polytheists might attack the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When his men busied themselves in taking prisoners, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed, so I have been told, some discontent in the face of Sa'd b. Mu'adh at what they were doing. He therefore asked him, 'Do I see you dislike what our men are doing, Sa'd?' He replied, 'Yes, by God, O Messenger of God; this is the first battle God has waged against the polytheists and I would have preferred the men to be massacred rather than kept alive!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'bad related to me, from some of his family, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to his Companions that day, 'I have learned that some men of the Banū Hāshim, and others, have been forced to come out and did not want to do battle against us. If any of you should meet up with any men of the Banū Hāshim, do not kill them. If one of you should meet Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām b. al-Hārith b. Asad, he should not kill him. Anyone meeting al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) should also not kill him; he only came forth reluctantly.'

"Abū Hudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabi'a then asked, 'Should we then kill our own sons and brothers yet leave al-'Abbās alone? I swear by God, if I meet up with him, I'll attack him with my sword!'

"This comment reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he said to 'Umar, 'O father of Ḥafṣ' – 'Umar swore this was the first time he had ever used this name when addressing him – 'shall the face of the uncle of the Messenger of God be struck with a sword?'

"O Messenger of God,' 'Umar replied, 'let me strike Abū Hudhayfa's neck with my sword; he's turned hypocrite!'

"Abū Hudhayfa stated, 'I never felt safe, having made that comment that day. I always feared that the only thing that would mitigate it would be my martyrdom.'

"And he was killed as a martyr at the battle of al-Yamāma. God be pleased with him."

THE DEATH OF ABU AL-BAKHTARI B. HISHAM.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only forbade the killing of Abū al-Bakhtari because in Mecca he had been the most protective of the Messenger of God. He never harmed him, nor allowed anyone to mistreat him. He had also been one of those who had annulled the document boycotting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-Mujadhdhir b. Dhiyād al-Balawī, an ally of the Helpers met up with him and told him, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has forbidden us from killing you.' Abū al-Bakhtari had with him a friend who had come forth from Mecca in his company, a man named Junāda b. Maliḥa, of the Banū Layth. Abū al-Bakhtari asked, 'And what about my friend?'

"Al-Mujadhdhir replied, 'No, by God, we'll not excuse your friend; it was about you alone the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders.' Abū al-Bakhtari

said, 'Well then, I and he will die together. I'll not have the womenfolk of Mecca say of me that I abandoned my friend because of my own will to live!'

"Abū al-Bakhtarī spoke the following verse as he began to battle al-Mujadhdhir,

'No free man abandons his comrade until he dies or sees
his way.'

"They fought, and al-Mujadhdhir b. Dhiyād killed him. On this subject he spoke the verses,

'Should you have not known or forgotten my lineage, be
sure that I descend from Bali,

Men who fight using Yazanī spears, striking down the
high and mighty,

Either tell Abū al-Bakhtarī's son that he's an orphan
now, or tell my son the same of me.

I am he whose lineage is known to be from Bali; I
thrust home my spear so hard it almost folds over.

I slaughter my foe with a sharp Mashrafi blade, racing
to death like a milch-camel to milking,

You will never see Mujadhdhir inventing a lie.'

"Al-Mujadhdhir then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, I did try to take him prisoner to bring him to you, but he insisted on fighting me. So I fought back and killed him.'"

Chapter: On the death of Umayya b. Khalaf.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and others related to me, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, who said, 'Umayya b. Khalaf had been a friend of mine at Mecca. My name at that time was 'Abd 'Amr, and when I became a Muslim I renamed myself 'Abd al-Raḥmān. When we met in Mecca, he addressed me by saying, "Hey, 'Abd 'Amr, don't you like the name your father gave you?" "That's right," I replied. He then said, "Well, I don't know this 'al-Raḥmān' name; let's give you some name just for you and me that I can call you. You don't respond to your first name and I can't call you by what I don't recognize." When he addressed me by 'Abd 'Amr, I did not respond. So I told him, "Abū 'Alī, name me whatever you want." "Then you can be 'Abd al-Ilāh", he said, and I agreed to this.

"Thereafter, when I passed him, he would address me as 'Abd al-Ilāh, and I would respond and talk with him.

"At the battle of Badr, I passed by him as he was standing with his son 'Alī, holding his hand. I was carrying some coats of chain-mail I had got as spoils and when he saw me he called out, "'Abd 'Amr!" I made no reply, so he then called

out, “‘Abd al-Ilāh!” “Yes?” I then responded. He asked, “Don’t you think I’m worth more to you than those coats of chain-mail you’re carrying?” “Yes, you are,” I replied.

“So I put down the chain-mail and took him and his son by the hands. As I did so he commented that he had never seen the like of that day and asked, “Don’t you have need of milk?”⁶⁴ I then walked off with them both.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ‘Awn related to me, from Sa’d b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, who said, ‘Umayya b. Khalaf said to me as I walked between him and his son, holding hands with them both, “‘Abd al-Ilāh, who is that man distinguished by an ostrich feather across his chest?” I replied, “That is Ḥamza.” He commented, “He’s the one who ruined us.”

“As I was leading them on, Bilāl saw him with me, Umayya having been the one who had so persecuted him for his adoption of Islam. Bilāl shouted out, “Hey, there’s that polytheist-in-chief Umayya b. Khalaf! I’ll not live on if he does!” I responded, “Now Bilāl, he’s my prisoner.” “I’ll not live on if he does,” he insisted. He then began shouting at the top of his voice, “O partisans of God, here’s Umayya b. Khalaf, the worst polytheist of all! I’ll not live on if he does!” Men soon surrounded us till they had us in a sort of enclosure, with me protecting him all the while. Then one man took his sword and struck the leg of Umayya’s son, making him fall down. Umayya then let out a cry such as I never heard before. I told him to try to escape, though there was no chance of this, and I could do nothing for him. After that our men fell on them with their swords and killed them.”

The account concludes, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān used to say, ‘May God have mercy on Bilāl; he deprived me of both my chain-mail and my two prisoners!’”

Al-Bukhārī related this in similar terms in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. In the chapter dealing with the power of attorney, he stated, “‘Abd al-‘Azīz related to me, he being the son of ‘Abd Allāh, quoting Yūsuf, he being the son of al-Mājishūn, from Ṣālih b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, who quoted his father as saying that his father, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf said, ‘I corresponded with Umayya b. Khalaf asking him to take care of my personal affairs in Mecca while I looked after his in Medina. When I used the word “al-Raḥmān” in my name, he responded, “I don’t know any ‘al-Raḥmān’; write to me in the name you had before.” So I wrote to him as “‘Abd ‘Amr.” At Badr I went out to the mountain to protect him when the men were asleep, but Bilāl caught sight of him and came out and stood where there was a group of the Helpers and yelled, “Umayya b. Khalaf! I’ll not live on if Umayya b. Khalaf does!”

“So he and a group of the Helpers took off after us. Fearing they would catch up with us, I left behind for them his son to deter them. But they killed him and pursued us; he was a heavy man. When they caught up to us, I told him to kneel down and when he did so I shielded him with myself. But they reached him with

64. According to Ibn Hishām, he was suggesting that he would be able to offer milch-camels as ransom for himself and his son.

their swords while he was beneath me, and one of them cut my leg with his sword.' And 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf used to show us the mark on the back of his leg."

Yūsuf heard Ṣāliḥ relate this, his father being Ibrāhīm.

Al-Bukhārī, alone of all the authorities, gave this account. In the collection of *ḥadīth* attributed to Rifā'a b. Rāfi', it was he who killed Umayya b. Khalaf.

THE DEATH OF ABŪ JAHL, GOD DAMN HIM!

Ibn Hishām stated, "As Abū Jahl advanced that day he spoke the following verse as he fought,

'Violent warfare will not take revenge on me, spry like
a two-year old camel; I am young in years.

It was for such as this that my mother bore me."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished with his enemy, he ordered that the body of Abū Jahl be sought among those killed.

"Regarding who was the first to find Abū Jahl, I was told by Thawr b. Zayd, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, and also by 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, as follows, 'Mu'adh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ, a brother of the Banū Salama, said, "I heard our men say that Abū Jahl was amid some bushes, and that he could not be reached."

"When I heard this, I made him my business and went off for him. When I could do so, I attacked him and gave him such a blow as to sever his foot and half his leg. I swear, the only thing I can compare it with as it flew off was like the kernel of a nut emerging after having been struck by a nutcracker. His son 'Ikrima struck me on my shoulder and off came my arm, which remained attached only by the skin of my side. The battle drew me away from him, and I spent the whole day fighting while dragging my arm behind me. When it began hurting, I kept my foot on it as I walked ahead until I had removed it."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Mu'adh lived on after that into the reign of 'Uthmān.

"Then Mu'awwidh b. 'Afrā' passed by Abū Jahl, who was already badly wounded, and struck him till he disabled him completely. Mu'awwidh left him on the point of death and fought on until he was killed.

"'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd next passed by Abū Jahl, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having issued the order that he be sought from among those killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them, so I have been informed, 'If when you search he is hidden among the dead, look for someone with a scar on his knee. He and I, when we were youths, were once sitting crowded together at a feast given by 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'an. I was a little slimmer than him, and I gave him a push making him fall down on his knees, one of which received a wound that left a permanent scar."

"Ibn Mas'ūd stated, 'When I found him he was on the point of death. When I recognized him I put my foot on his neck; he had once held me captive in

Mecca and hurt me and kicked me. I asked him, "So God has put you to shame then, you enemy of God!" He replied, "And how has He shamed me?" he asked. "Aren't I the most noble man you have killed? Tell me which side won the day?" "It went to God and to His Messenger," I told him."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Men of the Banū Makhzūm claim that Ibn Mas'ūd used to say, 'Abū Jahl said to me, 'You've climbed very high, for having been just a herdsman!' I then severed his head and took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'This, O Messenger of God, is the head of God's enemy.' 'Is it really, by God other than Whom there is none?' (This was the oath the Messenger of God used to speak.) I responded, 'Yes, by God other than whom there is none.' I then threw Abū Jahl's head down in front of him and he praised God."

This is an account given by Ibn Ishāq, God be pleased with him.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. al-Mājishūn, from Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, from his father who quoted 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, as saying, "At Badr I was standing in the battle line and when I looked to my right and my left I found myself to be between two Helpers, both of whom were young men. I had hoped to be positioned between two men who would be weaker than these. One of them asked me, winking, 'Uncle, would you know Abū Jahl?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'what need have you of him?' He replied, 'I've heard that he curses the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, if I were to see him, I'd not leave him before the death of whichever of us had his time come first.'

"I was amazed to hear this. Then the young man on my other side winked at me and asked me the same. I looked right over at Abū Jahl, moving around his men and commented, 'Can't you see? That's the man over there you're asking about.' Thereupon the two men charged at him with their swords drawn and struck him until they had killed him. They then went off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and informed him and he asked which of them had killed him. Each one said he had. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Have you both wiped your swords clean?' They replied, 'No.' He then examined the swords and concluded that they had indeed both killed him. He decided that Abū Jahl's spoils should go to Mu'adh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ, the other man being Mu'adh b. 'Afrā'."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted 'Abd al-Raḥmān as having said, 'I was there in the line at Badr and happened to look to my left and right and found those next to me to be young men. I wasn't feeling very comfortable at their position, when one of them asked me, keeping his question secret from his companion, 'Uncle, point out Abū Jahl to me.' "What will you do to him?" I asked. He replied, "I swore to God that if I saw him I would kill him or die in front of him." The other man asked me in confidence the same question. Nothing pleased me more than to be in that position between them both. I pointed Abū Jahl out to them and they flew at him like falcons and struck him down. These men were two sons of 'Afrā'."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, moreover, there is an account from Abū Sulaymān al-Taymī quoting Anas b. Mālik as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who will find out what became of Abū Jahl?' Ibn Mas'ūd offered to do so and went off and located him; he had been struck down by 'Afrā's two sons and was on the point of death. Ibn Mas'ūd then took him by the beard and asked, 'Are you Abū Jahl?' He replied, 'Is any man superior whom you have killed?' Or he said, 'It is his people who killed him!'"

According to al-Bukhārī, from Abū Usāma, Ismā'īl b. Qays quoted Ibn Mas'ūd as having said that he went to Abū Jahl and asked him, "Has God disgraced you then?" He replied, "Aren't I the most noble man you have killed?"

Al-A'mash stated, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū Ubayda, from 'Abd Allāh, who said, "When I reached Abū Jahl he was stretched out, wearing a helmet and holding a fine sword. My own sword was a poor one. I was about to sever his head with my sword, remembering how my own head had been struck with swords in Mecca till the hands of my attackers tired. Then I picked up his sword, whereupon he raised his head and asked, 'Which side won the day? Us or them? And aren't you our young herdsman from Mecca?'"

"'Abd Allāh went on, 'So I killed him. Then I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him I had killed Abū Jahl. He exclaimed, 'Did you really, by God other than Whom there is none!' He made me swear it three times. He then arose and went outside, with me accompanying him, and cursed them (those polytheists killed in battle).'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Wakī' related to us, quoting Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū Ubayda, who said, "'Abd Allāh stated, 'When I reached Abū Jahl at the battle of Badr, I found that his leg had been severed, but he was still using his sword to defend himself. I said, 'Praise be to God for disgracing you, you enemy of God!' He responded, 'Is he any but a man killed by his own people?'"

"'I set about fighting him with a blunt sword I had and struck him on the hand. His sword fell, and I picked it up and hit him with it till I had killed him.'"

"'Abd Allāh went on, 'I then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) as though walking on air, and told him. He responded, 'Is it really so, by God other than Whom there is none!' He repeated this three times. I then replied, 'It really is, by God other than whom there is none!'"

"'Abd Allāh continued, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went out, accompanied by myself, stood over him and said, 'Praise be to God! God has disgraced you, you enemy of God! This man was the Pharaoh of his people!'"

In another account, Ibn Mas'ūd stated, "And he gave me his sword as booty."

Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī stated, from al-Thawrī, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū Ubayda, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said, "I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Badr and told him I had killed Abū Jahl. He replied, 'Is it really so, by God other than whom there is none?' I replied, 'It really is, by God other than whom there is none!' I said this twice or thrice."

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'God is Great! Praise be to God who fulfilled His promise, and aided His servant and defeated the parties by Himself.' He then added, 'Go and show him to me.' I went and did so and he said, 'This is the Pharoah of this nation.'"

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī related it from a *ḥadīth* told by Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood where the two sons of 'Afrā' had died and said, 'God bless the two sons of 'Afrā'; they were partners in the killing of the Pharoah of this nation, the leader-in-chief of the polytheists.' Someone asked, 'O Messenger of God, who was it who killed him along with them?' He replied, 'The angels; and also Ibn Mas'ūd participated in killing him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥākim related to us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from 'Anbasa b. al-Azhar from Abū Ishāq, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received at Badr the good news of the death of Abū Jahl, he asked (the informant) to swear thrice that he had indeed seen him dead. He did so whereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prostrated in prayer.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related through Abū Nu'aym, from Salama b. Rajā', from al-Sha'thā', a woman of the Banū Asad, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū 'Awfā, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), prayed two *rak'āt* (four prostrations) when he was given the good news of the victory, and when he was brought Abū Jahl's head.

Ibn Māja stated, "Abū Bishr Bakr b. Khalaf related to us, quoting Salama b. Rajā', who said, 'Sha'thā' related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū 'Awfā, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made two prostrations in prayer on the day he was brought the head of Abū Jahl.'"

Ibn Abī Dunyā stated, "My father related to me, quoting Hishām, quoting Mujālid from al-Sha'bi, that a man said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'As I passed by Badr, I saw a man coming out of the battle-field being struck by a man with an iron staff he had until he disappeared into the ground. When he next appeared, the man would hit him again, and this happened several times.'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "That was Abū Jahl b. Hishām being tortured until Judgement Day."

Al-Umawī stated in his work on the military expeditions, "I heard my father say that al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd related to him, from 'Āmir, who said, 'A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "I saw at Badr a man seated while another man struck him on the head with an iron rod until he disappeared into the ground." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "That was Abū Jahl; an angel had been appointed to do that to him whenever he came up. He is going to go on sinking down into the ground until Judgement Day.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ubayd b. Ismā'īl related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, who said, 'Al-Zubayr stated, "At Badr I met up with Ubayda b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ who was fully accoutred, so that nothing of him could be seen except his eyes. He was known by the nickname 'Abū al-Kirsh',

i.e. 'pot-belly'. He told me he was Abū al-Kirsh and I charged at him with a javelin, struck him in the eye and he died.”

“Hishām stated, ‘I was informed that al-Zubayr said, “I put my foot on him and trod down, only managing to extract it with difficulty for its two blades had bent over.”’”

‘Urwa stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked for it and he gave it over. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, it being still in his possession, Abū Bakr requested and received it. When Abū Bakr died, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb requested and received it. When ‘Umar died, he (al-Zubayr, tr.) took it, but ‘Uthmān requested it and he gave it to him. When ‘Uthmān was killed, it went to ‘Alī’s family. Then ‘Abd Allāh, al-Zubayr’s son, asked for it and had possession of it until he was killed.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Abū ‘Ubayda related to me, quoting other scholars learned in the early military engagements, that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ as he passed by, ‘You seem to me annoyed about something; do you think I killed your father? If I had, I would not apologize to you for doing so. However, it was my uncle al-‘Āṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra whom I killed. I did pass by your father, but he was acting like a bull scraping the earth with his horn. So I avoided him and it was his nephew ‘Alī who sought him out and killed him.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥirṭhān al-Asadī, an ally of the Banū ‘Abd Shams, used his sword to fight with at Badr until it broke off in his hand. He went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who then gave him a wooden club and told him, ‘fight with this, ‘Ukkāsha!’

“When ‘Ukkāsha took it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and brandished it, it turned into a fine, long, white steel sword. He fought using it until God gave victory to the Muslims. That sword was named *al-‘awn*, ‘the helper’; he had it at all the battles he witnessed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until ultimately he was killed by Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī, during the wars of apostasy. Ṭulayḥa spoke an ode about this, part of which was,

“The evening I left Ibn ‘Aqram lying prostrate, and
‘Ukkāsha al-Ghanamī on a battle-field.”

Ṭulayḥa later accepted Islam, as will be related hereafter.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Ukkāsha was he who said, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), gave his nation the good news that 70,000 of them would enter heaven without either testing or punishment, ‘Pray to God to make me one of them.’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) then spoke the words, ‘O God, make him one of them!’”

This *ḥadīth* is given in all the *ṣaḥīḥ*, “authentic”, and *ḥisān*, “good”, collections of traditions, as well as elsewhere.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said – so I have been told – ‘We have the finest horseman of all the Arabs.’ ‘And who is he then?’ he was

asked, and he replied, 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan.' Dirār b. al-Azwar commented, 'He's one of our men, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'He's not one of yours. He's one of ours by alliance.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, through Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidi, "ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān al-Khashnī related to me, from his father, from his maternal aunt, who said, 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan stated, "My sword broke at Badr, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave me a stick and suddenly it became a long, white sword. I fought with it until God defeated the polytheists." He kept it with him until he died.'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Usāma b. Zayd related to me, from Dāʿūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from some men of the Banū al-Ashhal, several of whom said, 'The sword of Salama b. Ḥuraysh broke during the battle of Badr. Without a sword, he was unable to fight, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a staff he carried made of a green palm tree frond. He told him, "fight with this!" And it turned into a fine sword. He kept it with him until he was killed at the battle of Jisr Abū ʿUbayda.'"

HOW THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) REPLACED QATĀDA'S EYE.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, in the *Dalāʾil* (*The Signs*), "Abū Saʿd al-Mālīnī informed us, quoting Abū Aḥmad b. ʿAdī, quoting Abū Yaʿqā, quoting Yaḥyā al-Ḥimmānī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Sulaymān b. al-Ghasīl, from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from his father, from his grandfather Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān, that his eye was wounded at Badr and that its pupil came down on to his cheekbone. They were about to slice it off, but asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said that they should not do this. He then said a prayer for him, covering his cheek with his palm. And later you could not tell which of his eyes had been struck!"

According to one account, this became his better eye.

An account came down to us from the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that when he was told this account by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, he also recited,

"I am the son of him on whose cheek his eye descended,
which was replaced so well by the hand of the Chosen-One."

Upon hearing this, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, God bless him, quoted very appropriately the verse of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt about the sword of Ibn Dhū Yazīn,

"These fine qualities are not like two bowls with milk
merely whitening the water that soon becomes urine."

ANOTHER SIMILAR ACCOUNT.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Shaʿrānī, quoting

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān, quoting Rifā'a b. Yaḥyā, quoting Mu'adh b. Rifā'a b. Rāfi', from his father Rāfi' b. Mālik, who said, 'At the battle of Badr, the enemy was gathered around Ubayy b. Khalaf and when I drew near him, I saw that his chain-mail had been damaged beneath his arm pit. So I stabbed him there with my sword. At Badr I was also hit by an arrow and my eye was gouged out. The Messenger of God (SAAS) spat on it and said a prayer for me. And no harm had been done to me.'

This account is unique from this line; its chain of transmission is excellent, but the (major) scholars did not quote it. Al-Ṭibrānī, however, related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir.

Ibn Hishām stated, "And Abū Bakr called for his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān who was at that time on the side of the polytheists, not yet having accepted Islam. Abū Bakr asked him, 'Well, where's my property now, evil one?' 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, in verse,

"All that remains are weapons and the horse Ya'qūb, and
a sword with which to kill silly old men."

By this he meant that all that was left was equipment for warfare and a horse, named Ya'qūb, on which misguided old men could be fought. This is what he said in his state of disbelief.

We have been informed in al-Umawī's work on the military campaigns that the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr went out and walked among the dead, the former commenting, "We're splitting the chieftains apart," the latter reciting the verse,

"Of powerful men who were against us; they were very
haughty and evil!"

An Account of how the heads of the unbelievers were thrown into the well at the battle of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that those killed should be thrown into the burial pit, it was done. Umayya b. Khalaf, however, was not thrown in because he had swollen up in his armour and quite filled it. When they went to take him out of it, his body fell apart so they left him in it and threw on him the earth and the stones they had removed.

"Having thrown them into the pit, he stood over them and said, "O denizens of the pit, have you found what your Lord promised you to be true, for I have found what my Lord promised me?"

"She went on, 'His Companions asked him, "O Messenger of God, are you talking to people who are dead?"

“He replied, “They have learned that what their Lord promised them was true” (*sūrat al-Rūm*; XXX, v.52).

“Ā’isha stated, ‘People say that he spoke the words, “They heard what I said to them.” However, what he said was, “they have learned”’”

Ibn Ishāq stated that Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to him, from Anas b. Mālik who said, “The Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard him saying in the middle of the night, ‘O denizens of the pit, O ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a, O Shayba b. Rabī‘a, O Umayya b. Khalaf, O Abū Jahl b. Hishām,’ and he went on to enumerate those in the pit. ‘Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true, for I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.’”

“The Muslims said, ‘O Messenger of God, are you calling out to decaying bodies?’

“He replied, ‘You do not hear any better than they what it is I say; but they cannot answer me.’”

Imām Aḥmad related this from Ibn Abū ‘Adī, from Ḥamīd, from Anas. His account was similar. This tradition conforms to the criteria of both the sheikhs (al-Bukhārī and Muslim).

Ibn Ishāq stated, “A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘O denizens of the pit, you were very bad relatives of the prophet who was your Prophet. You called me a liar, while the people believed in me. You expelled me, while they gave me shelter. You fought me, while they aided me. Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true? I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.’”

I would comment that this is one of those *aḥādīth* that Ā’isha, God bless her, used to interpret (differently), believing them to contradict the verses in the Qur’ān. These have been documented in a single volume.

In this case the passage contradicted, in her view, is the verse, “And you do not make those in the graves listen” (*sūrat al-Fāṭir*; XXXV, v.22). This verse however does not contradict the previous statement. The view of the majority of the Companions is correct in the light of the *aḥādīth* that contradict her views, God bless her and be pleased with her.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Ubayd b. Ismā‘īl related to him, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, who said, “Someone mentioned in Ā’isha’s presence that Ibn ‘Umar quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, that the dead would be persecuted in their graves because of the weeping of their families. She commented, ‘God have mercy on him, no! What the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said was, “They will be tortured for their faults and their sins, and their families are weeping for them now.”’”

“She went on, “That is like the account saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the trench in which were the polytheists who had been killed at Badr and he spoke to them, and commented, ‘They do listen to what I say.’” However, what he said was, “They now know that what I was telling them was true.”” She then recited, “you do not make the dead to hear” (*sūrat al-Rūm*;

XXX, v.52) and "you do not make those inside the graves hear" (*sūrat al-Fāṭir*; XXXV, v.22). She commented, "When they had taken their places in hell-fire, that is." Muslim related it from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma.

The assertion concerning hearing the dead after their burial comes in more than one *ḥadīth*, as we will establish, if God wills it, in our book on funerals in *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr* (*The Major Statutes*).

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "Uthmān related to me, quoting 'Abda, from Hishām, from his father, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the burial pit at Badr and said, 'Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true?' He then said, 'They now listen to what I tell them!'"

"This was related to 'Ā'isha and she commented, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) really said, 'Now they know that what I used to tell them was the truth.'" She then recited, 'you do not make the dead to hear' to the end of that verse."

Muslim related this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma, and from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Waki', both of them quoting Hishām b. 'Urwa.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, (that) he heard Rawh b. 'Ubāda (say), 'Sa'īd b. Abū 'Arūba related to us, from Qatāda, who said, 'Anas b. Mālik reported to us, from Abū Ṭalḥa, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered on the day of the battle at Badr that 24 of the chiefs of Quraysh be thrown into a dirty, refuse-laden old well. Whenever he went forth against an enemy he would stay for three nights out in an open area. On the third day at Badr he ordered his mount to be readied and it was saddled. He then set off, followed by his Companions who told one another that he had to have some important reason to be leaving. He came to a stop at the lip of the well and began calling out their names, referring also to their fathers' names by saying, 'You so-and-so, son of so-and-so' etc. 'Would you now be pleased to have obeyed God and His Messenger? We have found that what our Lord promised us was true. Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true?'"

"Umar then said, 'Messenger of God, why do you talk to bodies that have no spirits in them?'"

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'By Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, you do not hear what I say any better than do they!'"

Qatāda stated, "God gave them life until He had made them hear his words, to reprimand, denigrate, and punish them, to make them feel sorry and regretful."

The rest of the scholars gave this tradition, except for Ibn Māja, from various lines, back to Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mu'adib, from Shaybān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Qatāda, who said that Anas b. Mālik gave this *ḥadīth*, in similar form, but without making reference to Abū Ṭalḥa. This chain of authorities is good, but the prior one is more reliable and more clear. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Affān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, from Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left the dead at Badr unburied for three days, till they became putrid. He then went out, stood near them and said, ‘O Umayya b. Khalaf, O Abū Jahl b. Hishām, O ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa, O Shayba b. Rabiʿa, have you found what your Lord promised you to be true? I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.’”

He continued, “Umar heard his voice and asked, ‘O Messenger of God, do you call out to them after three days, and do they hear? God Almighty said, “You do not make the dead to hear.”’ He replied, ‘By Him in whose hand is my soul, you do not hear any better what I say than they do. But they cannot reply.’”

Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khālid, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses,

‘I recognized Zaynab’s home on the dunes, traced like a
line of revelation on a clean sheet,

The winds blow over them and all the dark clouds
pouring down heavy rain,

Its traces are worn and have become defaced that once
were the abode she enjoyed.

Give up remembering her every day and cast off the
agony of your sad heart,

And relate shamelessly, honestly and without inventing
lies.

Tell what the All-Powerful did in the morning at Badr,
giving us success over the polytheists,

That morning when their force seemed as great as Mt.
Ḥirāʾ, its dimensions plain at sunset.

When we engaged them our force was like forest lions,
young and mature alike,

Ahead of Muḥammad whom they defended against his
enemies in the fires of warfare,

Sharp, thin swords in their hands, all well-tried
and bone cutting,

The Banū al-Aws in the vanguard, helped by the Banū
al-Najjār, men in the firm faith.

We left Abū Jahl prostrate, and ʿUtba on the ground,

And Shayba we left there, along with other men of noble
lines.

When we threw them upside down into the pit, the
Messenger of God called to them,

“Do you not now find my words were true? And God’s
command does take by the heart.”

They did not speak but if they had they would have
said, “You spoke true; your views were correct.””

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered they be thrown into the pit, 'Utba b. Rabi'a was dragged there. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked, so I have been told, into the face of Abū Hudhayfa, son of 'Utba, and he looked sad and distressed. He asked some such question as, 'Abū Hudhayfa, are you very upset at your father's fate?'"

"He replied, 'No, I swear, O Messenger of God. I've no problems with my father's fate; but I once knew him as a man of reason, judgement and goodness, and hoped those qualities would lead him to Islam. When I saw what his fate was and how he had died in disbelief despite my hopes for him, I was saddened.' Hearing this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated him with kindness and said a prayer for him."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Ḥumaydī related to us, quoting Sufyān, quoting 'Amr, from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, quoting the verse of the Qur'ān, 'those who exchanged disbelief for God's favour' (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*; XIV, v.28), 'These, I swear, were the disbelievers of Quraysh.' 'Amr commented, 'They were Quraysh; and Muḥammad was God's favour.' And regarding the verse, 'And their people came to dwell in a waste-land abode' he commented, 'This referred to the hell-fire, after the battle of Badr.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses,

'My people are those who gave refuge to their Prophet
and who believed him, while the earth's inhabitants were
unbelievers,

Except for certain special peoples who preceded the
virtuous Helpers, aiding them,

Rejoicing in their words at God's decree, for there
having come to them one noble in line, chosen.

"Welcome indeed! Welcome in ease and security!" How
fine the Prophet, fine the decree, and the protection!

They had him stay in a place where nothing was to fear
from those neighbours who lived close by;

The Helpers shared their wealth with them when they
arrived as Emigrants, while the fate of the deniers was the
fire.

We went and they did too, to their fate; had they but
known for sure they would not have gone.

He set them in conceit, then delivered them up; the
vile are careless of those who empower them.

He told them, "I am your neighbour." Then he brought
evil upon them, including punishment and disgrace.

We then met up against them and they turned away from
their leaders who were aiding them, and one faction of them
fell far down."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Abū Bakr and 'Abd al-Razzāq related to us, as follows, 'Isrā'īl related to us, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished with the slain, he was told, 'Pursue the caravan; there's nothing protecting it now.' Al-ʿAbbās, in shackles, called out to him, 'It behoves you not!' 'Why not?' he asked. He replied, 'Because God promised you one of the two parties and He has fulfilled His promise to you.'""

The total number of polytheist leaders killed at Badr were 70, this taking place in the presence of 1,000 angels.

It was no doubt God's decree that a majority of those who survived would accept Islam. If He had wished He could have sent down just one angel against them and destroyed them to the last man. But the (angels) killed only those totally devoid of good.

For among those angels was Gabriel, whom God Almighty had once ordered to destroy the cities of the people of Lot. There were seven of these cities and they consisted of a variety of nations, animals, lands and farms, and God only knows what. He lifted these cities up until he had raised them to the very heavens on the edge of his wing. He then turned them upside down and lowered them, pursuing them with stones that struck them. This was as we described it in our account of the people of Lot.

God had planned for the warfare of the believers against the unbelievers. The Almighty had laid out his judgements about that in saying, "And when you meet in battle those who disbelieve, then strike their necks until you have defeated them. Then take them prisoner. Later set them free either as a favour or for ransom until the war is concluded. That will be how it is; if God had wished he would have inflicted full retribution upon them. But He acted to try some of you through others" (*sūrat Muḥammad*; XLVII, v.4).

The Almighty also stated, "Fight them! God will punish them through your hands and will disgrace them. He will give you victory over them and He will assist you against them, relieving the hearts of a people who are believers. He will remove the anger from their hearts and He will grant forgiveness to those He wishes" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.14, 15).

The death of Abū Jahl came about at the hands of a youth from the Helpers. Thereafter ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd was placed over him; he grasped Abū Jahl by the beard and stood upon his chest, until he said, "You have reached remarkable heights, for a herdsman!" ʿAbd Allāh then cut off his head and took it and placed it before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

By this God comforted the believers. And this was more effective than if He had made a bolt of lightning strike Abū Jahl down, or made the roof of his house fall upon him, or if he had died a natural death. But God knows best!

Among those polytheists killed at Badr, Ibn Ishāq mentions some Muslims who had come to battle along with them only out of fear. These Muslims had been persecuted and enticed away from Islam. Among these were al-Ḥārith b. Zamʿa

b. al-Aswad, Abū Qays b. al-Fākih, Abū Qays b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, 'Alī b. Umayya b. Khalaf, and al-Āṣ b. Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was regarding them that the Almighty revealed, 'Those whom the angels made to die were unjust to themselves. They say, "What were your circumstances?" They will reply, "We were powerless on earth." They shall ask them, "Was God's earth not spacious enough for you to move away elsewhere?" Those persons shall have hell as their abode, and bad will be their fate'" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.97).

The prisoners taken at Badr that day totalled 70 and discussion relating to them will follow, if God wills it. These included some members of the family of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that is, his uncle al-Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his cousin 'Āqil b. Abū Ṭālib, and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

Al-Shāfi'ī, al-Bukhārī and others have used this as evidence in support of the view that not everyone who possesses a relative is obliged to set him free. They use this to refute the *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥasan, from Ibn Samra regarding this. But God knows best.

Abū al-Āṣ b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd Shams b. Umayya, the husband of Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was one of those prisoners.

DIVISION

The Companions differed over what to do with the prisoners taken at Badr. There were two views – that they should be killed, or that they should be freed in return for ransom.

As Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Alī b. 'Āṣim related to us, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, and from another man mentioned, from al-Ḥasan, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought the advice of his men concerning what to do with the prisoners taken at Badr. He told them, 'God has placed them in your power.'"

He went on, "'Umar arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, strike their necks!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned away from him.

"He then again asked them the same question. Abū Bakr arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, we consider you should pardon them and accept ransom for them.'

"At this the unhappiness on the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disappeared; he did pardon them and accepted ransom for them.

"And God Almighty revealed the words, 'Were it not decreed by God beforehand you would have suffered mightily'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.68). Aḥmad alone quoted this tradition.

He also related – and the following wording is his – as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī, stating it to be authentic, as did 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, who also affirmed its authenticity, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, as follows, "Simāk al-Ḥanafī Abū Zumayl related to us, quoting Ibn 'Abbās, quoting 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, 'At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

looked out and saw his force to be some 300 strong, while that of the polytheists was more than 1,000.”

He then related the *ḥadīth* as above as far as the words, “and 70 of them were killed, while 70 were taken prisoner.”

And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the advice of Abū Bakr, ‘Alī and ‘Umar about them. Abū Bakr responded, “O Messenger of God, these are your close relatives, your tribal brothers; I think you should accept ransom from them. What we receive from them will give us power against the unbelievers; and God might well give them guidance so that they become allied to us.”

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, “Well, what do you think, O ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?” ‘Umar went on, “I replied, ‘By God, I don’t agree with Abū Bakr. I think you should hand over to me so-and-so,’ referring to someone closely related to ‘Umar, ‘and I’ll strike his neck. And if you hand ‘Aqīl over to ‘Alī, he can strike his neck. And if you hand over to Ḥamza so-and-so, his brother, he can strike his neck. That way God will know that we feel no leniency towards the polytheists. These men are their chieftains, their very leaders.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) liked what Abū Bakr had said and did not like my view. And so he did accept ransom from them.”

The following day, ‘Umar said, “I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) early in the morning; he was with Abū Bakr and they were weeping. I asked, ‘O Messenger of God, tell me why you and your Companion are weeping. If I find reason to weep, I’ll do so. If not I would pretend to weep at your weeping!’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘I’m weeping at how you Companions proposed to me that I accept ransom. Your punishment for doing so was proposed to me and it was closer than this tree,’ referring to a tree nearby.

“And God Almighty sent down, ‘It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land. You desire the things of this world, while God wishes for the after-life. And God is All-Powerful, All-Wise! Were it not decreed by God beforehand you would have suffered mightily for what you took’” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.67, 68).

This refers to the ransom. God then did make permissible the acceptance of spoils. He then went on to complete the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Mu‘āwiya related to him, quoting al-A‘mash, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from ‘Ubayda, from ‘Abd Allāh, who said, “At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, ‘What do you say concerning these prisoners?’ Abū Bakr replied, ‘O Messenger of God, they are your people, your relatives. Let them live; be lenient to them. Perhaps God will forgive them.’”

‘Abd Allāh went on, “‘Umar said, ‘O Messenger of God, they exiled you and called you a liar. Bring them close and strike their necks!’

“‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa suggested, ‘O Messenger of God, find a valley with many trees, make them enter it, then set it on fire around them!’”

‘Abd Allāh went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went back inside without giving him any response. Some people said he was going to do as Abū Bakr had suggested, others that he would take ‘Umar’s advice, still others that he would take that given by ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. Then he came out to them and said, ‘God softens the hearts of men concerning Him, so that they become softer than soft. And God hardens the hearts of men so that they become harder than stone. You, Abū Bakr, are like Abraham who said, “Whoever follows me is of me, and whoever disobeys me, then You are Forgiving, Merciful” (*sūrat Ibrāhīm*; XIV, v.36). You, Abū Bakr, are like Jesus, who said, “If You punish them, they are Your servants; if You forgive them, then You are the All-Powerful, the Wise” (*sūrat al-Mā’ida*; V, v.118). You, ‘Umar, are like Noah, who said, “O Lord, do not leave on the earth any place for the unbelievers” (*sūrat Nūḥ*; LXXI, v.26). And ‘Umar, you are like Moses, who said, “O God, destroy their wealth and make their hearts hard, for they will not believe until they see the painful punishment” (*sūrat Yūnus*; X, v.88). You are a support. Let none be exempt from either ransom or having their head smitten.”

‘Abd Allāh continued, “I asked, ‘Except for Suhayl b. Bayḍā? For I have heard him talk of Islam.” He went on, “But he remained silent.”

‘Abd Allāh then said, “And I was never more afraid that there should fall upon me some stone from heaven than I was that day, until he said the words ‘Except for Suhayl b. Bayḍā’.”

He went on, “And so God revealed, ‘It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land. You desire the things of this world, while God wishes for the after-life; and God is All-Powerful, All-Wise. And were it not for a decree’” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.67–8).

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus, as did al-Ḥākim, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Mu‘āwiya. Al-Ḥākim stated, “The chain of authorities is authentic, though they (al-Bukārī and Muslim) did not narrate it.” Also, Ibn Mardawayh related it through ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar and Abū Hurayra in similar words. And it is similarly related from Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.

Ibn Mardawayh related, and so did al-Ḥākim in the *al-Mustadrak*, (*The Compendium*), from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, (as follows), “Isrā’īl related to us, from Ibrāhīm b. Muhājir, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, ‘When the prisoners were taken at the battle of Badr, al-‘Abbās was among them; he was captured by a Helper.’ He went on, ‘The Helpers had warned him they would kill him. That information reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) who said, “I did not sleep tonight because of my uncle al-‘Abbās. The Helpers are saying they are going to kill him.”’ ‘Umar asked, ‘Should I go to them?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.

“‘Umar went to the Helpers and asked them to release al-‘Abbās to him. They replied, ‘No; by God we’ll not release him!’ ‘Umar then asked them, ‘What if that is the pleasure of the Messenger of God?’ They replied, ‘If that is his pleasure, then take him.’ So ‘Umar did take him and when he had control over him, ‘Umar asked him, “‘Abbās, accept Islam! I swear, for you to accept Islam

would please me more than if al-Khaṭṭāb, my father, were to do so. And that would be only for the pleasure I would see your acceptance of Islam giving to the Messenger of God.'

"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the advice of Abū Bakr, who replied, "They are of your family, release them." He asked the advice of 'Umar, who said, "Kill them!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked ransom for them and so God revealed, "It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land"'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.67).

Al-Ḥākim then stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, "This *ḥadīth* has an authentic chain of transmission, but the two authorities (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) did not narrate it."

Al-Tirmidhī related, as did al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from 'Ubayda, from 'Alī, who said, "Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'Ask your Companions to make a choice about the prisoners; if they want there to be ransom, so be it. If they want to kill them, so be it, provided that in a future year a similar number be killed of them.'

"They commented, 'So it's to be ransom or some of us will be killed!'"

This is a very strange *ḥadīth*. Some authorities relate it with an incomplete line of authorities, from 'Ubayda. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated; from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, concerning the verse "were it not for a decree from God that came before, you would have suffered mightily for what you took" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.68). "He is saying, 'Were it not for the fact that I do not punish those who disobey me until I have approached them, I would have made you suffer mightily for what you took.'"

It is similarly related from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, also from Mujāhid. Ibn Ishāq and others chose it.

Al-A'mash stated, "He had previously made plain that he would not punish anyone who had taken part in the battle of Badr." It is similarly related from Sa'īd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, Sa'īd b. Jubayr and 'Aṭā' b. Abū Rabāḥ.

Mujāhid and al-Thawrī stated, "'were it not for a decree from God that had come previously.' That is, in forgiving them."

Al-Walibi stated, from Ibn 'Abbās, "It had previously been stated in the Qur'ān that the 'spoils and ransom for prisoners are permitted to you'. And this is why God later stated, 'and so enjoy whatever you have taken as booty, well and legally'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.69).

It was related similarly from Abū Hurayra, Ibn Mas'ūd, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, 'Aṭā', al-Ḥasan, Qatāda and al-A'mash, and Ibn Jarīr selected it.

This last statement is considered preferable because of what is substantiated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), stated, 'I was given five things not given to any prophet before myself: I was given victory through fear (within Quraysh) for a month; the earth was made

for me into a mosque, and a pure place; booty was made permissible for me while it had not been made so for anyone before myself; I was given intercession; and prophets were previously sent to their people, while I was sent to all mankind.”

Al-A'mash related, from Abū Ṣālih, from Abū Hurayra, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as saying, “Booty was not made permissible to leaders other than ourselves.”

The Almighty therefore stated, “so enjoy whatever you have taken as booty, well and legally”.

And so God Almighty made it permissible to take booty and ransom for prisoners.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mubārak al-‘Absī related to us, quoting Sufyān b. Ḥabīb, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū al-‘Anbas, from Abū al-Sha'thā', from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed a price of 400 dirhams as ransom for the non-Muslims at Badr. This sum was in fact the least taken for any one of them as ransom, while the largest amount taken for any one of them was 4,000 dirhams.”

God promised those who believe that there will be returned to them what was taken from them, in this world and the next. The Almighty stated, “O Prophet, tell the prisoners now in your hands, ‘If God knows there is good in your hearts, He will give you better than what has been taken from you, and He will forgive you’” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.70).

Al-Wālibī stated, from Ibn ‘Abbās: “Revelation came down about al-‘Abbās, and he ransomed himself for 40 *awqiyya* of gold. And he commented, ‘And so God did give me 40 slaves,’ referring to those who worked for him in his business. He went on, ‘And I hope for that forgiveness that God – most highly is He to be praised – has promised.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ma'bad related to me, from some of his family, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The night following the Battle of Badr, after the prisoners had been bound, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at first could not get to sleep. His Companions asked him why he could not sleep and he replied, ‘I have been hearing my uncle al-‘Abbās groaning in his fetters.’ So they untied him, he became silent and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to sleep.’”

Ibn Ishāq concluded, “And he was a wealthy man, who ransomed himself with 100 *awqiyya* of gold.”

My own comment is that this money was on behalf of himself, and for his nephews ‘Aqīl and Nawfal, as well as for his ally, ‘Utba b. ‘Amr, one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihir, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told him to do when he claimed to have accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “What was evident was that you were against us. God knows best about your accepting Islam, and He will reward you.”

Al-‘Abbās claimed that he had no money and so he was asked, “Where is the money that you and Umm al-Faḍl buried when you told her, ‘If I should be

killed on my expedition, then this is for my sons al-Faḍl, ‘Abd Allāh and Qaṭhm?”

“Al-‘Abbās responded, ‘By God, I certainly know you’re the Messenger of God; no one except myself and Umm al-Faḍl knew that.’”

Ibn Ishāq related this from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from ‘Aṭā, from Ibn ‘Abbās.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, through Mūsā b. ‘Uqba that Al-Zuhri stated, “Anas b. Mālik related to me as follows, ‘Some Helpers requested to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They asked him, “Give us permission and we will leave the ransom money for our sister’s son al-‘Abbās.” He replied, “No, by God, you won’t leave a single dirham for him!”’”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān said, from ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was brought money from al-Bahrayn and ordered that it be distributed in the mosque. It was the largest sum of money that was ever brought to him. Al-‘Abbās came to him and said, ‘O Messenger of God, give me some; I paid ransom for myself and for ‘Uqayl.’ ‘Take some,’ he told him. Al-‘Abbās stuffed money into his gown, then moved away, dragging it, but was unable to do so. He asked, ‘Tell someone to lift it up for me!’ ‘No, I won’t,’ he replied. ‘Then you lift it upon me,’ he asked. ‘No, I won’t,’ he repeated. Al-‘Abbās then scattered some of the money and made to go, again dragging it, but he could not. Again he asked, ‘Tell someone to lift it up on me!’ ‘No, I won’t,’ he said. Al-‘Abbās scattered some more of the money then lifted it up on his shoulders and left. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gazed after him until he was lost to our sight, amazed at his cupidity. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not rise to collect a single dirham of the money.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Al-Ḥakīm told us, quoting al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Asbāṭ b. Naṣr, from Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Suddī, who said, ‘The ransom for al-‘Abbās and his two cousins ‘Aqīl b. Abū Ṭālib and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib amounted to 400 dinars for each man. Then the Almighty threatened the rest, saying, “If they want to betray you, they have previously betrayed God. And so He took control of them. And God is knowledgeable, wise”’” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.71).

DIVISION

It is well known that the prisoners at Badr numbered 70, while the number of polytheists killed was also 70, as was related in more than one *aḥadith* that have been given above and will be given hereafter, if God wills it. This is also stated in a *ḥadith* of al-Barā’ b. ‘Azīb, in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, namely that at Badr they killed 70 and captured 70.

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, “At the battle of Badr 6 Muslims of Quraysh were killed and 8 of the Helpers, while 49 of the polytheists were killed and 39 were taken prisoner.”

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus from him and went on to state that Ibn Lahī‘a

reported it similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, concerning the number of the Muslims who died as martyrs, and the number of polytheists who were killed.

Al-Bayhaqī continued, "Al-Ḥākim related to us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, 'At Badr 11 of the Muslims died as martyrs, 4 from Quraysh and 7 from among the Helpers, while more than a score of the polytheists were killed.'"

In another passage, al-Bayhaqī stated, "With the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there were 40 prisoners, while their dead were of a similar number."

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Layth's secretary, from al-Layth, from 'Uqayl, from al-Zuhri, who said, "The first of the Muslims killed was Mihja', the freed-man of 'Umar, and a Helper. More than 70 of the polytheists were killed that day, a similar number of them being taken prisoner."

Al-Bayhaqī went on, "Ibn Wahb related it from Yūnus b. Yazid, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr. He commented, "It is this that we have related that is the most authentic account of the number of polytheists killed and taken prisoner."

He then gave evidence of this, referring to what both he and al-Bukhārī had derived through Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, stating, "At the battle of Uhud, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr in command of the archers, and they hit 70 of us. The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his men had struck down 140 of the polytheists at Badr, 70 being killed and 70 being taken captive."

I would comment that the fact is that the total number of polytheists at Badr was between 900 and 1,000.

Qatāda asserted that they were 950 men, as if he were deriving his information from what we have stated. But God knows best.

In the *ḥadīth* of 'Umar given above, it is stated that they were more than 1,000; however, the first account is what is authentic, since the Prophet (ṢAAS) stated, "The enemy force was between 900 and 1,000."

The Muslim forces that day totalled some tens above 300 men, as evidence shows that will be given hereafter, if God wills it, along with their names.

It has been previously stated in the *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the battle of Badr took place on Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān; 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr also stated this, as did Qatāda, Ismā'īl, al-Suddī al-Kabīr and Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir.

Al-Bayhaqī related, through Qutayba, from Jarīr, from al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who said with reference to the *laylat al-qadr*.⁶⁵ "Search for it with 11 nights remaining of the month, for Badr took place on the morning of that date."

65. The term refers to that night in the month of Ramaḍān when revelation of the Qur'ān first occurred.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is related of Zayd b. Arqam that he was questioned about the *laylat al-qadr* and he replied, 'The night of the 19th, without doubt.' He went on, 'And the day known as *al-furqān*⁶⁶ when the two forces met in battle.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is well known from the works of the scholars of the early military campaigns that that occurred on the 17th of Ramaḍān."

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān informed us, quoting Abū 'Amr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Ishāq, quoting Abū Nu'aym, quoting 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, who quoted Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, as saying, 'Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī was asked about the battle of Badr, and he replied, 'It was either on the 17th or the 13th, or when either 11 or 17 days remained of the month.'"

This is very strange.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir recounted in the biography of Qubāth b. Ashyam al-Laythī, through al-Wāqidi and others, with lines of authority going back to him, that Qubāth was present at Badr on the side of the polytheists and that he recounted their defeat despite the small size of the force of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He stated, "I kept saying to myself, 'I only ever saw women take flight from such as this.' I swear, if the Quraysh women had gone forth to battle bearing only easily-drawn bows, they would have turned back Muḥammad and his men! And following the battle of *al-Khandaq*, 'the trench', I wished I had gone to Medina and had looked into what Muḥammad was saying. Islam had now entered my spirit." He went on, "I then went there and asked after him and was told he was over in the shade of the mosque with a group of his Companions. So I went there, but I was unable to distinguish him from the others. I made my greetings and he asked me, 'So, Qubāth b. Ashyam, you're the man who said of Badr, "I only ever saw women take flight from such as this?"' I replied, 'I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God! This is something I never uttered, not even muttering it. It's only what I said to myself. And were you not a prophet, you'd not know of it! Let me now pledge to you my allegiance to Islam!' And I accepted Islam."

DIVISION

The Companions, God be pleased with them, disagreed among themselves over who should receive the spoils gained from the polytheists at Badr.

When the polytheists retreated, the Muslims performed three functions. One group remained on watch guarding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) aware that any one of the polytheists might come back and attack him.

Another group pursued the polytheists, killing and capturing them.

A third group gathered the spoils of the battle from various places.

Each of these groups maintained that their activities were important and entitled them to a greater share than the rest.

66. The term refers to that "clear differentiation" that occurred between the forces of good and evil at the battle of Badr.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith and others related to me from Sulaymān b. Mūsā, from Makhūl, from Abū Umāma al-Bāhili, who said, 'I asked 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit about the *sūrat al-Anfāl*, (*The Spoils*). He replied, 'It was revealed about those of us who took part in the battle at Badr after we had begun quarreling about the spoils and were behaving badly. God therefore took them away from us and gave them over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who divided them *'an bawā'*, equally, that is, among the Muslims.'"

Aḥmad related this similarly from Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

By the word given above for "equally" it is meant that the spoils were split between those who had gathered them, those who had chased the enemy, and those who had remained near the banners. No one group was given the preferential treatment they claimed.

This does not contradict the concept of spoils being divided into five parts, each fifth being allotted to a specific recipient, as some scholars might maintain, including Abū 'Ubayda and others. But God knows best. In fact, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his sword *Dhū al-Fiqr* from the booty taken at Badr.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "He similarly chose a camel that had belonged to Abū Jahl that had a silver ring through its nose. This was also before the issuance of the edict about the fifth."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr related to us, quoting Ibn Ishāq, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās b. Abū Rabī'a, from Sulaymān b. Mūsā, from Abū Sallām, from Abū Umāma, from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'We went forth with the Prophet (ṢAAS) and I witnessed Badr with him. When the forces met and God defeated the enemy, one group went off after them, putting them to flight and killing them, another group sought and gathered up the booty, while a third group kept watch over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so that the enemy would not do him harm. When night came and the forces gathered back together, those who had assembled the booty said, 'We gathered it and no one else has any right to it.' Those who had pursued the enemy said, 'You have no greater right to it than us; we drove the enemy away from the booty and we defeated them.' Those who had guarded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'We feared some harm might come to him from the enemy, and so we devoted ourselves to him.' And so it was that God sent down, 'They ask you about the spoils. Say, 'The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers'' (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.1).

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided the booty among the Muslims. Whenever he raided enemy territory he would divide the spoils into fourths. But if he pursued a retreating (army) he would divide it into thirds. He had a dislike for booty."

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja related the latter part of this, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “This is a *ḥadīth ḥasan*,⁶⁷ a ‘good *ḥadīth*.’” Ibn Ḥibbān related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as did al-Ḥākim in his *al-Mustadrak (The Compendium)* from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. Al-Ḥākim stated, “This is authentic according to the criteria of Muslim, but he did not narrate this tradition.”

Abū Dā‘ūd, al-Nasā‘ī, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Ḥākim related, on various lines from Dā‘ūd b. Abū Hind, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, the following: “At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Those who have done so-and-so shall receive such-and-such.’ The younger men made haste to carry this out, while the older men stayed near the banners. When the booty had been collected the men gathered to claim their share. The older men asked that they not be given less credit than the rest, saying they had acted as a safeguard against the sudden attack by any enemy force. There was much dispute and so God Almighty revealed, ‘They ask you about the spoils. Say, “The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers”’” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.1).

We have made extensive comments elsewhere, too lengthy to explore here, on the reason for the revelation of this verse.

The meaning of the words is that decisions over the spoils devolve upon God and His Messenger to judge in accord with the best interests of the worshippers regarding this life and the after-life. The Almighty therefore stated, “The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers.”

He then went on to recount the events and outcome of the battle of Badr, concluding, “And know that whatever thing you have taken as spoils of war, then one-fifth of it is for God and for His Messenger and for the kinfolk, orphans, the poor and wayfarers” (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.41). It is evident that this verse explains God’s commands regarding the spoils of war which He has made subject to Himself and to His Prophet (ṢAAS). The Almighty has clarified and determined this in accord with His wish. This is the view of Abū Zayd.

Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām, God bless him, claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the booty taken at Badr equally between the men and that he did not divide it into fifths. The edict relating to the division into fifths was revealed after this, cancelling the previous practice.

Al-Wālibī related this similarly, from Ibn ‘Abbās, and Mujāhid, ‘Ikrima and al-Suddī attested to it. However, there is controversy over this. And God knows best. The controversy relates to whether the above verses came prior to or following the verse referring to the division into fifths, since all relate to the battle of Badr. It seems necessary to consider them to have been revealed all together

67. Al-Tirmidhī used this term to define a *ḥadīth* whose narrators were known to have defective memories.

at one time and not separately, with some having come later, as would be necessary if some had cancelled others.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections relating to 'Alī, God be pleased with him. This tells how, regarding Ḥamza's having cut off the two humps of his two old mare camels, and of his stating that one of these was part of the fifth part set aside at Badr. His statement directly contradicts Abū 'Ubayd's contention that the spoils at Badr were not divided into five parts. God knows best; but they were divided into five according to the accounts of al-Bukhārī, Ibn Jarīr and others; this is the correct and preferable view. But God knows best.

DIVISION

The return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Badr to Medina and the events on that journey by which his Lord gave him help and assistance.

It has previously been stated that the engagement took place on Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that following an engagement against an enemy, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would thereafter spend three days in an open area. His normal period of three days so spent at Badr, however, ended, as related above, after two days when he mounted his camel and stood above the pit at Badr, berating those dead polytheists who had been dragged there.

Thereafter he departed, taking with him the prisoners and the great quantity of booty. He had sent on ahead two heralds to Medina to announce the victory over those who had associated others with God and denied and disbelieved in Him. One of these heralds was 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, whom he sent to the upper parts of Medina. The other, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, he sent to the city's lower parts.

Usāma b. Zayd stated, "The news reached us when we had finished levelling the earth over Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Her husband, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, God bless him, had remained behind to nurse her at the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who had assigned to him a share in the spoils of Badr."

Usāma stated further, "When my father, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, arrived, I went to him and found him standing at the prayer shrine, swamped by people. He was saying, "Utba b. Rabi'a has been killed, as also had been Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Zam'a b. al-Aswad, Abū al-Bakhtarī al-'Āṣ b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf and Nubayh and Munabbih, the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj.' I asked him 'Father, is this true?' He replied, 'Son, I swear it is so.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, citing a line of authorities through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from Usāma b. Zayd, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had left 'Uthmān and Usāma b. Zayd to look after his daughter. Then Zayd b. Ḥāritha arrived, mounted on *al-'Aḍbā'*, the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with the good news. Usāma said, "I heard the tumult and so went outside. There I found Zayd who had brought the good news. But, I swear, I

didn't really believe it until I saw the prisoners. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had assigned to 'Uthmān a share in the spoils."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) following his return from Badr, performed the evening prayer at al-Athīl.⁶⁸ When he had finished one *rak'a* he smiled. Someone later asked why he was smiling and he replied that he could see Michael with dust on his wing, who had smiled at him and said, 'I was looking for the rest.' And Gabriel had come to him when he had finished fighting the enemy at Badr, riding a mare, its forelock knotted and the furrows of its head covered with dust. He had said, 'O Muḥammad, my Lord has sent me to you and told me not to leave you until you are content. Are you content?' 'I am,' he had replied."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "They related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa ahead from al-Athīl and they arrived on Sunday in the heat of late morning. 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa parted from Zayd b. Ḥāritha at al-'Aqīq and began calling out, still on his mount, 'O Helpers, rejoice at the safety of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and at the killing and capture of the polytheists! The two sons of Rabi'a have been killed, along with the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj, Abū Jahl, Zum'a b. al-Aswad and Umayya b. Khalaf, while Suhayl b. 'Amr has been taken prisoner!'

"'Aṣim b. 'Adī stated, 'I went up to him and accompanied him, saying, "Is that the truth, Ibn Rawāḥa?" He replied, "It certainly is! And tomorrow the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will arrive with the prisoners in chains." He then went to the homes of the Helpers, one after the other, in the upper part of the town, telling them the good news. The children chanted along with him, "The evil Abū Jahl is dead!" He continued on until he reached the home of the Banū Umayya, when Zayd b. Ḥāritha arrived on the camel called *al-Qaswā'* belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announcing the good news. When he reached the prayer shrine he shouted, still mounted, 'Utba and Shayba, the two sons of Rabi'a have been killed! And the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj! Umayya b. Khalaf is dead, as are Abū Jahl, Abū al-Bakhtari, and Zam'a b. al-Aswad. Suhayl b. 'Amr Dhū al-Anyāb has been taken captive, along with many others!'

"Some people refused to believe Zayd and began saying, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha has only come because he's been defeated!' This confused and scared the Muslims.

"Zayd arrived when we had finished levelling the earth over Ruqayya, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at al-Baqī', and one of the hypocrites commented to Usāma, 'Your master has been killed, and all those with him!' Another said to Abū Lubāba, 'Your friends have scattered, and they'll never unite around him again. His Companions have died for him, and Muḥammad has been killed. This we know to be his own camel. And Zayd is so confused he doesn't know what he is saying. He's come in defeat.' Abū Lubāba said, 'God will refute what you are saying.' The Jews commented, 'Zayd has only come in defeat.'

68. A place near Medina, between Badr and Wādī al-Ṣafra'.

"Usāma said, 'So I went off alone with my father and asked, "Is it really true, what you are saying?" He replied, "Yes indeed, son; I swear by God what I say is true."

"This encouraged me and I returned to that hypocrite telling him, "You are spreading lies about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and about the Muslims! We're going to have you up before the Messenger of God, and he'll execute you!" He replied, "It's only what I hear people saying."

"He went on, 'The prisoners were brought in, in the custody of Shaqrān, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He had participated at Badr with the rest. They were 49 men in number."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "According to the sources, they totalled 70; and there is no doubt about this."

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met with the city leaders who congratulated him on the victory God had given him. Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr told him, 'O Messenger of God, praise be to God who has given you victory and made you content. By God, O Messenger of God, nothing would have kept me from joining you at Badr if I had thought you would be meeting an enemy in battle; but I thought you were going after a caravan. If I had known it was an enemy, I'd not have stayed behind.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You speak the truth!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began his journey back to Medina, taking the prisoners with him. Amongst them were 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayt and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith. In charge of the booty he had appointed 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mabdhūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin b. al-Najjār.

"One of the Muslims who composed doggerel verse, who according to Ibn Hishām was said to be 'Adī b. Abū al-Zaghba', spoke the lines,

'Water your camels, Basbas, for there's no place for
them to halt at Dhū al-Ṭalh.

Nor in the deserts of 'Umayr is there any corral;
though the people's mounts can't be kept penned in.

It's smarter to get them on the road; God has given
victory, and al-Akhnas has fled.'

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forward and, having come through the pass at al-Ṣafrā', he halted at a hill between the pass and al-Nāziyya called Sayar, near a willow tree. There he divided up equally the spoils that God had bestowed upon the Muslims from the polytheists. Then he moved on to al-Rawḥā', where he was met by Muslims congratulating him on the victory that God had given him and his Muslim force. Salama b. Salama b. Waqsh – as I have been told by 'Āṣim b. 'Umar and Yazīd b. Rūmān – asked them, 'What are you congratulating us about? All we faced were bald old women, like camels bound for sacrifice, and we slaughtered them!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled at this and said, 'Hey, cousin, those were the *al-mala'*, chiefs!'"

Ibn Hishām observed, "He was referring to the nobles and the leaders."

*THE DEATHS OF AL-NAḌR B. AL-ḤĀRITH AND 'UQBA B. ABŪ MU'AYṬ,
GOD DAMN THEM!*

Ibn Ishāq stated, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at al-Ṣafrā, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith was killed by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, or so I was told by a scholar from Mecca. After they had moved on to 'Irq al-Zabiyya, 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayṭ was executed.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his death, 'Uqba asked him, 'Who will look after my children, Muḥammad?' 'The fire!' he responded. The man who killed him was 'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ, a brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, as I was told by Abū 'Ubayda b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba also stated this in his work on the military expeditions. He claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) killed no other person taken captive.

He stated, "And when 'Āṣim b. Thābit came up (to kill him) 'Uqba asked, 'O tribe of Quraysh, why am I to be killed out of all those here?'"

"He replied, 'For your enmity towards God and His Messenger.'

"Ḥammād b. Salama stated, from 'Aṭā b. al-Sa'ib, from al-Sha'bi, who said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered the execution of 'Uqba, he asked, 'Will you kill only me from among Quraysh?'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Yes. Do you know how this man treated me? He came up while I was prostrate in prayer behind the *maqām*,⁶⁹ placed his foot on my neck and pressed down on it. I thought my eyes were going to come out, before he lifted up his foot. On another occasion he brought a sheep's entrails which he threw over my head while I was prostrate in prayer. Fātima came and washed it off my head.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that it was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib who killed 'Uqba, according to al-Zuhri and other scholars."

I would comment that these two men were among the most evil of God's servants, the most stubborn, wicked, envious and disbelieving of men and they had been very active in satirizing Islam and its supporters. God damn them! And He did, indeed!

Ibn Hishām stated, "Qutayla, daughter of al-Ḥārith, sister of al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, spoke the following verses about the death of her brother,

'O rider, al-Athil is a landmark since the morning of
the fifth night, and you are fortunate.

Inform there a dead man of a greeting that the finest
of all are still waving,

From me to you, and of tears that are shed in

69. The "shrine of Abraham", near the *ka'ba*.

profusion, flooding out, while others are repressed.

Will al-Naḍr hear if I call to him; or can a dead man hear who cannot speak?

Muḥammad, you, the finest son of a woman noble among her people, and her husband a fine stallion,

It would not have harmed you to forgive him, for a valorous man often forgives, despite his anger or rage.

Or you could have accepted ransom, and the largest sum ever paid would have been provided,

And al-Naḍr was the closest in ties to you of all your captives, and the worthiest, if any were to be freed.

The swords of his father's sons would then have charged for God, with wombs being split asunder on His behalf,

Stoically he was led to death, worn out and bound, but servile."

Ibn Hishām stated, "And it is said, though God alone knows best, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when those verses were recited to him, 'If only this had reached me before his death, I would have spared him!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "At that place the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was met by Abū Hind, the freed-man of Farwa b. 'Amr al-Bayāḍī, his cupper. He had with him a wine-skin filled with *hays*, that being dates in a butter sauce, a gift for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He accepted it and recommended Abū Hind to the Helpers.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on into Medina, arriving there one day before the prisoners."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Nabīh b. Wahb, brother of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the prisoners among his Companions following their arrival and said, 'Behave well towards them.'

"Abū 'Azīz b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim, a brother of Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr by the same father and mother, was among the captives. Abū 'Azīz stated, 'My brother Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr passed me by while one of the Helpers was tying me up. Muṣ'ab said, 'Bind his hands fast. His mother is wealthy, and she'll ransom him from you.'"

"Abū 'Azīz went on, 'I was with a group of Helpers bringing me from Badr. When they had their midday and evening meals, they gave me the bread and ate the dates themselves, in accordance with the instruction given them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) regarding us. Every piece of bread that came into their hands they passed on to me. I was embarrassed and would return the bread, but they would pass it back untouched.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "This Abū 'Azīz was the standard-bearer of the polytheists at Badr, following al-Naḍr b. Hārith.

"And after his brother had made his comment to Abū al-Yusr, the man who had me captive, Abū 'Azīz commented, 'Brother, is this how you treat them?' Muṣ'ab replied, 'He's more my brother than you are!'"

"His mother asked what was the highest price paid to ransom a Quraysh man. She was told, 'Four thousand dirhams.' She therefore ransomed him with four thousand dirhams she sent."

I comment that the given name of this Abū 'Azīz was Zurāra, according to what Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *Ghābat al-Ṣaḥāba* (*Compendium of Companions*). Khalīfa b. Khayāṭ included him in his list of names of the Companions. He was Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr's brother on his father's side. They had another paternal brother who was Abū al-Rūm b. 'Umayr. Those who would have him as killed at Badr as an unbeliever are in error. That person was really Abū 'Azza, as will be told hereafter. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, that Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'd b. Zurāra said, 'When the prisoners were brought in, Sawda, daughter of Zam'a, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was with the family of 'Afrā', who were engaged in mourning for 'Afrā's two sons, 'Awf and Mu'awwidh. This was before the veil was made required for the wives of (the Prophet). Sawda said, 'I swear by God, there I was when someone came in and said, 'They've brought in the prisoners!' So I went off to my house, where the Messenger of God was, and there I found Abū Yazīd Suhayl b. 'Amr in a corner of the room with his hands tied with a rope behind his neck. I couldn't restrain myself from saying, at the sight of Abū Yazīd, 'O Abū Yazīd! You gave yourself up then! Couldn't you have died a noble death!'

"'"I swear, I was then quite startled to hear the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) call out from inside the house, 'Sawda, are you stirring up trouble for God and for His messenger!' I replied, 'O Messenger of God, by Him who sent you with the truth, I couldn't restrain myself from saying as I did when I saw Abū Yazīd with his hands tied up at his neck!'"'"

Information will follow hereafter in detail recounting the arrival of the prisoners in Medina, and how and at what cost they were ransomed. If God wills it so, that is.

An Account of the joy of the Negus, God bless him, at the outcome of the battle of Badr.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥurfī of Baghdad informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. Salmān al-Najjād, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Dunyā, quoting Ḥamza b. al-'Abbās quoting, 'Abdān b. 'Uthmān, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, quoting Jābir, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a man from Ṣan'a, who said, 'One day the Negus sent for Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and his Companions and when they went in to him they found him in his house sitting on the ground dressed in rags. Ja'far said, "We felt very sorry for him when we saw him, in this state, and when he observed this in our faces, he explained, 'I have good news for you

that will make you rejoice. A spy has come to me from your land and has told me that God has given victory to his Prophet, defeated his enemy, taken captive so-and-so and so-and-so, and killed so-and-so and so-and-so. The forces met in a valley called Badr where many thorny trees grow. It's as if I can see it now, for I used to look after camels there for my master, a man of the Banū ʿAmra.”

“Jaʿfar then asked the Negus, “Why are you sitting on the ground, without even a carpet, dressed in those old clothes?” He replied, “We agree with what God sent down to Jesus — that it is the duty of God’s worshippers to behave in humility when God performs some favour for them. Since God has favoured me with the victory of his Prophet (ṢAAS), I am acting in humility in this way for him.””

Chapter: On the arrival of the news of those stricken at Badr to their families in Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The first to arrive in Mecca with news of the Quraysh casualties at Badr was al-Ḥaysumān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzāʿī. When he was asked for news, he reported the deaths of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Shayba b. Rabīʿa, Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf, Zamʿa b. al-Aswad, Nubayh and Munabbah, and Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām.

“As he enumerated the Quraysh nobles, Ṣafwān b. Umayya commented, “That makes no sense; ask him about me!” So they asked him what had happened to Ṣafwān b. Umayya, and he responded, “He’s over there, sitting in the *ḥijr*; I saw the deaths of his father and his brother when they were killed.”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, “When the news reached Mecca and was verified, the women cut off their hair; and many horses and riding camels were slaughtered.”

Al-Suhaylī recounted, from the book *Dalāʾil (The Signs)* of Qāsim b. Thābit, whose author said that at the time of the battle of Badr the people of Mecca heard a spirit calling out,

“The *ḥanīfs* brought a battle to bear at Badr because of which the power of Chosroe and Caesar will collapse,

It sent men of Luʿayy to their death, and brought forth unmarried women to strike the ground in despair.

Woe to him who becomes Muḥammad’s enemy, deliberately straying from the right path and getting lost!”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās related to me, from ʿIkrima, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Abū Rāfiʿ, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I was a slave of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib at the time when Islam had entered us, the people of the house. Al-ʿAbbās accepted Islam, as did Umm al-Faḍl and myself as well. Al-ʿAbbās was concerned about his people and disliked opposing them and so he concealed his acceptance of Islam. He was a man of great wealth that was scattered amongst his people. Abū Lahab had stayed behind from Badr and had sent al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām

b. al-Mughira in his place. This was the practice; any man who could not go to battle sent another in his place.

“““When he received news of those of Quraysh who were struck down at Badr, God humiliated and disgraced Abū Lahab, while we experienced a sense of power and pride. I was a weak man and I used to make arrows, sharpening them in the pavilion near *zamzam*, the sacred well. I was seated there active in this, with Umm al-Faḍl sitting there with me, happy at the news we had received, when in came Abū Lahab, dragging his feet in annoyance. He sat down at one side of the pavilion, his back facing mine. As he sat there people announced, ‘Here’s Abū Sufyān, al-Mughira b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who has arrived.’ Abū Lahab called out, ‘Come on in to me; you must have some news.’

“““Abū Sufyān came and sat down, people standing all around. Abū Lahab then spoke, ‘Cousin, tell me what happened to everyone.’

“““‘Well,’ he reported, ‘I swear that no sooner had we joined battle with them, than we turned our back to them and they killed and captured us just as they liked. But, I swear, I don’t blame them; we faced men dressed in white mounted on piebald horses between heaven and earth. I swear, they spared nothing, and nothing could withstand them.’”

“Abū Rāfi‘ went on, ‘I then raised the tent rope with my hand and commented, “By God, those were the angels!”

““At that Abū Lahab raised his fist and hit me a very hard blow in the face. I charged at him, but he fought back and knocked me to the ground. He then knelt down on me, beating me. I was a weak man. Then Umm al-Faḍl took hold of one of the tent supports and began hitting him with it, making a nasty wound in his head and shouting, “So you think he’s powerless now that his master is away!”

““He got up and left, humiliated. And by God, he only lived seven more days before God afflicted him with the pustules that killed him.”

Yūnus, quoting Ibn Ishāq, added, “His two sons left him unburied for three days after his death and he began to decompose. Quraysh greatly feared those pustules, just as they did the plague. Eventually one of the Quraysh said to his sons, ‘Aren’t you ashamed that your father is decomposing in his house, without you burying him?’ They replied, ‘We’re scared of those terrible pustules.’ The man insisted, ‘If you do it, I’ll help you.’ And they did not wash him and merely threw water over him from a distance, not going close to him at all. They then carried him to the heights of Mecca, placed him against a wall and covered him over with stones.”

Yūnus said, quoting Ibn Ishāq, “Yaḥyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, mother of the believers, who said she always veiled herself with her gown until she had passed beyond the place where Abū Lahab was buried.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Yaḥyā b. ‘Abbād related to me as follows, ‘Quraysh mourned their dead. Then they told one another not to do this because when Muḥammad

and his supporters heard of it they would revile them. They also agreed not to seek reassurance by making enquiry about the captives to discourage the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from making heavy demands for their ransom.”

I observe that God's forcing them to forego mourning for their dead was part of the totality of His punishment of those of them that remained alive at that time. For weeping for the dead contributes to the recovery of the grieving heart.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib was afflicted with the loss of three of his sons, Zam‘a, ‘Aqil and al-Ḥārith, and he wished to mourn properly for them. He heard a woman in the night bewailing her loss and, because he was himself blind, he asked his son, ‘Go and see if mourning has become permissible. Are Quraysh now bewailing their dead? Perhaps I will now be able to lament the loss of Abū Ḥakima’ – he was referring to his son Zam‘a – ‘for I am in great pain.’

“When the boy returned, he reported that it was merely a woman lamenting the loss of a camel that had gone astray. It was then that al-Aswad spoke the verses,

‘Is she weeping because a donkey of hers has gone
astray and so insomnia keeps her from sleeping?

Do not weep over a young camel, but over Badr that
ruined all hopes,

Over Badr and the elite of the Banū Huṣayṣ and Makhzūm
and the tribe of Abū al-Walid.

And weep, if you weep at all, for Abū ‘Aqil and for
Ḥārith, the lion of lions.

Weep for them all, and do not hold back, for there is
none the like of Abū Ḥakima.

After them it is other men who rule, and had it not
been for Badr, they would not have come to lead.”

DIVISION

The payment of ransom money by Quraysh to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for their men who were captive.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Abū Wadā‘a b. Ḍubayra al-Sahmī was among the prisoners. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘He has a son in Mecca who is a wealthy, shrewd merchant; no doubt he will come and seek to ransom his father.’ When Quraysh advised that there would be no hurry in ransoming the prisoners so that Muḥammad and his Companions would not seek larger sums, al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadā‘a, the man to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had referred, agreed and also advised against haste. But he left secretly at night and went to Medina, where he ransomed and removed his father, having paid 4,000 dirhams.”

I comment that this was the first prisoner ransomed. Then Quraysh sent to ransom their prisoners and Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf went to ransom Suhayl b. ‘Amr, who had been taken captive by Mālīk b. al-Dukhshum, brother of the Banū Sālīm b. ‘Awf. Mālīk spoke the following verses on this,

"I captured Suhayl and I would not want for him any prisoner from any other nation.

Khindif knows that, if injustice be done, Suhayl is the man to charge.

I struck with a sharp sword until it bent, forcing myself on against that hare-lipped man."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Suhayl was a man who had a split lower lip."

He went on, "Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Aṭā', a brother of the Banū 'Amr b. Lu'ayy related to me, that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Let me extract the two front teeth of Suhayl b. 'Amr; his tongue will protrude and he will never speak ill of you again. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, 'I will not mutilate him, for if I did, God would mutilate me, even though I am a prophet.'"

I observe that this *ḥadīth* is incomplete in its line of authorities; indeed, it may be defined as *mu'dal*, "problematic".

Ibn Ishāq stated, "I have been informed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Umar about this, 'Maybe he will take a stand for which you will not criticize him.'"

I observe that this refers to the stand adopted in Mecca by Suhayl when, following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) some of the Arabs rebelled. Hypocrisy arose in Medina and elsewhere, and Suhayl stood up and gave a public address in Mecca in which he urged the people to remain firm in the true *ḥanīf* religion. This will be related in its proper place.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Mikraz negotiated with them about Suhayl and ultimately satisfied them, they said, 'Give us what is ours.' He replied, 'Take me hostage in his place and let him go until he sends you his ransom money.' They released Suhayl and kept Mikraz with them."

Ibn Ishāq quoted some poetry of Mikraz that Ibn Hishām suggested might not be authentic. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, saying, 'Amr b. Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb was among the prisoners.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "His mother was the daughter of 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ṭṭ."

Ibn Hishām, however, said that his mother was 'Uqba's sister; and he added that it was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib who had captured him.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, as follows, 'Abū Sufyān was advised to ransom his son, 'Amr. He replied, 'Shall blood and money combine against me? They killed Ḥanzala, and shall I now ransom 'Amr? Let him remain with them; they can keep him as long as they want!'"

"While he was thus imprisoned in Medina, Sa'd b. al-Nu'mān b. Akkāl, a brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf and also related to the Banū Mu'āwiya, went forth on pilgrimage, accompanied by his young wife. He was elderly and a Muslim and had sheep at al-Baqī'. He left for there on pilgrimage with no idea he would be imprisoned at Mecca, since he was a pilgrim; Quraysh only ever

treated well those who came as pilgrims. But Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb attacked him in Mecca, imprisoning him in retaliation for this son 'Amr. Abū Sufyān spoke the following verses on this,

'O tribe of Ibn Akkāl, answer his request; you had a pact together, so do not surrender the chief in his maturity.

The Banū 'Amr is lowly, contemptible, if they do not release their prisoner's fetters."

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses in response,

"If Sa'd had been free to act that day in Mecca, he would have killed many of you before he was captured.

Using a sharp sword or a bow of *nab'a* wood, its string twanging when its arrows shoot."

He went on, "The Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what had happened and asked him to give them 'Amr b. Abū Sufyān so they could release him and receive their own man in exchange. The Prophet (ṢAAS) agreed and they sent 'Amr to Abū Sufyān, who released Sa'd."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Abū al-Āṣ b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams b. Umayya was among the captives, the son-in-law of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), husband of his daughter Zaynab."

Ibn Hishām added, "It was Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma, of the Banū Ḥarām, who had captured him."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Abū al-Āṣ was a respected Meccan credited with much wealth and goods. His mother was Hāla, daughter of Khuwaylid, sister of Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid. It was Khadija who had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to marry her daughter Zaynab to him, and he never disagreed with her; this occurred before the beginnings of revelation.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had married his daughter Ruqayya, or Umm Kulthūm, to 'Utba b. Abū Lahab. And when revelation began, Abū Lahab said, 'Let Muḥammad look after his own!' He ordered his son 'Utba to divorce Ruqayya with the promise to give him any woman he wanted. He did so before having consummated the marriage. She was then married by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, God bless him. They approached Abū al-Āṣ and said, 'Leave your wife and we will marry you to any Quraysh woman you desire.' He replied, 'No, by God! I will not leave her, and I do not want any other woman from Quraysh for my wife.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been told, used to commend his son-in-law for this."

I comment that the evidence of his praise for his son-in-law is well established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as will be shown.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had no authority in Mecca to allow or to forbid, since he was powerless. Islam had divided Zaynab,

daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Abū al-ʿĀṣ, but he was not able to bring about their separation.”

I comment that it was only in the year of the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya, in the year 6 AH that God made it unlawful for Muslim women to marry polytheists, as will be shown hereafter, if God wills it.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, “When the Meccans sent ransom money for their men who were prisoners, Zaynab, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sent money on behalf of Abū al-ʿĀṣ. She sent the necklace for him that Khadija had given her upon her marriage to Abū al-ʿĀṣ. She said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw it, he was greatly touched for her and said, “If you should think fit to deliver her prisoner to her and to return to her what is hers, then do so.” They replied, “Yes, Messenger of God.” And they did release him and returned her property to her.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Those named to us as having been freed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) without ransom having been paid for them include: of the Banū Umayya, Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ, and of the Banū Makhzūm, al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. He was taken prisoner by one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He had been left in their custody until he was released, whereupon he rejoined his own people.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had required of him (Abū al-ʿĀṣ) that he allow free movement to Zaynab, which meant that she could emigrate to Medina. And Abū al-ʿĀṣ did keep to his agreement, as will be told.”

It is at this point that Ibn Ishāq related this; however, we have deferred telling of it, since that is more appropriate. But God knows best.

We have previously related how al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS), ransomed himself and ʿUqayl and Nawfal, sons of his two brothers, for 100 *awqīya* of gold.

Ibn Hisham stated, “It was Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd who captured Abū al-ʿĀṣ.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ṣayfi b. Abū Rifāʿa b. ʿĀʾidh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm was left in the custody of his captives. They agreed with him that he would send them his ransom and so let him free; but he did not keep his word. On that subject Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the lines,

‘Ṣayfi’s word was not one to be trusted, like the trail
of some fox that rested at a watering hole.’”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Abū ʿAzza ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Uhayb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumāḥ was a poor man with daughters to support. He said, ‘O Messenger of God, you know my state of finances. I am poor and have a family, so be gracious to me.’ The Messenger of God agreed to be gracious to him on condition that he did not support anyone else against him. Abū ʿAzza spoke the following lines in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for this action,

'Who is it will tell the Messenger, Muḥammad, from me, "You are truth; and the All-Powerful is to be praised.

You are a man who calls to the truth and to right guidance, with witness for you from God the Almighty.

You are a man given a position of power among us, there being steps both easy and high up to where you are.

You are someone whose opponents are unhappy being fought, while those with whom you make peace are content.

But when I think of Badr and those who fought it, I am overcome again by sorrow and depression."

I comment that thereafter this Abū 'Azza broke the pact he had made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he fell under the influence of the polytheists and rejoined them. At the battle of Uḥud he was again taken captive, and he again asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to set him free. But the latter replied, "I'll not let you stroke your beard and say that you deceived Muḥammad twice!" And so his head was cut off at Uḥud, as will be related in the account of that engagement.

It is said that it was of him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke as follows, "A believer will not be bitten twice from the same lair." This is one of those proverbs uttered only by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, as follows, "Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumāhī was sitting with Ṣafwān b. Umayya in the *ḥijr* shortly after the losses that were suffered at Badr. He, 'Umayr, was one of the devilish Quraysh provocateurs, a man who had grievously harmed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions at Mecca. His son Wahb b. 'Umayr was one of those taken captive at Badr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The person who captured him was Rifā'a b. Rāfi', one of the Banū Zurayq."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to me, from 'Urwa, that 'Umayr made mention of the fate of those caste into the pit at Badr, at which Ṣafwān said, 'I swear, there's nothing good in life now they are gone.' 'Umayr agreed, 'You are right. Were it not for a debt I can't pay and children whose survival after me concerns me, I would ride off to Muḥammad to kill him; I have cause against them, since my son is a prisoner in their hands.'

"Ṣafwān b. Umayya seized the opportunity to say, 'Consider your debt my responsibility; I will redeem it and consider your children as my own, caring for them as long as they live. Everything I have will be theirs.'

"'Umayr suggested, 'Keep this matter a secret between us both.' Ṣafwān agreed.

"'Umayr then called for his sword, sharpened it, put poison on it and left for Medina. While 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was there talking with a group of Muslims about Badr and recalling how God had honoured them and how He had treated

their enemy, Umar saw Umayr b. Wahb having just dismounted at the door to the mosque, wearing his sword. Umar commented, 'There's that dog Umayr b. Wahb, that enemy of God; he's come here only to do some mischief. It is he who sowed discord among us and estimated our numbers for the enemy at Badr!'

"Umar then went in to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, 'O Prophet of God, that enemy of God Umayr b. Wahb is here wearing his sword.' He told him to let him enter, so Umar went and seized the sheath of Umayr's sword and wrapped it tightly around his neck, telling the Muslim Companions there to go and sit with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and to guard him against that evil fellow who could not be trusted.

"He then took him in to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and when the latter saw him with Umar holding his sword sheath around his neck, he said, 'Release him, Umar; come near, Umayr.' Umayr went over to him and said, 'May your morning be good!' This was the mode by which people greeted one another before Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, 'God has honoured us with a greeting better than that, Umayr. That is *salām*, peace, the greeting used by the people of paradise.'

"Well,' Umayr replied, 'it's a greeting you've not been using for long.'

"So what brings you, Umar?' the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked.

"I have come about that captive you have; treat him well,' Umayr replied.

"Why are you wearing a sword around your neck?"

"God curse the swords! Have they done us any good?"

"Seriously, why did you come?"

"That's the only reason,' Umayr insisted.

"On the contrary, you sat in the *hijr* with Ṣafwān b. Umayya; you discussed the fate of the dead in the pit, then you said, "Were it not for a debt I can't pay and children whose survival after me concerns me, I would ride off to Muḥammad to kill him." And so Ṣafwān b. Umayya took responsibility for your debt and your family if you would kill me. But God prevented you from doing that.'

"Umayr declared, 'I testify that you are the Messenger of God! We used to call you a liar when you brought us news from heaven and the revelations that came to you, but only Ṣafwān and I were present on that occasion, and I well know that only God could have told you of it. Praise be to God who led me to Islam and to where I am now!' He then gave testimony to the truth of Islam.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered, 'Give your brother instruction in the religion! Teach him the Qur'ān and release his prisoner to him!' They did so.

"Umayr then said, 'O Messenger of God, I vigorously tried to extinguish the light of Islam and was very harsh towards those who followed God's religion. I would like you to give me permission to go to Mecca where I will call others to God, to His Messenger and to Islam. Perhaps God will guide them. Otherwise I will persecute them in their religion just as I used to maltreat your Companions in theirs.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to him and he did go to Mecca.

"Ṣafwān had been saying, following 'Umayr b. Wahb's departure, 'Rejoice at an event soon to happen that will make you forget Badr!'

"He would ask riders about 'Umayr, and eventually one came who told him of 'Umayr's acceptance of Islam. He swore that he would never say another word to him and never do him any favour."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "When 'Umayr arrived back in Mecca he set about preaching for Islam and persecuting those who opposed it. Many people accepted Islam due to him.

"And it was 'Umayr b. Wahb, or al-Hārith b. Hishām, who saw the enemy of God, Satan, when he turned on his heels and fled, saying, 'I'll have nothing to do with you, I see what you do not.' Satan was then in the form of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum, the leader of Mudlij."

DIVISION

Hereafter Imām Ibn Ishāq, God bless him, wrote on the revelations in the Qur'ān that relate to the battle of Badr. This is the passage from the first to the last of *sūrat al-Anfāl* (*The Spoils*; VIII). He wrote well and at length. We have examined this in detail in our work of exegesis and those wishing to read this should look at it there. And all praise and credit are due to God.

DIVISION

He then begins giving the names of those Muslims who participated at Badr. He listed these names in the order of the Emigrants and then the Helpers, beginning with those of Aws and going on to those of Khazraj. He concludes with the statement, "The total number of Muslims, whether Emigrants or Helpers, who either witnessed Badr or who were credited with a share of the spoils from it, totalled 314 men.

"The Emigrants totalled 83 men.

"From Aws there were 61 men.

"From Khazraj there were 170 men."

Al-Bukhari listed them in his *ṣaḥīḥ* compendium in alphabetical order following the names of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, may God be pleased with them all.

What follows is a list of the names of the Muslims who were present at Badr arranged alphabetically. This is derived from the book *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr* (*The Major Statutes*) by the ḥāfiẓ Diyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī and others. This alphabetical listing is preceded by the name of their chief and their pride, the leader of all the progeny of Adam, Muḥammad, Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

THE NAMES OF THOSE AT BADR ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY.

THE LETTER ALIF.

Ubayy b. Kaʿb al-Najjārī, leader of al-Qurrāʾ; al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam; Abū al-Arqam ʿAbd Manāf b. Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm al-Makhzūmī; Asʿad b. Yazīd b. al-Fākih b. Yazīd b. Khalda b. ʿĀmir b. al-ʿAjlān.

Aswad b. Zayd b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUbayd b. Ghanm – Mūsā b. ʿUqba gave the same. Al-Umawī said, “There is doubt over Sawwād b. Rizām b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAdī.” Salama b. al-Faḍl stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, that the name was Sawwād b. Zurayq b. Thaʿlaba. Ibn ʿĀʾidh gave it as Sawwād b. Zayd.

Usayr b. ʿAmr al-Anṣārī Abū Salīṭ, also known as Usayr b. ʿAmr b. Umayya b. Lawdhān b. Sālim b. Thābit al-Khazrajī; Mūsā b. ʿUqba did not mention him.

Anas b. Qatāda b. Rabiʿa b. Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith al-Awsī, also so named by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, though al-Umawī named him Anīs in his biography (of the Prophet (SAAS)).

I comment that Anas b. Mālik was the servant of the Messenger of God (SAAS) according to the account of ʿUmar b. Shabba al-Numayrī. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī related to us, from his father, from Thumāma b. Anas, who said, “Anas b. Mālik was asked whether he had been present at Badr, and that he replied, ‘Where would I have been, to be absent from Badr, may you be motherless!’”

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, “Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī informed us, my father related to us, from a freed-man of Anas b. Mālik, that the latter asked Anas whether he had been present at Badr. He replied, ‘May you be motherless, where would I have been, to be absent from Badr?’”

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī stated, “Anas b. Mālik went forth to Badr with the Messenger of God (SAAS) as a servant in service to him.”

Our teacher, the sheikh and ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in his *tahdhīb*, his educational text, “Thus al-Anṣārī stated, but none of the authors of the works on the military expeditions said this.”

Anas b. Muʿadh b. Anas b. Qays b. ʿUbayd b. Zayd b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār; Anasa al-Ḥabashī, freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS); Aws b. Nābit b. al-Mundhir al-Najārī.

Aws b. Khawli b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿUbayd b. Mālik b. Sālim b. Ghanm b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj al-Khazrajī. Mūsā b. ʿUqba gave his name as Aws b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Khawli. Aws b. al-Ṣāmit al-Khazrajī, brother of ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit; Iyyās b. al-Bukayr b. ʿAbd Yalīl b. Nāshib b. Ghayra b. Saʿd b. Layth b. Bakr, ally of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.

THE LETTER BĀ.

Bujayr b. Abū Bujayr, ally of the Banū al-Najjār, Baḥḥāth b. Thaʿlaba b. Khazama b. Aṣram b. ʿAmr b. ʿImāra al-Balawī, an ally of the Helpers; Basbas b. ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba b. Kharsha b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān b. Rashdān b. Qays b. Juhayna al-Juhānī, an ally of the Banū Sāʿida, he being one of the scouts, along with ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zaghbaʿ, referred to above; Bishr b. al-Barāʿ b. Maʿrūr al-Khazrajī, who died at Khaybar from the poisoned mutton; Bashīr b. Saʿd b. Thaʿlaba al-Khazrajī, father of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, said to have been the first man to pledge his allegiance to Abū Bakr; Bashīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir Abū Lubāba al-Awsi, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (SAAS) from al-Rawḥāʿ to take charge of Medina; he was assigned a full share in the spoils of Badr.

THE LETTER TĀ.

Tamīm b. Yaʿar b. Qays b. ʿAdī b. Umayya b. Jadāra b. ʿAwf b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj; Tamīm, the freed-man of Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma; Tamīm, the freed-man of the Banū Ghanm b. al-Sallam. Ibn Hishām stated, "He was the freed-man of Saʿd b. Khaythama."

THE LETTER THĀ.

Thābit b. Aqram b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿAdī b. al-ʿAjlan; Thābit b. Thaʿlaba. This Thaʿlaba was known as al-Jadhaʿ b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarām b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama.

Thābit b. Khālid b. al-Nuʿmān b. Khansāʿ b. ʿUsayra b. ʿAbd b. ʿAwf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār al-Najjārī; Thābit b. Khansāʿ b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār al-Najjārī.

Thābit b. ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAdī b. Sawwād b. Mālik b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār al-Najjārī; Thābit b. Hazzāl al-Khazrajī; Thaʿlaba b. Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Aws; Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Mālik al-Najjārī; Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. Miḥṣan al-Khazrajī; Thaʿlaba b. ʿAnma b. ʿAdī b. Nābī al-Sulamī; Thaqf b. ʿAmr, of the Banū Ḥijr, of the clan of the Banū Salīm, he being an ally of the Banū Kathīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad.

THE LETTER JĪM.

Jābir b. Khālid b. Masʿūd b. ʿAbd al-Ashhal b. Ḥāritha b. Dīnār b. al-Najjār al-Najjārī; Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rīʾab b. al-Nuʿmān b. Sinān b. ʿUbayd b. ʿAdī b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salama al-Sulamī, one of those who were present at al-ʿAqaba.

I comment that Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ḥarām, al-Sulamī also, is mentioned by al-Bukhārī among those at Badr. He gives a line of authorities from Sa‘d b. Manṣūr, from Abū Mu‘āwiya, from al-A‘mash, from Abū Sufyān quoting Jābir as saying, “I drew water from the well for my companions at the battle of Badr.”

This line of authorities is according to Muslim. However, Muḥammad b. Sa‘d stated, “I mentioned this *ḥadīth* to Muḥammad b. ‘Umar – meaning al-Wāqidi – and he commented, “This is fictitious and comes from the Iraqi scholars.” He refuted Jābir’s having been present at the battle of Badr.”

Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal stated, “Rawḥ b. ‘Ibāda related to us, quoting Zakariyya’ b. Ishāq, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, that he heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, ‘I went on 19 military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but I was not present at either Badr or Uḥud. My father prevented me. After my father was killed at Uḥud, I never missed any one of the military engagements of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Muslim related this from Abū Khaythama, from Rawḥ.

Jabbār b. Ṣakhr al-Sulamī; Jabr b. ‘Atik al-Anṣārī; Jubayr b. Iyyās al-Khazraji.

THE LETTER ḤĀ.

Al-Ḥārith b. Anas b. Rāfi‘ al-Khazraji; al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Mu‘adh b. Akhū Sa‘d b. Mu‘adh al-Awsi; al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṭib b. ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Aws, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the road to Badr, and he awarded him a share of the spoils; al-Ḥārith b. Khazma b. ‘Adī b. Abū Ghanm b. Salīm b. ‘Awf b. ‘Amr b. ‘Awf b. al-Khazraj, an ally of the Banū Za‘urā b. ‘Abd al-Ashhal; al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma al-Khazraji, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because his leg was broken en route; he gave him a full share in the spoils.

Al-Ḥārith b. ‘Urfuja al-Awsi; al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Khalda Abū Khalid al-Khazraji; al-Ḥārith b. al-Nu‘mān b. Umayya al-Anṣārī; Ḥāritha b. Surāqa al-Najjārī, who was struck by a stray arrow while he was with the observers and was elevated to paradise; Ḥāritha b. al-Nu‘mān b. Rāfi‘ al-Anṣārī; Ḥaṭib b. Abū Balta‘a al-Lakhmī, an ally of the Banū Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Quṣayy.

Ḥaṭib b. ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd b. Umayya al-Ashja‘ī, of the Banū Dahmān. This name is given thus by Ibn Hishām from a source other than Ibn Ishāq. Al-Wāqidi gave it as Ḥaṭib b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Wudd; Ibn ‘Ā‘idh gave it thus in his work on the military expeditions. Ibn Abū Ḥātim stated, “Ḥaṭib b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Shams was a name I heard from my father who said that this man’s identity was unknown.”

Al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir al-Khazraji; it is said that the banner of Khazraj was in his care on that day.

Ḥabīb b. Aswad, freed-man of the Banū Ḥarām, of the Banū Salama. Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, “The name was Ḥabīb b. Sa‘d, instead of Aswad.” Ibn Abū Ḥātim

stated, "Ḥabīb b. Aslam was the freed-man of the tribe of Jusham b. al-Khazraj, and a Helper and a man who participated in the battle of Badr."

Ḥurayth b. Zayd b. Tha'labā b. 'Abd Rabbiḥ al-Anṣārī, a brother of 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd, who was shown *al-nidā'*,⁷⁰ the call to prayer.

Al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf; Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim, an uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

THE LETTER KHĀ.

Khalid b. al-Bukayr, brother of Iyās referred to above; Khālid b. Zayd Abū Ayyūb al-Najjārī; Khālid b. Qays b. Mālik b. al-'Ajlān al-Anṣārī; Khārīja b. al-Ḥumayr, an ally of the Banū Khansā', of the Khazraj, a man also named as Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥumayr whom Ibn 'Ā'idh called "Khārīja"; but God knows best. Khārīja b. Zayd al-Khazrajī, son-in-law of Abū Bakr; Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, an ally of the Banū Zahra, one of the original Emigrants, a man whose origins were in the Banū Tamīm, though some say in Khuzā'a; Khabbāb, freed-man of 'Utba b. Ghazwān, one of the original Emigrants; Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma al-Sulamī; Khubayb b. Isāf b. 'Inaba al-Khazrajī; Khuraym b. Fātik who was included among these by al-Bukhārī; Khalifa b. 'Adī al-Khazrajī; Khulayd b. Qays b. al-Nu'mān b. Sinān b. 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī al-Sulamī; Khunays b. Ḥudhāyfa b. Qays b. 'Adī b. Sa'd b. Sahm b. 'Amr b. Ḥuṣayṣ b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy al-Sahmī, who was killed at Badr, thus making Ḥafṣa, daughter of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a widow; Khawwāt b. Jubayr al-Anṣārī, who was accorded a share of the spoils, though he was not himself present at Badr; Khawlā b. Abū Khawlā al-'Ijlī, an ally of the Banū 'Adī, one of the original Emigrants; Khallād b. Rāfi'; Khallād b. Suwayd and Khallād b. 'Amr b. al-Jumūh, men of Khazraj.

THE LETTER DHĀL.

Dhakwān b. 'Abd Qays al-Khazrajī; Dhū al-Shimālayn b. 'Abd b. 'Amr b. Naḍla of Ghabshān b. Salīm b. Malkān b. Afṣā b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir of the Banū Khuzā'a, an ally of the Banū Zuhra who was martyred that day. Ibn Hishām stated that his name was 'Umayr and that he was only called Dhū al-Shimālayn, i.e. "he with the two left hands" because he was left-handed.

THE LETTER RĀ.

Rāfi' b. al-Ḥārith al-Awsī; Rāfi' b. 'Unjada: Ibn Hishām stated that 'Unjada was his mother; Rāfi' b. al-Mu'allī b. Lūdhān al-Khazrajī who was killed that day; Rab'ī b. Rāfi' b. al-Ḥārith b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. al-Jidd b. 'Ajlān b. Ḍubay'a.

70. This was a vision that he was shown while asleep of how the call to prayer was to be made to the Muslim community. See p. 222 above.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba gave his name as Rabī' b. Abū Rāfi'. Rabī' b. Iyyās al-Khazraji; Rabī'a b. Aktham b. Sakhbara b. 'Amr b. Lakīz b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, an ally of the Banū 'Abd Shams of the Banū 'Abd Manāf, he having been one of the original Emigrants; Rakhīla b. Tha'laba b. Khālid b. Tha'laba b. 'Āmir b. Bayāda al-Khazraji; Rifā'a b. Rāfi' al-Zurqī, a brother of Khallād b. Rāfi'; Rifā'a b. 'Abd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr al-Awsī, a brother of Abū Lubāba; Rifā'a b. 'Amr b. Zayd al-Khazraji.

THE LETTER ZĀY.

Al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy, the son of the aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his disciple.

Ziyād b. 'Amr. Mūsā b. 'Uqba gave his name as Ziyād b. al-Akhras b. 'Amr al-Juhānī. Al-Wāqidi gave it as Ziyād b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Rifā'a b. Kulayb b. Bardha'a b. 'Adī b. 'Amr b. al-Ziba'ra b. Rushdān b. Qays b. Juhayna. Ziyād b. Labīd al-Zurqī; Ziyād b. al-Mazīn b. Qays al-Khazraji; Zayd b. Aslam b. Tha'laba b. 'Adī b. 'Ajlān b. Dubay'a; Zayd b. Hāritha b. Shurahbīl, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl, brother of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God bless them both; Zayd b. Sahl b. al-Aswad b. Ḥarām al-Najjārī Abū Ṭalḥa, God be pleased with him.

THE LETTER SĪN.

Salīm b. 'Umayr al-Awsī; Salīm b. Ghanm b. 'Awf al-Khazraji; Salīm b. Ma'qīl, freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfā; al-Sā'ib b. 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'un al-Jumahī, who was present with his father; Sabī' b. Qays b. 'Aysha al-Khazraji; Sabra b. Fātik, who is mentioned by al-Bukhārī; Surāqa b. 'Amr al-Najjārī; Surāqa b. Ka'b, also al-Najjārī; Sa'd b. Khawlā, freed-man of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, one of the original Emigrants; Sa'd b. Khaythama al-Awsī, martyred that day; Sa'd b. al-Rabī' al-Khazraji who was martyred at the Battle of Uḥud; Sa'd b. Zayd b. Mālīk al-Awsī: al-Wāqidi gave his name as Sa'd b. Zayd b. al-Fākih al-Khazraji; Sa'd b. Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Ashhal al-Najjārī; Sa'd b. 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī; Sa'd b. 'Uthmān b. Khalda al-Khazraji Abū 'Ubāda. Ibn 'Ā'idh gave his name as Abū 'Ubayda.

Sa'd b. Mu'adh al-Awsī, and it was he who was entrusted with the Aws banner.

Sa'd b. 'Ubāda b. Dulaym al-Khazraji: several authorities, including 'Urwa, al-Bukhārī, Ibn Abū Ḥātim and al-Ṭibrānī include him among those who were present at Badr. In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, there is material substantiating that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was preparing to meet the Quraysh force, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda said, "O Messenger of God, perhaps you would like us to make ..." But the truth is that it was Sa'd b. Mu'adh who said this.

It is well known that As'ad b. 'Ubāda was sent back from the road; it is said this was so that he should take charge of Medina. It is also said to have been

because he was bitten by a snake and was not able to proceed to Badr. Al-Suhayli related this from Ibn Qutayba. But God knows best.

Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, who was Mālik b. Uhayb al-Zuhri, one of the so-called "ten";⁷¹ Sa'd b. Mālik Abū Sahl: al-Wāqidi stated that he had made preparations to go forth but fell sick and died before he had left.

Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl al-'Adawī, nephew of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. It is said that he arrived from Syria after they returned from Badr; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a share of the spoils.

Sufyān b. Bishr b. 'Amr al-Khazraji; Salama b. Aslam b. Huraysh al-Awsī; Salama b. Thābit b. Waqsh b. Zaghba; Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh b. Zaghba; Salīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī; Salīm b. 'Amr al-Sulamī; Salīm b. Qays b. Fahad al-Khazraji; Salīm b. Miḥān, brother of Ḥarām b. Miḥān al-Najjārī; Simāk b. Aws b. Kharasha Abū Dujāna, also known as Simāk b. Kharasha; Simāk b. Sa'd b. Tha'laba al-Khazraji, who was the brother of Bashīr b. Sa'd referred to above; Sahl b. Hunayf al-Awsī; Sahl b. 'Atīk al-Najjārī; Sahl b. Qays al-Sulamī; Suhayl b. Rāfi' al-Najjārī, who had owned the site of the mosque built by the Prophet (ṢAAS) as was related above; Suhayl b. Wahb al-Fihri who was the son of Bayḍā', his mother; Sinān b. Abū Sinān b. Miḥṣan b. Hirthān, a *muhājirī*, an Emigrant, an ally of Banū 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf; Sinān b. Ṣayfi al-Sulamī; Sawwād b. Zurayq b. Zayd al-Anṣārī: al-Umawī gave his name as Sawwād b. Rizām; Sawwād b. Ghaziyya b. Uhayb al-Balawī; Suwaybiṭ b. Sa'd b. Ḥarmala al-'Abdari; Suwayd b. Makhshī Abū Makhshī al-Ṭā'i, ally of the Banū 'Abd Shams: his name is said to have been Azyad b. Ḥimyar.

THE LETTER SHIN.

Shujā' b. Wahb b. Rabi' al-Asadī; Asad b. Khuzayma, ally of the Banū 'Abd Shams, one of the original Emigrants. Shammās b. 'Uthmān al-Makhzūmī: Ibn Hishām said that his name was 'Uthmān b. 'Uthmān, but he was named Shammās for his good looks and his resemblance to a Shammās of the pre-Islamic era; Shaqrān, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): al-Wāqidi stated, "He was not awarded any share in the spoils. He was in charge of the captives. He was given money by everyone who had control over the prisoners and so he received more than a share of the spoils would otherwise have been."

THE LETTER SĀD.

Ṣuhayb b. Sinān al-Rūmī, one of the original Emigrants; Ṣafwān b. Wahb b. Rabi' al-Fihri, brother of Suhayl b. Bayḍā': he was martyred that day; Ṣakhr b. Umayya b. Khansa' al-Sulamī.

71. Ten early converts to Islam reported to be assured places in paradise. See footnote Vol. I, p. 113.

THE LETTER *ḌĀD*.

Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥāritha b. Zayd al-Sulamī; Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿAbd ʿAmr al-Najjārī; Ḍamra b. ʿAmr al-Juhānī; Mūsā b. ʿUqba gave his name as Ḍamra b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, ally of the Helpers, he being the brother of Ziyād b. ʿAmr.

THE LETTER *ṬĀ*.

Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymī, one of the "ten": he came from Syria after their return from Badr and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a share in the spoils; Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, an Emigrant, and the brother of Ḥuṣayn and ʿUbayda; Ṭufayl b. Mālik b. Khansāʾ al-Sulamī; Ṭufayl b. al-Nuʿmān b. Khansāʾ al-Sulamī, the nephew of the preceding man; Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr b. Wahb b. Abū Kabīr b. ʿAbd b. Quṣayy: al-Wāqidi mentioned him.

THE LETTER *ẒĀ*.

Ẓuhayr b. Rafīʿ al-Awsī, mentioned by al-Bukhārī.

THE LETTER *ʿAYN*.

ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ al-Anṣārī, protected by bees after he was killed at al-Rajiʿ; ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī b. al-Jidd b. ʿAjlān, sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Rawḥāʾ but awarded by him a share in the spoils; ʿĀṣim b. Qays b. Thābit al-Khazrajī; ʿĀqil b. al-Bukayr, brother of Iyās, Khālid and ʿĀmir; ʿĀmir b. Umayya b. Zayd b. al-Ḥaṣḥās al-Najjārī; ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith al-Fihri, so referred to by Salama, quoting Ibn Ishāq and Ibn ʿĀʾidh: Mūsā b. ʿUqba and Ziyād, quoting Ibn Ishāq, gave his name as ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith; ʿĀmir b. Rabiʿa b. Mālik al-ʿAnazī, ally of the Banū ʿAdī, one of the Emigrants; ʿĀmir b. Salama b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Balawī al-Qudāʿī, an ally of the Banū Sālim b. Mālik b. Sālim b. Ghanm: Ibn Hishām said he was known as ʿUmar b. Salama; ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Hilāl b. Uhayb b. Ḍabba b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihri Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, one of the "ten", an initial Emigrant; ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, a "client" of Abū Bakr; ʿĀmir b. Makhlid al-Najjārī; ʿĀʾidh b. Maʿīd b. Qays al-Khazrajī; ʿAbbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh al-Awsī; ʿAbbād b. Qays b. ʿĀmir al-Khazrajī; ʿAbbād b. Qays b. ʿAysha al-Khazrajī, brother of Subayʿ referred to above; ʿAbbād b. al-Khashkhash al-Qudāʿī; ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣamit al-Khazrajī; ʿUbāda b. Qays b. Kaʿb b. Qays; ʿAbd Allāh b. Umayya b. ʿUrfuṭa; ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. Khazama, brother of the Baḥḥāth mentioned above; ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Rīʾab al-Asadī; ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nuʿmān al-Awsī.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Jidd b. Qays al-Sulamī; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥaqq b. Aws al-Sāʿidi: Mūsā b. ʿUqba, al-Wāqidi and Ibn ʿĀʾidh gave his name as ʿAbd Rabb b. Ḥaqq, while Ibn Hishām gave it as ʿAbd Rabbiḥī b. Ḥaqq.

‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥumayr, ally of the Banū Harām, he being the brother of Khārija b. al-Ḥumayr of Ashja‘; ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Rabi‘ b. Qays al-Khazraji; ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa al-Khazraji; ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. ‘Abd Rabbiḥi b. Tha‘laba al-Khazraji who was shown *al-nidā*, the call to prayer.

‘Abd Allāh b. Surāqa al-‘Adawī, a name not mentioned by Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, al-Wāqidi or Ibn ‘Ā’idh, though given by Ibn Ishāq and others.

‘Abd Allāh b. Salama b. Mālik al-‘Ajlān, an ally of the Anṣār; ‘Abd Allāh b. Sahl b. Rāfi‘, brother of the Banū Za‘urā; ‘Abd Allāh b. Suhayl b. ‘Amr. He came out to battle with his father, on the side of the polytheists, but then he fled from them, joined the Muslims and fought with them. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāriq b. Mālik al-Qudā‘i, an ally of al-Aws; ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir of Baliyy, mentioned by Ibn Ishāq.

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl al-Khazraji, whose father was the leader of the *al-munāfiqūn*, the “hypocrites”. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Makhzūm Abū Salama, husband of Umm Salama: ‘Abd Allāh was killed that day. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Manāf b. al-Nu‘mān al-Sulamī; ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abs; ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Amr b. Ka‘b b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka‘b Abū Bakr, “the Trusting”, God bless him; ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Urfaṭa b. ‘Adī al-Khazraji.

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Ḥarām al-Sulamī Abū Jābir; ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umayr b. ‘Adī al-Khazraji; ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays b. Khālīd al-Najjārī; ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays b. Ṣakhr b. Ḥarām al-Sulamī; ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b b. ‘Amr b. ‘Awf b. Mabdhūl b. ‘Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin b. al-Najjār, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put in charge of the spoils of Badr, along with ‘Adī b. Abū al-Zaghba’.

‘Abd Allāh b. Makhrama b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, one of the initial Emigrants; ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd al-Hudhalī, ally of Banū Zuhra, one of the initial Emigrants; ‘Abd Allāh b. Maz‘ūn al-Jumāḥī, one of the initial Emigrants; ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Nu‘mān b. Baldama al-Sulamī; ‘Abd Allāh b. Unaysa b. al-Nu‘mān al-Sulamī; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabr b. ‘Amr Abū ‘Ubays al-Khazraji; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Tha‘laba, Abū ‘Uqayl al-Qudā‘i al-Balawī.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf b. ‘Abd ‘Awf b. ‘Abd al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra b. Kilāb al-Zuhri, one of the “ten”, God be pleased with them all; ‘Abs b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Adī al-Sulamī; ‘Ubayd b. al-Tayyihān, brother of Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān: his name is also given as ‘Atik, instead of ‘Ubayd.

‘Ubayd b. Tha‘laba, of the Banū Ghanm b. Mālik; ‘Ubayd b. Zayd b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Ajlān b. ‘Āmir; ‘Ubayd b. Abū ‘Ubayd.

‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Manāf, brother of al-Ḥuṣayn and al-Ṭufayl: he was one of the three champions who first went out to fight at Badr and whose arm (sic)⁷² was cut off and who died following the battle. God bless him!

‘Utbān b. Mālik b. ‘Amr al-Khazraji; ‘Utba b. Rabi‘a b. Khālīd b. Mu‘āwiya al-Bahrānī, an ally of the Banū Umayya b. Lawdhān; ‘Utba b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣakhr al-Sulamī; ‘Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir, one of the initial Emigrants.

72. Elsewhere in the text we learn that it was his leg that he lost.

‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf al-Umawī, (later) the “Commander of the Believers”, one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the “ten”. He remained behind with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), nursing her until she died. He was given a full share of the spoils.

‘Uthmān b. Maẓ‘ūn al-Jumāhī Abū al-Sā‘ib, a brother of ‘Abd Allāh and Qudāma, one of the initial Emigrants.

‘Adī b. Abū al-Zaghba’ al-Juhanī, who was sent ahead as a scout by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with Basbas b. ‘Amr.

‘Iṣma b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Wabra b. Khālid b. al-‘Ajlan; ‘Uṣayma, an ally of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Siwār of Ashja‘: he was also said to be of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma; ‘Atīyya b. Nuwayra b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Atīyya al-Khazraji; ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir b. Nābī al-Sulamī; ‘Uqba b. ‘Uthmān b. Khalda al-Khazraji, brother of Sa‘d b. ‘Uthmān.

‘Uqba b. ‘Amr Abū Mas‘ūd al-Badrī: in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī it is stated that he was present at Badr. However, many of the scholars of the military expeditions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) express doubts over this and therefore do not include him.

‘Uqba b. Wahb b. Rabī‘a al-Asadī, the Asad of Khuzayma, an ally of the Banū ‘Abd Shams, he being a brother of Shujā‘ b. Wahb, one of the initial Emigrants; ‘Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalda, an ally of the Banū Ghaṭfān.

‘Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan al-Ghanmī, one of the initial Emigrants, one who will enter paradise without reckoning.

‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb al-Ḥāshimī, later “Commander of the Believers”, one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the three champions who went forth at Badr. God be pleased with him!

‘Ammār b. Yāsir al-‘Anasī al-Madhḥijī, one of the initial Emigrants; ‘Umāra b. Ḥazm b. Zayd al-Najjārī. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, later “Commander of the Believers”, one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the two sheikhs, learned elders, known as *al-muqtadā bihimā*, “those relied upon”, who were viewed as exemplars. God be pleased with them both!

‘Umar b. ‘Amr b. Iyās of Yemen, an ally of the Banū Lawdhān b. ‘Amr b. Sālim, said to be a brother of Rabī‘ and Waraqa; ‘Amr b. Tha‘laba b. Wahb b. ‘Adī b. Mālik b. ‘Adī b. ‘Āmir Abū Ḥakīm.

‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr b. Abū Shaddād b. Rabī‘a b. Hilāl b. Uhayb b. Ḍabsha b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihri al-Fihri; ‘Amr b. Surāqa al-‘Adawī, an Emigrant; ‘Amr b. Abū Ṣarḥ al-Fihri, an Emigrant. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn ‘Ā‘idh give his name as Ma‘mar instead of ‘Amr.

‘Amr b. Ṭalq b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Sinān b. Ka‘b b. Ghanm, of the Banū Ḥarām; ‘Amr b. al-Jumūh b. Ḥarām al-Anṣārī; ‘Amr b. Qays b. Zayd b. Sawwād b. Mālik b. Ghanm, mentioned by al-Wāqidī and al-Umawī.

‘Amr b. Qays b. Mālik b. ‘Adī b. Khansa’ b. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. ‘Adī b. ‘Āmir, the brother of Khārija: Mūsā b. ‘Uqba did not mention him.

‘Amr b. ‘Āmir b. al-Ḥārith al-Fihri, mentioned by Mūsā b. ‘Uqba; ‘Amr b. Ma‘bad b. al-Az‘ar al-Awsi; ‘Amr b. Mu‘adh al-Awsi, brother of Sa‘d b. Mu‘adh; ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Tha‘laba, also known as ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Labda b. Tha‘laba al-Sulamī; ‘Umayr b. Ḥarām b. al-Jumūḥ al-Sulamī, mentioned by Ibn ‘Ā‘idh and al-Wāqidi.

‘Umayr b. al-Ḥumām b. al-Jamūḥ, nephew of the next above, martyred at Badr; ‘Umayr b. ‘Āmir b. Mālik b. al-Khansā b. Mabdhūl b. ‘Amr b. Ghanm b. Māzin Abū Dā‘ūd al-Māzini.

‘Umayr b. ‘Awf, freed-man of Suhayl b. ‘Amr: his name is given by al-Umawī and others as ‘Amr b. ‘Awf. It is similarly given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections in the account of the dispatch of Abū ‘Ubayda to Baḥrayn.

‘Umayr b. Mālik b. Uhayb al-Zuhri, brother of Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās, martyred that day; ‘Antara, freed-man of the Banū Sulaym and also said to be a member of that tribe, but God knows best.

‘Awf b. al-Ḥārith b. Rifā‘a b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī, he being the son of ‘Afrā’, daughter of ‘Ubayd b. Tha‘laba al-Najjāriyya: he was martyred that day; ‘Uwaym b. Sa‘ida al-Anṣārī, of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd; ‘Iyād b. Ghanm al-Fihri, one of the initial Emigrants. May God be pleased with them all!

THE LETTER GHAYN.

Ghannām b. Aws al-Khazraji: he was mentioned by al-Wāqidi, though there is no concensus about him.

THE LETTER FĀ.

Al-Fākih b. Bishr b. al-Fākih al-Khazraji; Farwa b. ‘Amr b. Wadfa al-Khazraji.

THE LETTER QĀF.

Qatāda b. al-Nu‘mān al-Awsi; Qudāma b. Maḥ‘ūn al-Jumāḥī, an Emigrant, a brother of ‘Uthmān and ‘Abd Allāh. Quṭba b. ‘Āmir b. Hadīda al-Sulamī; Qays b. al-Sakn al-Najjārī; Qays b. Abū Ṣa‘ṣa‘a ‘Amr b. Zayd al-Māzini, who was in command of the rearguard at Badr. Qays b. Muḥṣin b. Khālīd al-Khazraji; Qays b. Mukhallad b. Tha‘laba al-Najjārī.

THE LETTER KĀF.

Ka‘b b. Ḥammān, also known as Jammār and b. Jammāz. Ibn Hishām gave it as Ka‘b b. Ghubshān. He is also known as Ka‘b b. Mālik b. Tha‘laba b. Jammāz. Al-Umawī stated his identity to be Ka‘b b. Tha‘laba b. Ḥabāla b. Ghanm al-Ghassānī, one of the allies of the Banū al-Khazraj b. Sa‘ida.

Kaʿb b. Zayd b. Qays al-Najjārī; Kaʿb b. ʿAmr Abū al-Yusr al-Sulamī; Kalāfa b. Thaʿlaba, one of the *bakkāʾūn*⁷³ mentioned by Mūsā b. ʿUqba; Kannāz b. Ḥuṣayn b. Yarbūʿ Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī, one of the initial Emigrants.

THE LETTER MĪM.

Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, known as Ibn al-Dukhshun (sic) al-Khazrajī; Mālik b. Abū Khawlā al-Juʿfī, an ally of the Banū ʿAdī; Mālik b. Rabiʿa Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī; Mālik b. Qudāma al-Awsī; Mālik b. ʿAmr, brother of Thaqf b. ʿAmr, both of whom were Emigrants and allies of the Banū Tamīm b. Dūdān b. Asad; Mālik b. Qudāma al-Awsī; Mālik b. Masʿūd al-Khazrajī; Mālik b. Thābit b. Numayla al-Mazani, an ally of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf; Mubashshir b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zanbar al-Awsī, a brother of Abū Lubāba and Rifāʿa: he was martyred at Badr; al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād al-Balawī, an Emigrant; Muḥriz b. ʿAmir al-Najjārī; Muḥriz b. Naḍla al-Asadī, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, an Emigrant; Muḥammad b. Maslama, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; Mudlij, also known as Midlāj b. ʿAmr, brother of Thaqf b. ʿAmr, an Emigrant; Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī; Miṣṭah b. Uthātha b. ʿAbbād b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, an initial Emigrant: his name is also given as ʿAwf; Masʿūd b. Aws al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī; Masʿūd b. Khalda al-Khazrajī; Masʿūd b. Rabiʿa al-Qārī, an ally of the Banū Zahra, an Emigrant; Masʿūd b. Saʿd, also known as Ibn ʿAbd Saʿd b. ʿAmir b. ʿAdī b. Jushm b. Majdaʿa b. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith; Masʿūd b. Saʿd b. Qays al-Khazrajī; Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr al-ʿAbdarī, an Emigrant who bore the banner that day; Muʿadh b. Jabal al-Khazrajī; Muʿadh b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī: this man's mother was ʿAfrāʾ, and he was the brother of ʿAwf and Muʿawwidh; Muʿadh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jumūh al-Khazrajī; Muʿadh b. Māʿiq al-Khazrajī, brother of ʿĀʿidh; Maʿbad b. ʿAbbād b. Qushayr b. al-Qidhamm b. Sālim b. Ghanm: also known as Maʿbad b. ʿUbāda b. Qays. Al-Wāqidī gave his name as Qashʿar instead of Qushayr. Ibn Hishām gave his name as Qashʿar Abū Khumayṣa.

Maʿbad b. Qays b. Ṣakhr al-Sulamī, brother of ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays; Muʿattib b. ʿUbayd b. Iyās al-Balawī al-Qudāʿī; Muʿattib b. ʿAwf al-Khuzāʿī, an ally of the Banū Makhzūm, an Emigrant; Muʿattib b. Qushayr al-Awsī; Maʿqil b. al-Mundhir al-Sulamī; Muʿammar b. al-Ḥārith al-Jumahī, an Emigrant; Maʿan b. ʿAdī al-Awsī; Muʿawwidh b. al-Ḥārith al-Jumahī, his mother being ʿAfrāʾ. And he was a brother of Muʿadh b. ʿAwf. Muʿawwidh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jumūh al-Sulamī, probably a brother of Muʿadh b. ʿAmr; al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr al-Bahrānī, he being al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, one of the initial Emigrants; it was he whose statement was praised by the Messenger of God (SAAS). He was the son of the man mentioned above and was one of the cavalry at Badr. Mulayl b. Wabra al-Khazrajī; al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr b. Khunays al-Sāʿidī; al-Mundhir b. Qudāma b. ʿArfaja al-Khazrajī; al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqba al-Anṣārī of

73. The category of deeply pious Muslim converts who 'wept at', i.e. deeply repented, the tardiness of their conversion or participation in the struggles of the early Islamic community.

the Banū Jahjabī; Mihja', the freed-man of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, whose origins were from Yemen: he was the first Muslim killed that day.

THE LETTER NŪN.

Naṣr b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Razāḥ b. Zufr b. Ka'b; Nu'mān b. 'Abd 'Amr al-Najjārī, he being the brother of al-Ḍaḥḥāk; Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. Rifā'a al-Najjārī; Nu'mān b. 'Aṣr b. al-Ḥārith, an ally of the Banū 'Awf; Nu'mān b. Mālīk b. Tha'labā al-Khazraǵī, known as Qawqal; Nu'mān b. Yasār, freed-man of the Banū 'Ubayd, known as Nu'mān b. Sinān; Nawfal b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Naḍla al-Khazraǵī.

THE LETTER HĀ.

Hān' b. Niyār Abū Burda al-Balawī, uncle of al-Barā' b. 'Āzib.

Hilāl b. Umayya al-Wāqifi: he is included with those at Badr in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, in regard to the story of Ka'b b. Mālīk. But none of the authors of the works on the military expeditions include him.

Hilāl b. al-Mu'allā al-Khazraǵī, brother of Rāfi' b. al-Mu'allā.

THE LETTER WAW.

Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī, an ally of the Banū 'Adī, an Emigrant; Wadī'a b. 'Amr b. Jarād al-Juhānī, mentioned by al-Wāqidi and Ibn 'Ā'idh; Warāqa b. Iyās b. 'Amr al-Khazraǵī, a brother of Rāfi' b. Iyās; Wahb b. Sa'd b. Abū Sarḥ, mentioned by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, Ibn 'Ā'idh and al-Wāqidi among the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. But Ibn Ishāq did not mention him.

THE LETTER YĀ.

Yazīd b. al-Akhnas b. Janāb b. Ḥabīb b. Jarra al-Sulamī. Al-Suhaylī stated that he was present along with his father and his son, something unique among the Companions. But Ibn Ishāq and most of the other authorities do not mention them. They were, however, present with him at the *bay'at al-riḍwān*,⁷⁴ the "Pledge of Riḍwān".

Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays al-Khazraǵī. It was he who was called Ibn Fushūm, the latter being his mother. He was martyred at Badr that day; Yazīd b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadīda Abū al-Mundhir al-Sulamī; Yazīd b. al-Mundhir b. Sarḥ al-Sulamī, he being the brother of Ma'qil b. al-Mundhir.

74. The Pledge of Riḍwān, or the Tree, also mentioned in the Qur'ān. It refers to the pledge given by the Companions to the Prophet (ṢAAS) during the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya. See *sūrat al-Faṭḥ*; XLVIII, v.18.

THOSE MEN KNOWN BY 'KUNAN', AGNOMENA.

Abū Usayd Mālik b. Rabiʿa is listed above; Abū al-Aʿwar b. al-Ḥārith b. Zālim al-Najjārī: Ibn Hishām gave Abū al-Aʿwar's real name as al-Ḥārith b. Zālim, while al-Wāqidi gave it as Kaʿb b. al-Ḥārith b. Jundab b. Zālim; Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān, listed above; Abū Ḥabba b. ʿAmr b. Thābit, one of the Banū Thaʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Anṣārī; Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa was an Emigrant and his given name was said to be Mihsham; Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ, freed-man of al-Ḥārith b. Rifāʿa b. ʿAfrāʾ; Abū Khuzayma b. Aws b. Aṣram al-Najjārī; Abū Sabra, freed-man of Abū Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, an Emigrant; Abū Sinān b. Miḥṣan b. Hurthān, brother of ʿUkkasha. With him he had his son Sinān. He was an Emigrant.

Abū al-Ṣiyāḥ b. al-Nuʿmān, said to be ʿUmayr b. Thābit b. al-Nuʿmān b. Umayya b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Thaʿlaba. He returned while on the way there and was killed at the battle of Khaybar. He came back because of a wound he had from a rock and received a share of the spoils; Abū ʿArfaja, one of the allies of the Banū Jaḥjaba; Abū Kabsha, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir, listed above; Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī Kannāz b. Ḥuṣayn, listed above; Abū Masʿūd al-Badrī ʿUqba b. ʿAmr, listed above; Abū Muʿlayl b. al-Azʿar b. Zayd al-Awsī.

DIVISION

The total number of Muslims who were present at Badr was 314, including the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

As al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿAmr b. Khālid related to us, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Ishāq, 'I heard al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib say, "The Companions, God be pleased with them of Muḥammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him, who had been present at Badr, related to me that they were of the number of the Companions of Ṭalūt who crossed the river with him — that is 310 and a few more." Al-Barāʾ stated, "No, by God, no one crossed the river with him who was not a believer!"'"

Al-Bukhārī then related it through Isrāʾīl and Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ in similar terms.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "This is the concensus of the early authorities, that they were 310 men, and a few more."

He also stated, "Maḥmūd related to us, quoting Wahb, from Shuʿba, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, 'I and Ibn ʿUmar felt outnumbered at the battle of Badr. The Emigrants totalled only appoximately 60, whereas the Helpers were some 240.'"

This is what is given in this account.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Muḥārībī related to me, quoting Abū Mālik al-Jubānī, from al-Ḥajjāj, he being the son of Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Emigrants at Badr totalled 70

men. The Helpers totalled 236 men. The bearer of the banner of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. The flag bearer for the Helpers was Sa'd b. 'Ubadā."

This determines their total to have been 306 men.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "It is said that they totalled 307 men."

I observe that this latter figure may have included the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); the former may have omitted him. But God knows best.

It was given earlier on the authority of Ibn Ishāq that the Emigrants totalled 83 men, that of Aws there were 61, while Khazraj consisted of 170 men; and he enumerated them.

This is contrary to what al-Bukhārī reported and to what was related from Ibn 'Abbās. But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* it is reported of Anas that he was asked whether he had been present at Badr. He replied, "And where else would I have been then?"

In the *Sunan (The Accepted Norms)* by Abū Dā'ūd, there is an account from Sa'd b. Manṣūr, from Abū Mu'āwiya, from al-A'mash, from Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥa b. Nāfi', from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām, who said, "I was drawing water from the well for my companions at the battle of Badr."

These two men are not mentioned by al-Bukhārī or by al-Ḍiyā'. But God knows best.

Among those included by Ibn Ishāq in the total figure given of those who received a share of the spoils of Badr were some who were not actually there but who stayed behind for some good reason. These were the eight or nine men whose names follow: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān who stayed behind with Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), nursing her until she died. He was given a full share of the spoils; Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl who went to Syria but was given a full share; Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, who was also in Syria, was given a full share; Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Rawḥā' when news came of the departure of the enemy force from Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed him in charge of Medina and awarded him a full share; al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṭīb b. 'Ubayd b. Umayya, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also sent back while *en route*: he received a full share; al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma, who broke his leg at al-Rawḥā' and returned home, received a share. Al-Wāqidi added that he received compensation; Khawwāt b. Jubayr was also not present at the battle but was awarded a full share; Abū al-Ṣiyāḥ b. Thābit, who went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) but had a splinter of rock injure his foot, received a full share; al-Wāqidi stated, "And Sa'd Abū Mālik who readied his equipment for battle but died at al-Rawḥā': he was awarded a full share."

Those Muslims who were martyred that day totalled 14 men. Those who were Emigrants were 6 in number, as follows: 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, who had his leg cut off and died at al-Ṣafrā', God bless him; 'Umayr b. Abū Waqqāṣ,

brother of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ al-Zuhri, who was killed by al-ʿĀṣ b. Sa'd, he being a youth of 16. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to return home because of his youth, but he wept, and was allowed to proceed and so was killed, God bless him: their ally Dhū al-Shimālayn b. ʿAbd ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī; Ṣafwān b. Bayḍāʾ; ʿĀqil b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī, ally of the Banū ʿAdī; Mihjaʿ, freed-man of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who was the first of the Muslims killed that day.

Of the Helpers, there were eight men killed, as follows: Ḥāritha b. Surāqa who had an arrow shot at him by Ḥabbān b. al-ʿArqala that hit him in the neck and killed him; Muʿawwidh and ʿAwf, the two sons of ʿAfrāʾ; Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith, known as Ibn Fushūm; ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥammām; Rāfiʿ b. al-Muʿallā b. Lawdhān; Sa'd b. Khaythama and Mubashshir b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir. May God be pleased with them all.

With the Muslims, as stated above, there were 70 baggage camels.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "They had two men mounted on horses, one al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, the name of the horse being Baʿzaja, also known as Sabḥa. The other was ridden by al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, its name being al-Yaʿsūb.

They had a banner that was carried by Muṣṣab b. ʿUmayr, and two flags, one carried for the Emigrants by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, the other for the Helpers by Sa'd b. ʿUbāda.

The leader of the council of the Emigrants was Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", while the leader of the council of the Helpers was Sa'd b. Muʿadh.

As for the polytheists' force, the best that can be said of them is that they totalled between 900 and 1,000. ʿUrwa and Qatāda stated that they numbered 930 men.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "They were 930 men."

This figure requires proof. In some of the accounts given above they are stated to have numbered more than 1,000; perhaps such figures include their attendants. But God knows best.

The authentic account given by al-Bukhārī from al-Barāʾ states that 70 of them were killed and 70 were wounded.

This is the majority view. It was because of this that Ka'b b. Mālik stated in a poem:

"He set up 70 of them that stank at the watering hole,
ʿUtba and al-Aswad among them."

Al-Wāqidi stated that there was unanimity on that. Yet this statement is controversial. Mūsā b. ʿUqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr said the opposite, and they are prime authorities on this. No unanimity can be claimed without their agreement, even though their views are superseded by any authentic tradition. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq and others list the names of those killed and taken captive and the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Diyāʾ compiles these effectively in his work, *al-Aḥkām*.

In the course of the narration of the account it is stated which of them was killed first, he being al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī. The first of them

to take flight was Khālīd b. al-A'lam al-Khuzā'ī – or al-'Uqaylī – an ally of the Banū Makhzūm. But that did not benefit him since he was captured. It was he who spoke the verse:

“It is not on our heels that our wounds bleed, but on
our feet the blood drips down.”

He was not truthful in this!

The first prisoners taken were 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayt and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith. They were taken from the rest of the prisoners and killed stoically before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). There are two different versions regarding which of them was killed first.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released a group of prisoners without charge or ransom. These included Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ al-Umawī, al-Muṭṭalīb b. Ḥunṭab b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī and Ṣayfī b. Abū Rifā'a, as told above, Abū ʿAzza al-Shā'ir, Wahb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumāhī, as told above. The rest he required to be ransomed, even including his uncle al-ʿAbbās, and he took more from him than from all the rest in order to give him no preferential treatment for being his uncle. He did this even though the Helpers who had captured him asked him to forgo the ransom for him, a request he refused. He insisted, “Don't let him off a single dirham!”

The ransom levied was variable. The least taken was 400 dirhams; for some 40 *awqīya* of gold was taken. Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, “400 *awqīya* of gold was taken from al-ʿAbbās.”

Some were employed in labour to the value of their ransom; as the Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting 'Alī b. ʿĀṣim, quoting 'Dā'ūd from 'Ikrima, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās, as having said, “Some of the prisoners taken at Badr had no ransom money available, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had some of them work off their ransom by teaching the children of the Helpers to write. One day a child came in tears to his mother who asked him what was the matter. He replied, ‘My teacher hit me!’ She commented, ‘The lout! He's seeking blood-revenge for Badr! But, by God, he'll never get it!’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this, but it accords with the criteria for traditions. This subject has been fully referenced above; and to God goes all praise and credit.

Chapter: On the excellence of those Muslims who were present at Badr.

Al-Bukhārī stated on this subject, “Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr, quoting Abū Ishāq, from Ḥumayd, who said, ‘I heard Anas say, “Ḥāritha was struck down at Badr and his mother went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘O Messenger of God, you know how much Ḥāritha meant to me. If he be in heaven, I will be stoic and resigned; but if it be the other place, then tell me what I ought to do.’ He replied, ‘Woe unto you if you feel bereaved! Is heaven just one garden? It consists of many; he is in the garden of paradise.’”””

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* through this path.

It is related on a different path from accounts of Thābit and Qatāda from Anas, to the effect that Ḥāritha was an observer and that the words used were, "Your son was awarded the highest paradise."

This provides a fine indication of the special status of those present at Badr, even if not engaged in the middle of the battle or the thick of the fray, but one observing it from a distance. Though merely struck by a stray arrow while drinking from the cistern, his position nevertheless won him that paradise that is the highest of all the gardens, in the very centre of heaven. It is from there that those rivers of heaven gush forth for which the law-giving Prophet (ṢAAS) recommended that his nation make their requests to God.

If this be the reward of such a man, what would such be for those who actually faced an enemy three times their own number?

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both recounted, from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh, from 'Abd Allāh b. Idris, from Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, from Sa'd b. 'Ubayda, from Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, the story of Ḥatīb b. Abū Balṭa'a and his despatch of the latter to the people of Mecca in the year of the conquest, and how 'Umar sought the permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to strike off his head for having betrayed God, His Messenger and the believers. He responded, "He was present at Badr; do you realize that God looked down at those who took part at Badr and said, 'Do whatever you wish, for I have forgiven you!'"

Al-Bukhārī's text reads, "Is he not of those at Badr? Perhaps God looked down on those present there and said, 'Do whatever you wish, for I have guaranteed you heaven, and I have forgiven you.' Tears came to the eyes of 'Umar, and he said, 'God and his Messenger know best.'"

Muslim related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that a slave belonging to Ḥatīb went to complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about his master, saying, "O Messenger of God, Ḥatīb will certainly go to hell!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "You lie; he will not go there! He was present at Badr and at al-Ḥudaybiyya."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd related to us, quoting Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh; and al-A'mash related to me, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'No man who was present at Badr or al-Ḥudaybiyya will go to hell!'"

Aḥmad was alone in giving this, but it accords with the norms established by Muslim.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Aṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as saying, "God looked down at those present at Badr and said, 'Do what you wish, for I have forgiven you.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related it from Aḥmad b. Sinān and Mūsā b. Ismā'īl, both of them quoting Yazīd b. Ḥarūn.

Al-Bazzār related in his *musnad*,⁷⁵ "Muḥammad b. Marzūq related to us, quoting Abū Ḥudhayfa, quoting 'Ikrima, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'I certainly hope that no one who was present at Badr goes to hell, if God wills it so.'""

Al-Bazzār then commented, "We know of no other line of transmission of this *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra other than this."

I comment that al-Bazzār alone gives this *ḥadīth*, and the other authorities did not cite it. It does accord with the criteria for *ṣaḥīḥ* traditions. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter on the presence of the angels at Badr, "Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Mu'adh b. Rifā'a b. Rāfi' al-Zurqī, from his father who was present at Badr, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and asked him, 'How do you view those of you who were present at Badr?' He replied, 'As among the very finest Muslims' or he used some such phrase.

"He (Gabriel?) then stated, 'And likewise those of the angels who were present at Badr.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*.

ON THE ARRIVAL OF ZAYNAB, DAUGHTER OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AS AN EMIGRANT FROM MECCA TO MEDINA A MONTH AFTER THE BATTLE OF BADR IN FULFILLMENT OF THE CONDITION PLACED UPON HER HUSBAND BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Abū al-ʿĀṣ returned to Mecca, he having been released, as related above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for Zayd b. Ḥāritha and a Helper and told them, 'Go to the Ya'jūj valley and stay there until Zaynab passes by, then bring her to me.'

"They left and took up their position, it being at that time approximately one month after the battle of Badr.

"When Abū al-ʿĀṣ reached Mecca he ordered Zaynab to join her father and she went off to equip herself for the journey."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me as follows, 'I was told that Zaynab said, 'While I was getting things ready Hind, daughter of 'Utba, met me and said, 'O daughter of Muḥammad, haven't I heard that you are planning to join your father?' 'It wasn't my idea,' I told her, and she commented, 'Well then, cousin, don't do it; but if you need anything to take on the trip or money to reach your father, I can provide it. Don't be reluctant with me, for women don't let such matters come between them, as men do.' I really thought she would do as she had said, but I was afraid of her and denied I had any such plans.'"

75. A collection of traditions arranged by lines of their transmission.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "So she continued making plans and when she was ready her husband's brother Kināna b. al-Rabi' brought a camel which she mounted and he, taking his bow and his quiver, led her away, she riding in a howdah and it being daytime. Some of the Quraysh men discussed this and followed after her, catching up with her at Dhū Ṭuwā. The first man to reach her was Habbār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā al-Fihri. He scared her with his spear as she was there in the howdah and because, as they claim, she was pregnant at the time, she suffered a miscarriage. Her brother-in-law then knelt down and took the arrows from his quiver, saying, 'By God, if any man comes near me, I'll put an arrow into him!' The men drew away from him.

"Then Abū Sufyān arrived with some other Quraysh leaders and said, 'Put down your arrows so we can talk with you.' He did so and Abū Sufyān drew near him and said, 'You have not done well. You came forth with a woman openly, going over peoples' heads, even though you're aware of the injury and damage done us by Muḥammad. When you took away his daughter, openly and regardless of anyone else, the people thought this was due to the humiliation we have undergone, and that this reflected our weakness and incapacity. I swear we don't want to keep her from her father and we're not after revenge, but you'd better return with the woman until the talk dies down and everyone says we have brought her back. Then you can secretly take her away to her father.' And so he did."

Ibn Ishāq related that Hind spoke the following verse criticizing those men who brought Zaynab back to Mecca,

"In peacetime, they're wild young asses, fearless and violent, but in war they're like women having periods!"

"She is also said to have spoken this line to those who returned from Badr after some of their force had been killed."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Zaynab stayed there for some days until the gossip had subsided and then Kināna conducted her away by night and delivered her over to Zayd b. Ḥāritha and his companion. They then took her by night to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related in the *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, giving a path of transmission through 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from 'Urwa, quoting 'Ā'isha, the story of Zaynab's departure from Mecca and being brought back and having a miscarriage. His account relates that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha off with a ring of his that she could use to arrive to him. Zayd then presented it to a shepherd from Mecca who gave the ring to Zaynab. When she saw it she recognized it and asked him who had given it to him, and he replied that it was someone on the outskirts of Mecca. Zaynab then left Mecca by night and rode behind Zayd who brought her to Medina.

(The account states), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'She was the best of my daughters who suffered on my account.'

"This comment reached 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who then went to 'Urwa and asked him, 'What is this *ḥadīth* I hear you have been relating?' 'Urwa replied, 'By God, I really wouldn't diminish Fāṭima's reputation for all the world, and moreover, I'll never relate that again!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "On that subject, it was either 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa or Abū Khaythama, brother of the Banū Salīm b. 'Awf" – Ibn Hishām said it was Abū Khaythama – "who spoke the following verses,

'There has reached me unimaginable information about
Zaynab's evil, terrible treatment by them.

But by their expelling her over a battle, there being a
fierce war between us, Muḥammad was not disgraced.

By his alliance with Dāmḍam and by making war on us,
Abū Sufyān has earned only spite and regret,

We bound his son 'Amr and the man pledged to him in
strong, well-wrought fetters,

I swore we will never lack forces well-trained and
numerous with which

We will terrify the heathen Quraysh, attacking them
again and again, placing muzzles over their noses and
branding them,

We will expel them up into Najd and Nakhla, and if they
descend we will follow down on horse and foot,

For ever, our forces never going astray; we will make
them follow in the tracks of 'Ād and Jurhum.

Those who did not obey Muḥammad will regret their
actions and how they will repent indeed!

Tell Abū Sufyān, if you do meet him, "If you do not
accept Islam and bow down sincerely,

Then welcome that disgrace soon coming to you in this
life, and that mantle of tar for ever upon you in hell!"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The 'man pledged' to Abū Sufyān referred to by the poet was 'Āmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī." Ibn Hishām stated, "It was really 'Uqba b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥaḍramī; 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī was killed at Badr."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Bukayr b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ashajj, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Abū Ishāq al-Dawṣī, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out a raiding party of which I was one, and told us, "If you capture Habbār b. al-Aswad and the other man who caught up with Zaynab, then burn them in fire!"'

"The next day he sent us a message saying, "I told you to burn those two men if you took them. But then I saw that no one should burn anyone by fire except God, Almighty and Glorious is He; so if you take them, then kill them both."'"

Ibn Ishāq alone gave this *ḥadīth*, which conforms to criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, though not cited therein.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Bukayr, from Sulaymān b. Yāsār, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us on a mission and told us, "If you should find so-and-so and so-and-so, then burn them in the fire." Later, as we were about to leave, he told us, "I ordered you to burn them in the fire; but only God punishes by the fire, so if you find them, execute them."'"

Ibn Ishāq related that Abū al-ʿĀṣ remained an unbeliever in Mecca while Zaynab resided with her father in Medina. This was the situation until, shortly before the conquest (of Mecca) Abū al-ʿĀṣ left on a business trip on behalf of Quraysh. On his way back from Syria a raiding party met and overcame his caravan, and took all they had, though he escaped. He then went by night to his wife Zaynab and asked protection from her, which she gave him.

"When, next morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth for the prayer and spoke the words, *Allāhu Akbar*, God is most Great! and the people repeated this, someone cried out from the women's ranks, "O people, I have given protection to Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabi'!"

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished the prayer, he turned to the worshippers and asked, 'Did you hear what I heard?' 'Yes, we did,' they answered. He then said, 'I swear by Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hands, I heard nothing of this until I heard it when you did. And the lowest ranked Muslim may give protection on behalf of all.'

"He then went to his daughter Zaynab and said to her, 'Daughter, treat him with honour; but let him not come close to you, for you are not lawful to him.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent word that what had been taken from him should be returned, and they did so, keeping nothing back.

"Abū al-ʿĀṣ then took it and returned with it to Mecca. There he paid off each person to whom he had a debt, making sure that he had omitted no one. He asked them, 'Quraysh, do I owe any of you money you have not yet received?' They responded, 'No, may God reward you well! We have found you to be fair and honourable.'

"He then said, 'I now bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I swear that the only thing that prevented my accepting Islam while I was with him was my concern that you would think that I was doing so only to appropriate your property. God having returned it to you and I being free of it, I now accept Islam.'

"He then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn related to me, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned Zaynab to her former marriage without further ceremony.'"

This *ḥadīth* was related by Imām Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah from an account given by Ibn Ishāq. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "There is nothing wrong with its chain of authorities."

However, we do not know the provenance of this *ḥadīth*. It probably derived from the memory of Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn. Al-Suhaylī stated, "As far as I know, none of the legal scholars vouched for it."

In one reading the words used are, "and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him after six years." And in another, "after two years, by the first marriage." Ibn Jarīr related it in this form. Yet another reading states, "he did not effect a marriage."

This *ḥadīth* has caused difficulties for many scholars. Their basic premise is that if a woman is a Muslim while her husband is an unbeliever, and this is the situation before the consummation, then the disunion should occur immediately. If, however, this occurs after the consummation of the marriage, then he ought to wait out the *ʿidda*⁷⁶ period. If he should accept Islam during that period then her marriage to him would continue. If he had not accepted Islam by the time that period had concluded, then her marriage would be dissolved.

Zaynab, God bless her, had become a Muslim when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission, and emigrated one month after Badr. Muslim women were declared forbidden to polytheists in the year of Ḥudaybiyya, 6 AH, while Abū al-ʿĀṣ accepted Islam before the conquest (of Mecca) in 8 AH.

Therefore those who state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him after six years, that is from the date of her emigration, are correct. And those who say it was after two years, that is two years after Muslim women were forbidden to polytheists, are also correct.

By any calculation it is obvious that the conclusion of her *ʿidda* period would have occurred during this period which was at least two years, or thereabouts, following the forbidding of Muslim women to unbelievers, and so the question remains how he could have returned her to him by the first marriage.

Some suggest that it is conceivable that her *ʿidda* period had not ended, and that this story relates to an oath that must be presumed. Some scholars oppose this *ḥadīth* with the previous one related by Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Mājah, from one of al-Ḥajjāj b. Artā', from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, which has the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returning his daughter to Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabī' after a new dowry and a new wedding ceremony.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "This *ḥadīth* is weak and unfounded, and al-Ḥajjāj did not hear it from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, but rather from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿArzamī. And the *aḥadīth* of al-ʿArzamī are worthless. The truth is that which related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) affirmed her in her first marriage."

Al-Dārquṭnī maintained the same, saying, "This *ḥadīth* lacks foundation; it is the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās that is correct, namely, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him by the first marriage."

76. The period of waiting prescribed for a woman in Islamic law between the conclusion of one marriage and the commencement of another.

Al-Tirmidhi stated, "This *ḥadīth* has a controversial chain of authorities. Scholars therefore maintain that when a woman accepts Islam, and her husband does so later, then he is entitled to reconcile with her during the *ʿidda* period. This is the view of Mālik, al-Awzaʿī, al-Shāfiʿī, Aḥmad and Ishāq. Others state that it is obvious that her *ʿidda* period was over. And that those who relate his having renewed her marriage are on weak grounds."

Regarding the case of Zaynab and the above circumstances, here is evidence that if a woman accepts Islam and her husband becomes a Muslim later, her *ʿidda* period having expired, then her marriage is not thereby nullified. It becomes a matter of choice whether she wishes to marry someone else or to bide her time and wait for her husband to accept Islam, whenever that might be. And she will still be his wife if she has not remarried.

There is force and good in this from the legal viewpoint. But God knows best.

Testimony in favour of this is given by al-Bukhārī when he states, "Regarding the marriage of non-believing women who become Muslims and the period of their *ʿidda*, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Hishām, from Ibn Jarīḥ, from 'Atā', from Ibn 'Abbās, that the polytheists had two different kinds of relationship with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the believers, depending upon whether they were enemies fighting and being fought or those with whom there was a mutual non-aggression pact. If a woman were to leave the declared enemy, she could not become engaged until she had had a period and become cleansed. Once cleansed, marriage to her would be permitted. If her husband were to leave (polytheism) before she remarried, then she could be returned to him. If slaves, whether male or female, should leave polytheism, then they would become free and would have the same rights as other Emigrants."

He then quoted from reliable authorities accounts similar to the *ḥadīth* of Mujāhid.

This is what he stated, to the letter.

His statement, "if a woman were to leave the declared enemy she could not become engaged until she had had a period and had become cleansed" necessitates that she be considered free after one period, not three menses; one group of authorities accepts this view.

And his statement, "if her husband were to leave polytheism before she remarried, then she could be returned to him," necessitates that even if he left after her being considered free, following the *ʿidda* period, that she would be returned to her first husband provided she had not married someone else. This is clearly the case for Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and this is accepted by some scholars. But God knows best.

Section: Verses composed about the glorious battle of Badr.

These include the following given by Ibn Ishāq quoting Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Ibn Hishām declared these verses inauthentic:

"Did you not see one of time's great wonders? And to destiny there are causes clear to see.

It was nothing but a people destroying themselves,
perishing by advising towards disrespect and disbelief,

One evening they went forth with their forces towards
Badr, being fate's pawns destined for its water hole.

We had sought for the caravan, desiring nothing else,
but they advanced towards us and destiny made us meet.

And when we clashed we did not wish to retreat but only
to strike with well-made blades,

And to strike off heads with their edges, weapons that
shone as they made their mark.

We left the evil 'Urba lying there, and Shayba among
the dead who dropped into the pit.

And 'Amr fell dead among those of their guard who
fell, and the clothes of mourning women were rent for 'Amr,

The clothes of women of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib, noble women,
shedding tears more abundantly than the Fihir.

Those were people killed in their error, and they
abandoned a banner not brought there for victory,

The banner of error, whose forces Satan was leading; he
betrayed them – the evil one engages in deception.

He told them, having seen the matter clearly, 'I am
quit of you. I have no endurance today.

And I see what you do not; I fear God's punishment,
and God has power.'

He led them to doom and they were embroiled, for he had
knowledge unknown to them.

On the morning of the battle at the well they were a
thousand strong, while we were 300, shining like fine young
horses

Among us were God's forces, helping us at that place
whose reputation will always be famous.

Gabriel attacked them beneath our banner in that battle
where their destiny would come."

Ibn Ishāq also quoted their reply composed by al-Hārith b. Hishām, but we have deliberately omitted this.

'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses, though these are disputed by Ibn Hishām:

"Did you not see that God put His Messenger to the
test, as one tests someone well-loved, respected and good,

By which He reduced the unbelievers to humiliation;
they encountered the shame of capture and death,

And so the Messenger of God's victory was glorious;
God's Messenger was sent with justice.

He brought a *furqān*, clear evidence, from God, its
verses clear to all of intelligence,

Some believed in that and were convinced, becoming –
praise be to God – fully united,

While others denied and were confused and God on His
throne compounded their agitation.

At the battle of Badr He delivered them over to His
Messenger, giving him a raging force, their actions superb,

Their hands bearing and wielding fine swords that they
had furnished, smoothed and polished.

Many young, brave warriors they have felled, as well as
others mature and courageous,

Wakeful the eyes of their women mourning them, their
tears flowing fast and slow.

In bereavement they weep for ‘Utba the misguided and
for his son, lamenting for Shayba and Abū Jahl.

And for him whose leg was severed,⁷⁷ and for Ibn
Jud‘ān, garbed in mourning clothes, dry-mouthed, grieving,

A group of the men dropped into the pit at Badr, men
who had been unselfish both in battle and in times of famine.

Falsehood had called to them and they had answered, for
falsehood has paths easily travelled.

And so they sacrificed before the house of hell, far
removed now from mischief-making and enmity, in its deepest
depths.”

Ibn Ishāq also gives their response to these verses, but we have deliberately
omitted them here.

Ka‘b b. Mālīk stated,

“I was amazed at what God did, and God has power to do
what He wills, there being none able to overcome God.

He had decreed that at Badr we would confront a group
who had acted in evil; the path of evil leads men to doom.

They had so gathered and assembled their allies that
their force was huge,

And they came at us, none else, all of Ka‘b and ‘Āmir
united,

While with us was the Messenger of God, with Aws about
him, they providing him a strong, victorious fortress,

With the Banū al-Najjār under his banner, advancing in
their flexible armour, while the dust flew.

When we clashed with them all our warriors were heroic,
stoic and protective of their comrades.

77. The reference is presumably to al-Aswad b. ‘Abd al-Asad, whose leg was cut off at the cistern.

We saw that there is no Lord but God, and that the Messenger of God was making truth plain,

Our light, naked swords were like firebrands that someone wielded before your eyes,

With them we destroyed their force and they scattered, and those who were evil met their doom.

Abū Jahl was cast down dead upon his face and I left 'Utba staggering.

Shayba and al-Taymī I left dead in the tumult, and all of these had disbelieved in Him of the throne,

And so they became fuel for fire in its abode (hell), and all who disbelieve are moving towards hell.

It will consume them, its fires stoked with molten metal and rock.

The Messenger of God had told them to come forward, but they had turned away, calling him a sorcerer.

All this for a purpose God had willed, that they perish by it; and there is no diverting any command God decreed."

Ka'b spoke the following verses about the battle of Badr:

"Has it reached Ghassān, in their far-off abode – and the best to tell of matters are those who know them well –

That Ma'add, cruel in their enmity, their young and mature alike, have attacked us,

Because we worshipped God, hoping for none but Him and for the gardens of paradise, when its leader came to us,

A Prophet, a man with a patrimony of honour and inherited qualities of veracity fed by their roots.

They advanced and so did we, meeting like lions, their roaring impossible to quiet.

We struck them until they fell in our attacks so that the greatest of Lu'ayy stank to the nose.

They fled, our sharp swords felling them, and we cared not whether it be their ancillaries or their core forces."

Ka'b also spoke the following verses,

"By your father's life, O two sons of Lu'ayy, regret your pride and haughtiness,

Now that your horsemen circled at Badr but did not persist when the forces met.

We came to it with God's light illuminating and alleviating from us the obscurity of the shadows,

The Messenger of God leading us with orders from God, the ultimate decision-maker.

Your horsemen did not gain mastery at Badr and did not bring back to you any solution,

So do not rush to Abū Sufyān and watch the finest of
horses come up from Kudāʿ,

By God's assistance – with that of the Holy Spirit
(Gabriel) and Michael included – Oh, the best of the
notables!"

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses, though Ibn Hishām said they are
also attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Sahmī:

"A man wearing a fine, light chain-mail as an
undergarment led them, a man steady of temperament,
effective, no coward he.

I mean the Messenger of the God of creation, who
favoured him above all men in his piety and goodness,

You claimed you would protect your valuables and
insisted that Badr's waters could not be reached.

Then we did reach it, not heeding your words, and we
drank our fill, not stinting ourselves,

Gripping that unbreakable rope of God stretched out and
well-made,

With us was the Messenger of God, with us was the truth
we will follow until death, and unlimited help,

Trustworthy, effective, a light-giving star, a full
moon illuminating all men of valour."

Ḥassān b. Thābit also said,

"Would that the people of Mecca knew how we destroyed
the unbelievers in their hour of reckoning,

We killed their leaders on our battlefield and when
they retired their backs were broken,

We killed Abū Jahl and ʿUtba before him, along with
Shayba falling with hands outstretched for sacrifice.

We killed Suwayd, then ʿUtba after him, and ʿṬuʿma too
as the dust flew,

How many men we killed of nobility, leadership, respect
and good repute among their people,

We left them for yelping animals to attend, later to
cook in the hot depths of hell-fire.

I swear, Mālik's horsemen and their attendants were no
defence when we clashed at Badr."

ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about Badr,
concerning the loss of his leg in the competition that he, Ḥamza and ʿAlī fought
with ʿUtba, Shayba and al-Walid b. ʿUtba. Ibn Hishām considered these verses
inauthentic:

"A battle will tell the people of Mecca about us, one
in which even those far away embarked upon,

About *Utba* as he fled, and *Shayba* after him, and
Utba's first-born also had no joy in it.

Though you cut off my leg, I am a Muslim still and by
 it will earn a life close to God,

With the houris like statues, set aside at the highest
 heaven for those up high,

For that I have exchanged a life the best of which I
 have known, and I rushed to it even though losing those
 close to me.

The All-Merciful has honoured me by his generosity with
 the gown of Islam that covers over my faults,

And to fight them was not distasteful to me on that
 morning when men called forth their peers to fight.

When they asked the Prophet, he wanted none but us, we
 three, so we answered the call,

We confronted them like lions, flourishing our spears,
 fighting for the All-Merciful those who disobeyed.

Our feet did not leave our stand, we three, until they
 met their fate."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Hassān b. Thābit also spoke the following verses criticizing
al-Ḥārith b. Hishām for fleeing at *Badr* and abandoning his people and not fighting for them:

'A lovely woman disturbs your heart while you sleep,
 reviving you while lying there with cool, smiling lips,
 Like musk mixed with rain-water, or fine, vintage wine,
 like blood from sacrifice,

Her buttocks high, their cheeks rising, carefree and
 not prone to oath-swearing.

Her body is built at the waist as though boneless, when
 she sits it becomes like a mortar of marble,

She is seductive as she moves to her bed, her body
 gorgeous, her figure superb.

In daytime I never tire of thinking of her, while at
 night my dreams of her excite me.

I swore I would forget her and think of her no more
 until my bones disappear in the grave.

Could a generous woman reproach for foolishness? I
 reject being blamed for my passion.

She came to me early, at dawn when I was newly awake,
 life's cares just intruding upon me.

She claimed that a man suffers all his life from a lack
 of a plentitude of camels.

If you were lying in what you told me, then may you
 avoid the lot of *al-Ḥārith b. Hishām*.

He left his beloved ones to fight for them, and fled by giving his steed free rein.

It outstripped the fine horses in the desert, with the speed of a rock on a rope descending a well,

Joyfully it sped away with him, while his friends lay prostrate there in a terrible state.

His brothers and people locked in battle in which God was giving his support to the Muslims.

God fulfils His purpose, and so the war, its flames flaring on them, ground them to dust.

If not for God and the horses' racing, they would have left him for the beasts, and for them to tread underfoot.

There were some who were captive and firmly bound, like an eagle defending itself against the spears.

And others who lay prostrate, answering no call, until the highest mountains might cease to exist.

In shame and clear humiliation when he saw the swords' blades driving off all the chiefs,

Swords held by noblemen, great lords whose ancestry lines can be traced and found blemish-free,

Swords that flash like lightning when striking iron in the gloom beneath the rain clouds."

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted three verses from the ending of the above poem since I found them obscene."

He went on, "He was answered by al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, brother of Abū Jahl 'Amr b. Hishām, who spoke the following verses:

"The people well know that I did not abandon their battle until they had covered my horse with red foam.

I knew that if I battled on alone I would be killed, yet my martyrdom would not harm my enemy.

And so I left them, my friends among them, intending to bring them punishment some other terrible day."

Ḥassān also said,

"O Ḥārith, you acted badly, not like someone to be relied upon, at the battle, at the time for noble valour,

When you rode a swift-footed thoroughbred, fast and long-flanked.

Your people left behind you, you having quit the battle, hoping for escape when it was no time to leave.

Had you not compassion for your brother, lying there pierced with spears and plundered?

The Almighty had hastened to him, destroying his force in base dishonour and terrible punishment."

Ḥassān also spoke the following,

"Quraysh learned at Badr, that day of captive-taking
 and terrible fighting,
 That we were the war's champions at that battle of Abū
 al-Walid, when the long spears clashed,
 We fought both sons of Rabī'ā when they came at us
 dressed in double suits of chain-mail,
 With which Ḥakīm fled on that day when the Banū
 al-Najjār wheeled in battle like lions.
 Whereupon the Fihṛ forces ran away, little Ḥārith
 giving them up from a distance,
 You met humiliation and death that came quickly,
 penetrating beneath the jugular.
 All the force fled together, caring nothing for their
 inherited honour."

Hind, daughter of Uthātha b. 'Ibād b. al-Muṭṭalib, spoke the following elegy for 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib:

"It was 'Ubayda who ensured glory, leadership and a
 well-bred gentility full of intelligence and wisdom,
 Weep for him, a towering mountain visible from afar, for
 guests and for widows bent over dishevelled infants.
 Mourn him for the masses every winter when the sky's
 horizons turn red with the drought,
 Mourn him for the orphans when the storms blow, for
 whom he would heat a pot that would boil and foam,
 And if the light of its fires died down, he would
 relight it with cut sticks,
 Mourn him for those who would knock during the night,
 or those seeking food, or the travellers he would comfort."

Al-Umawī stated in his work on the *maghāzī*, the early military expeditions, "Sa'īd b. Quṭn related to me as follows: "Ātika, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about the visions she saw, and in commemoration of the battle of Badr:

"Were my visions not true, now that a fugitive fleeing
 from the force brings you its interpretation?
 He saw and brought you the certainty he had seen with
 his own eyes; swords striking do not lie.
 You spoke; I did not lie to you, rather it was those
 who lied who charged me with lying.
 He came back in flight for fear of death, Ḥakīm,
 knowing no other way out.
 Indian swords were there in front of your heads, along
 with spears glinting and victorious,
 As though flames of fire on their edges when the raging
 lions charged.

I swear by my father, the day of the rendezvous with
Muḥammad, when with the help of wars the upper flanks were
bitten,

Your souls were drawn forth with whetted swords in
fighting as the South winds draw the clouds along.

Many were the covetous who were chilled by his swords,
while stable watering-holes were made to shake.

What does it mean for those slain to be in the pit and for
their like to be kept captive by my cousin and not to fight,

They being like women? Or did God bring some end to their
spirits that took effect, for an end does come.

How did Muḥammad's cousins feel when they met in battle?
Warfare certainly brings its trials.

Did he not surprise you with blows that would shock even a
coward, making stars appear in full day?

I swear that if they repeat this we will overwhelm them
with oceans of death through which the horsemen will race,

As though the light of the sun is the reflection of the edges
of their swords, emitting light in conjunction and as a covering.”””

‘Ātika also spoke the following, according to al-Umawī’s account,

“Why could you not persevere against the Prophet
Muḥammad at Badr?

Who is able to overcome, with true perseverance, the tumult
(of war)?

You did not respond to the thin sword blades sharp in the
hands of the believers,

You failed to stand firm against the swords, until you
suffered but little at the hands of the Believers.

You fled in haste, yet heroes do not flee from the weapons’
impact when they do battle.

He brought you what the prophets before him also brought.

And my nephew, that good and truthful man, is certainly not a
poet.

Let it be enough what you have lost from your prophet;
instead, the two tribes of ‘Amr and ‘Āmir are helping him to
victory.”

Ṭalīb b. Abū Ṭalīb spoke the following verses in praise of the Messenger of God
(ṢAAS), and in mourning for those of his tribe of Quraysh who were dropped
into the pit. He was still following his people’s old religion at that time:

“My eyes send forth floods of tears, weeping for Kaʿb though
seeing them not.

In the battles Kaʿb betrayed one another and fate
overwhelmed them, for they had sinned,

And this day 'Āmir lament their misfortunes; how I would wish to see them at hand!

They are my brothers, their parentage above suspicion, and one under their protection would never be harmed.

Our brothers 'Abd Shams and Nawfal, may I be your ransom! Do not excite war between us!

Do not become, following love and friendship, mere tales you all fill with complaint.

Do you not know how it was with the war of Dāhīs, and that of Abū Yaksūm when they filled the defile?

Were it not for the protection of God and Him alone, you would have ended by not defending your people.

We in Quraysh have committed no great sin, but merely protected the best man who ever trod the earth,

A man of trust and a support in troubles, a man noble in repute, neither miserly nor evil.

Supplicants resort to him, crowding his door, seeking a river that never fails nor dries up.

By God, my soul will always be sad and ill at ease until you smite Khazraj full well."

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq quoted much fine poetry of the polytheists in which they mourn their dead at the battle of Badr.

One poem he gives is that of ʿDirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, a brother of the Banū Muḥārib b. Fihir. He eventually accepted Islam; al-Suhaylī wrote in his work *al-Rawāq* (*The Meadows*) about the verses of those poets who later became Muslims:

"I am amazed at the pride of Aws, for tomorrow fate will turn against them, and destiny can be foreseen,

And at that of the Banū al-Najjār, though a group were struck down at Badr, all of whom there being fine men,

Even if some of our men were left there dead, we have others after them yet to be so left.

Our swift horses will carry us in your midst, O Banū al-Aws, until vengeance quiets our spirits.

Amidst the Banū al-Najjār we will charge, panting beneath the mail-clad spearsmen.

We will leave corpses with vultures circling above them and with only their hopes to give them aid.

The women of Yathrib will mourn them who will have passed sleepless nights there.

And that is because our swords will keep hacking at them, dripping with the blood of those they struck.

Even though you are victorious at the battle of Badr,
it was only due to Aḥmad, and that is plain, that you won.

And due to those fine champions who were his supporters
who gave protection in the heat of battle, with death all
around.

Abū Bakr and Ḥamza are counted among them, and ‘Alī
could be named amidst those you remember.

It is those men, not those from whose abodes came the
Aws and the Najjār, whom you should vaunt,

Rather those whose ancestors were Luʿayy b. Ghālib,
Kaʿb and ‘Āmir, if lineage be considered.

It was they, the finest and the most important on the
morning of battle who repelled the cavalry at every fight.”

Kaʿb b. Mālik replied to this with his ode given above, which begins:

“I was amazed at what God did, and God has power to do
what He wills, there being none able to overcome God.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Abū Bakr, his full name being Shaddād b. al-Aswad b. Shuʿūb (and here I comment that al-Bukhārī tells that he had a child by the ex-wife of Abū Bakr, ‘the Trusting’, after the latter had divorced her, that being when God had made non-believing women forbidden to Muslims. Her name was Umm Bakr) spoke the verses,

‘Umm Bakr greeted me with peace, but now my people are
gone, can I ever have peace?

What of the pit, the pit of Badr, how can there be for
me singers and fine friends with whom to drink?

What of the pit, the pit of Badr, how can there be for
me plates piled high with fine meat?

What of the grave, the grave of Badr, how many grazing
camels and cattle will you enjoy henceforth?

What of the grave, the grave of Badr, and great
ambitions, fine gifts.

What of the friends; of that fine man Abū ‘Alī, my
brother of the generous glass and companionship!

Were you to see Abū ‘Aqīl and the fighters at the Na‘am
pass,

Then you would be as distraught as the mother bereft of
a camel newborn,

The messenger informs us that we shall live, but what
life is there for corpses and heads?”⁷⁸

I would comment that al-Bukhārī quoted some of this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection to demonstrate the poet’s state of mind.

78. Guillaume offers an interesting comment on the word *ṣadaʿ*, here translated as “heads” (plural), relating it to an ancient Arabian belief that an owl-like bird, the *ṣadaʿ* would emerge from the head of a slain man and demand revenge for his death. *Op. cit.* p.353, note 2.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt spoke the following verses expressing his lament for those of Quraysh killed at the battle of Badr:

'Have you not wept over those noble men, sons of
nobles, worthy of praise,
Mourning like doves on swaying, pliant branches,
Weeping as they coo softly as they return at night.
The women who mourn are like them, the hired women
who wail.

Whoever mourns for them does so in sorrow and whoever
praises them speaks true.

What chieftains, what great leaders there were at Badr
and al-ʿAqanqal,

And at Mudāfi al-Barqayn, and at al-Ḥannān by the side
of al-Awāshih,

Mature men and youthful were there, in nights of
raiding, and strong men too,

Do you not see what I see, plain for all who look on?
The Mecca valley has changed, its plains now deserted,
By every prince and prince's son, pure in friendship,
confident,

Frequent visitors at the gates of kings, eminent men
defeating the deserts.

Men of broad necks, tall and well-built, influential
and successful,

Men who say, do and order all things proper,
Who serve rich meat piled high above the bread,
Men who pass around dish after dish after dish big as
pools,

Not mere nothings for those who are guests, plates not
merely flat,

Serving guest after guest after guest from huge
platters,

Men who give as gifts hundreds of the pregnant camels
they own to hundreds of friends,

Driving the herds of camels over to the others coming
forth from Balādiḥ,

Their men of nobility having qualities outweighing
other nobles on the scale.

Like the weights on a scale being held down by the
measurer,

One group deserted them while they were busy protecting
things open to shame,

Men who struck blows against the vanguard with their
Indian-made broadswords,

Their voices hurt me as they cried out, some for water,
others in pain.

May God reward all the tribes of 'Ali, whether widowed
or married,

If they do not attack so fiercely that all the barking
dogs slink home.

On horses trained for journeys short or long, their
heads held high and accompanying the unsubmissive ones.

Brave men on fine horses as though attacking fierce,
scowling lions.

Each combatant meets his foe as though merely walking
to shake his hand,

About a thousand or a thousand more, some lancers, some
in chain-mail.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted from this poetry two lines that impugn the Companions of the Messenger of God, may God be pleased with them."

I would comment that this is the poetry of a man who is feeble-minded and degenerate, a man whose ignorance and limited intelligence led him to praise the polytheists and to damn the believers.

He expressed affection in Mecca for Abū Jahl b. Hishām and other accursed unbelievers and ignorant and insignificant persons, but felt none for God's servant, Messenger and true friend, the pride of mankind, none for him whose face was more luminous than the moon, a man possessed of perfect knowledge, complete intelligence, none for God's trustworthy Companion who is ready to give trust, a man eager for good works and honourable deeds, a man willing to spend thousands and hundreds more in obedience to the Lord of the earth and of the heavens.

And similar praise can be given to the rest of his noble and eminent Companions who emigrated from the abode of disbelief and ignorance to that of knowledge and Islam. May God be pleased with them all as long as light and dark intermingle, and as long as the days and the nights follow one another in succession.

We have omitted many poems quoted by Ibn Ishāq, God bless him, due to our fear of being long-winded and tiresome. There is enough in the poetry we have given. And to God is all praise and credit.

Al-Umawī has stated in his work on the military expeditions, as follows, "I heard my father say, and Sulaymān b. Arqam related to us, from Ibn Sirīn, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed forgiveness for the poetry before Islam. Sulaymān said, "Al-Zuhri reported that, saying, 'He forgave it all except for two odes; one was the words of Umayya in which he recalled those fallen at Badr, and the poem of al-A'shā in which he made reference to a man with sunken eyes.'"

This is a strange *ḥadīth*. And this Sulaymān b. Arqam is to be disregarded. But God knows best.

Section: On the expedition against the Banū Sulaym in the second year after the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished with Badr by the end of Ramaḍān or in Shawwāl.

"He remained only seven nights in Medina before he himself conducted an expedition against the Banū Sulaym."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa al-Ghifārī, or Ibn Umm Maktūm, the blind, in charge of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "He reached one of their wells at a place called al-Kadr, where he stayed for three days before returning to Medina without engaging in battle. He remained there for the rest of Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa'da and it was while he stayed there that he accepted ransom for the majority of the Quraysh captives."

Section: On the expedition against al-Sawīq in Dhū al-Hijja that year, it also being known as the expedition to Qarqarat al-Kadr.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The word *al-qarqara* means 'smooth ground'. The word *al-kadr* refers to a bird whose colours are dingy."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "According to what I was told by Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr and Yazīd b. Rūmān, as well as by others whose word I do not doubt, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, one of the most knowledgeable of the Helpers, that when Abū Sufyān and later the captives of Quraysh returned to Mecca, he swore that he would abstain from intercourse until he had carried out an attack against Muḥammad.

"He therefore went forth with 200 mounted warriors of Quraysh to fulfil his oath. He travelled along the Nejd road and stopped at the head of a water-course into the mountain called Nayb which is approximately one postal stage from Medina.

"From there he went on by night to the Banū al-Naḍir and called at the home of Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab. He knocked on the door, but he refused to open up, being afraid. So Abū Sufyān went on to Sallām b. Mishkam, who was at that time the chief of the Banū al-Naḍir and the custodian of their treasure. He asked to go in and was invited to do so; he was treated as a guest and given wine and food.

"When the night was over he left and returned to his companions, sending some men of Quraysh ahead. They then went on to a place in that vicinity called al-ʿUrayd, where they burnt some young date-palms. They came across one of the Helpers and a man allied to him in a garden there, killed them both and then left again.

"People were warned about them, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in pursuit."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. 'Abd al-Mundhir in command of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Qarqarat al-Kadr, but then headed back since Abū Sufyān and his companions had eluded him.

"The men with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found substantial supplies that the polytheists had discarded to lighten their load. Most of what they left behind was known as *al-sawīq*⁷⁹ and this name is therefore associated with this expedition.

"The Muslims asked him whether this would be credited to them as a military expedition, and he said that it would.

"Abū Sufyān composed the following verses about these actions of his and in praise of Sallām b. Mishkam, the Jew:

'I chose one man in Medina to ally with, and I did not regret it, though I stayed only briefly.

Sallām b. Mishkam gave me refreshment with good wine, though I was hurried.

When my force turned away I told him, to alleviate his concern, "Take pleasure in glory and in booty.

Take thought, for these men are the best, pure-bred of Lu'ayy, not of some Jurhum mixed-breed.

What happened here was merely that a rider stayed a while, one who was hungry but not needy or poor."'"

Section: On the marriage of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, to his wife Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

This took place in 2 AH, following the battle of Badr, according to the account given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim through al-Zuhri, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "I had a camel as my share of the spoils of the battle of Badr, the Prophet (ṢAAS) having given me one as my fifth share of what God had provided that day. When I wanted to marry Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS), I made an arrangement with a jeweller of the Banū Qaynuqā' to travel with me and to get some sweet-smelling rushes. I wanted to sell this to the jewellers and use the proceeds for a wedding feast for my bride. I gathered green fodder, sacks and ropes, having left my two camels tied down beside the house of one of the Helpers. When I had finished gathering things together, I found to my surprise that their humps had been sliced open, their flanks cut and their livers removed. I could scarcely believe my eyes at this sight. I asked who had done this and was told that it might well have been Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who was there in that house drinking with some of the Helpers, accompanied by his songstress and some friends. She was singing,

'O Ḥamza who cuts down the camels.'

79. This word refers to a mush-like dish made of wheat and barley.

"On hearing this, Ḥamza had jumped up for his sword, sliced open their humps, cut open their sides and removed their livers."

'Ali went on, "So I went off to see the Prophet (ṢAAS) who was with Zayd b. Ḥāritha. He knew something had happened to me and asked what was wrong. I replied by telling him what Ḥamza had done and where he was drinking.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for his cloak, put it on and walked away with myself and Zayd b. Ḥāritha following him. When he reached the house where Ḥamza was, he asked permission to enter and it was given. He set about upbraiding Ḥamza for what he had done, with Ḥamza before him drunk and red-eyed. Ḥamza stared towards the Prophet (ṢAAS) raising his eyes up to his knees, then to his face, whereupon he commented, 'What are you but slaves to my father!'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) realized he was drunk and so turned on his heels and left, with us following him."

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī in the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (*The Book of Military Expeditions*). He also gives the account in several other places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection in various versions.

In this there is proof of the information we have given above that the spoils taken at Badr were divided into fives, contrary to what is claimed by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām in his book *al-Awṣāl* (*Monies*). Therein he states that the revelation concerning division into fives only came thereafter. A number of authorities have disagreed with him in that, including al-Bukhārī and Ibn Jarīr. We have made clear his mistake regarding this in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) and in our previous comments. But God knows best.

This behaviour of Ḥamza and his companions, God be pleased with them, occurred before wine was prohibited. Indeed, Ḥamza was killed at Uhud, as will be related, and that event preceded the prohibition of wine. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* may be cited as evidence by those who maintain that anything expressed by someone drunk is of no account and without effect in such cases as divorce or the giving of testimony, or such matters, as some scholars have maintained and as is established in the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām* (*The Book of Statutes*).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from his father, from a man who heard 'Ali say, 'I wanted to seek from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) my betrothal to his daughter but recognized that I owned nothing. But then I remembered his compassion and his relationship (to me) and so I did ask him to agree to my engagement to her.

"He replied, "Do you own anything?" "No," I replied. "Where is your Ḥuṭamī chain-mail I gave you on such-and-such an occasion?" he asked. I replied, "At my place." "Well then," he said, "give me that for her." And so I did."

Aḥmad relates this similarly in his *ḥadīth* collection, though in his chain of transmission there is one link who is dubious.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Ishāq b. Ismā'īl al-Ṭāliqānī related to us, quoting 'Abda, quoting Sa'īd, from Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'When 'Alī married Fāṭima, God bless them both, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Give her something." He replied, "I have nothing." "Where is your Huṭamī chain-mail?" he was asked.'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Hārūn b. Ishāq, from 'Abda b. Sulaymān, from Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba, from an account of Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Kathīr b. 'Ubayd al-Ḥimsī related to us, quoting Abū Ḥaywa, from Shu'ayb b. Abū Ḥamza; Ghaylān b. Anas related to me, from the people of Ḥims; and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Thawbān related to me, from one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) that when 'Alī married Fāṭima and wanted to consummate the marriage, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prevented him from doing so until he gave her something. 'Alī replied, 'O Messenger of God, I have nothing.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Give her your chain-mail.' He did so and then went in to her."

Al-Bayhaqī stated in *al-Dalā'il (The Signs)*, "The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related, from Mujāhid, from 'Alī, who said, 'I did ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to become engaged to Fāṭima. A freed-woman of mine asked, "Did you know that someone has asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to become engaged to Fāṭima?" "No," I replied. "Well," she went on, "she has been asked for; but what prevents you from going to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and having him marry you?" I asked her, "Do I own anything with which to get married?" She replied, "If you go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he will marry you."

"She kept on encouraging me until I did go in to him. When I sat down before him, I was struck dumb, I swear, and could not speak I was so much in awe.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked me, "What brought you here? Is there something I can do for you?" I remained silent but he said, "Have you perhaps come to become engaged to Fāṭima?" "Yes, I have," I replied. "Do you have something to give her in marriage?" he asked. "No, O Messenger of God, I don't," I replied. He then enquired, "What did you do with the chain-mail I provided for you?"

"Now I swear by Him who holds 'Alī's soul in His hand, it was just a Huṭamī chain-mail, not worth four dirhams. I replied, "Yes, I have it." "Then I marry her to you for it; send it to her as her marriage payment," he said. This, then became the dowry paid for Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Fāṭima bore to 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin – the last of whom died young – Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab."

Al-Bayhaqī then related through 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib, from his father, from 'Alī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to Fāṭima as her trousseau a soft gown, a water-skin, and a leather pillow stuffed with sweet-smelling rushes."

Al-Bayhaqī quoted from the *Kitāb al-Ma'rifa* (*The Book of Knowledge*) of Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Munaddah, that 'Alī became engaged to Fāṭima one year after the hegira and that he consummated the marriage with her one year thereafter.

I would comment that by that account the consummation took place early in the third year of the hegira. However, it is obvious that the anecdote relating to the two camels must involve the period shortly after the battle of Badr, that is, as we have related, at the end of the year 2 AH. But God knows best.

Section: Reference to a variety of events that occurred in the year 2 AH.

We have given details above about the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to 'Ā'isha, mother of the believers, God bless her, and have already referred to the famous engagements that had occurred; these accounts include information on the deaths of famous men, both Muslim and polytheist.

Among those who died that year were the martyrs of the battle of Badr. These numbered 14 including both Emigrants and Helpers. Their names have been given above, as well as those of the chiefs of the Quraysh polytheists who numbered 70, as is widely known. Shortly after the battle, Abū Lahab 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, God damn him, died. As is told above.

When the good news was brought to the Muslims of Medina by Zayd b. Ḥāritha and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa concerning how God had afflicted the polytheists and given victory to the believers, they found Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had died and they were levelling the soil on her grave.

Her husband 'Uthmān b. 'Affān had stayed behind to nurse her, on the orders of the Prophet (ṢAAS). This is why he was given a share of the spoils of Badr and also assured his reward from God at Judgement Day.

'Uthmān thereafter married her sister Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this is why he was known as *dhū al-nūrayn*, "he of the two lights". It is said that no man but him was married consecutively to two daughters of a prophet. May God be pleased with him and make him content.

That year the direction of prayer was changed, as we have related above. And there was an addition made to the prayer performed when in residence, as explained above.

That year fasting was prescribed, that of Ramaḍān, as related. The *zakāt dhāt al-nuṣab* and the *zakāt al-ḥiṭr*⁸⁰ were imposed at that time.

That year the polytheists and Jews of Medina, among the Banū Qaynuqā', the Banū al-Naḍir and the Banū Qurayza who lived there, along with the Jews of the Banū Ḥāritha, pretended co-operation with the Muslims. A large number of the

80. The *zakāt dhāt al-nuṣab* (plural of a singular noun *nuṣab*) is a tax payable on certain categories of possessions, provided the tax-payer possessed a defined minimum (*nuṣab*) value of these. The *zakāt al-ḥiṭr* is an obligatory payment of provisions by all Muslims of means to the poor at the end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān.

polytheists and Jews professed Islam while secretly being hypocrites. Some did remain as they had been, while others were totally indecisive, tending first this way then the other, as God has depicted them in His Book.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "In that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote his *al-ma'āqil*⁸¹ which were kept attached to his sword."

Ibn Jarīr stated, "It is said that al-Ḥasan, 'Alī's son was born that year."

He went on, "Al-Wāqidi, however, claimed that Ibn Abū Sabra related to him, from Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh, from Abū Ja'far, that 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib consummated his marriage with Fāṭima in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja that year.

"And if that account is true, then the former one is inaccurate."

81. The word refers to arrangements concerning the payment of the bloodwit in the case of murder or manslaughter.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Ya'qūb b. 'Utba' means 'Ya'qūb, son of 'Utba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas' the names of Ya'qūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name 'Ā'isha bt. Abū Bakr refers to 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters SAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamā'*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who

officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

‘*arab al-‘āriba*: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Ya‘rub b. Qaṭṭān.

‘*arab al-musta‘riba*: ‘the arabized Arabs’, initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Ḥijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

‘*Arafāt* (also ‘*Arafa*): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

‘*ashīra* (pl. ‘*ashā‘ir*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An ‘*ashīra* is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several ‘*ashā‘ir* form a single *qabila* (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *ḥajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believed suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam’s sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabila* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

daf‘: the word used to denote the act of departure from ‘*Arafāt* during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rak‘āt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's 'ashīra (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfūʿ: a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣāhib*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufūẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qurʾān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Hijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *kaʿba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

hijra (or *hegira*): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāḍa: the movement or departure of pilgrims from 'Arafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

kaʿba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

limāʾ: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *kaʿba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rakʿāt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *ka'ba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabīla (pl. *qabā'il*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabīla* is larger than an *ʿashīra* (q.v.) but smaller than a *sha'b* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *ka'ba* there.

rak'a (pl. *rak'āt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rak'āt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-rahīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-rahīmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridā': a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *iḥrām* state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-sa'y: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

saba': the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣaḥīb (pl. *aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥīḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth*.

samʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabila* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *sunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

tubbaʿ (pl. *tabābīʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wudūʿ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

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The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization

The Life
OF THE
Prophet
Muḥammad
VOLUME III

Al-Sīra al-Nabawīyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick

Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed

INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fida' Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr,¹ and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, 'Abd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qur'ān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, 'Abd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.² He argues that the *sira* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, 'Abd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sira al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathir*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfi, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafsir: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathir's Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azim*. Unpublished dissertation. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismā'īl b. Umar b. Kathīr b. Daw b. Kathīr b. Zar'. Other versions have been given, however, such as appears in al-Zirikli's *al-A'lam* (1: 320) and 'Umar Riḍā Kabbāla's *Muṣjam al-Mu'allifin* (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzālī's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

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The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabarī, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."⁶ Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet."⁷ And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."⁸

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.⁹

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by

6. See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

7. This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

8. For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of Prophet Muhammad," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

9. See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sira* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."¹⁰

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and stratagems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabari was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".¹¹ Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."¹² As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption."¹³ Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

10. F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 291–315.

11. See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

12. *Ibid.*, 300.

13. *Ibid.*, 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.¹⁴ Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a "much more solid contribution to historical knowledge" as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did "not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as 'the great Imposter' and then describing the Arab conquests as 'that grievous calamity'."¹⁵ The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: "With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his."¹⁶

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel "the historical person of Muhammad", Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating "the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sīra*". Lammens' efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. "Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam's obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence."¹⁷

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a "pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnād*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the 'Companions' who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

14. Ibid., 291.

15. Ibid., 311.

16. P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.

17. K. S. Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens", in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330-342.

in pertinent ways.”¹⁸ Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that “hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards.”¹⁹ From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: “that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded.”²⁰

Not all Western scholars, however, were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht’s conclusion. He thus maintains that “In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a ‘tendential shaping’ of the material . . .”²¹

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.²² He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title “*al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah*” in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah*.²³

18. See Goldziher’s chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

19. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

20. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

21. W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford University Press, 1953), xiii.

22. M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islamī, 1376 h.

23. *Ibid.*, 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

"In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-ʿAṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *aḥādīth* narrated by 'Amr b. Shuʿayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr's books. 'Urwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period."²⁴

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam."²⁵ "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles."²⁶

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship."²⁷ For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'."²⁸

24. Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

26. *Ibid.*, 13.

27. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith*. (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

28. *Ibid.*, 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,²⁹ "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."³⁰

Muneer Fareed
Reviewer of Volumes II-IV

29. H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathīr repeats anecdotal *ahādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathīr's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *ahādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted

have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 2000

VOLUME III

THE YEAR 3 AH.

Early that year the Najd expedition, known as the raid on Dhū 'Amarr, took place.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the expedition to al-Sawīq, he remained for roughly the remainder of Dhū al-Ḥijja and then attacked Najd, seeking out Ghatafān; this expedition is known as that of Dhū 'Amarr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left 'Uthmān b. 'Affān in command of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He remained for all, or almost all, of Ṣafar in Najd and then returned without being ambushed."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "News reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that a force of Ghatafān fighters, from Banū Tha'ālabā, Ibn Muḥārib, had gathered at Dhū 'Amarr intending to attack him. He therefore left Medina on Thursday, 12th of Rabi' al-Awwal in 3 AH, placing 'Uthmān b. 'Affān in command of Medina. He was away for 11 days, and was accompanied by 450 men.

"The bedouin fled from him away into the mountains. He travelled on until he reached a well known as Dhū 'Amarr, where he made camp. Much rain fell and the clothes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were soaked. He dismounted beneath a tree there and hung out his clothes to dry, in full sight of the polytheists, who were keeping to themselves.

"The polytheists then sent out one of their warriors, a man named Ghawrith b. al-Ḥārith, or Du'thūr b. al-Ḥārith, telling him, 'God has enabled you to kill Muḥammad!'

"That man then went forth armed with a well-polished sword and reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He stood before him, his sword drawn, and asked, 'Muḥammad, who will protect you from me now?' 'God will,' he replied. Then Gabriel gave the man a push in the chest and the sword fell from his hand.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked it up and said, 'And who will protect you from me?' 'No one', the man replied, 'and I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is God's messenger! I swear, I'll never gather a force to attack you.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him back his sword.

"When the man rejoined his men, they criticized him and asked what had happened. He explained, 'I saw a tall man who pushed me in the chest and made me fall over on to my back. I knew him to be an angel. I then testified that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God and that I would not gather a force against him.' He then began inviting his people to accept Islam.

"It was about this incident that God Almighty stated, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a force had prepared to stretch out their hands against you, but He held back their hands away from you'" (*sūrat al-Mā'idā*; V, v.11).

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "A similar account will be given about the expedition of Dhāt al-Riqāʿ; there may be two different incidents."

I comment that if the above account is correct, then the other is definitely not. Because in that case – the man's name also being Ghawrith b. al-Ḥārith – he did not accept Islam but retained his old faith, and he did not vow to the Prophet (ṢAAS) that he would not attack him thereafter. But God knows best.

THE ATTACK ON AL-FURUʿ OF BUḤRĀN.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "He remained for almost all of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in Medina, but then mounted an expedition against Quraysh."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He continued on to Buḥrān, a mine in Ḥijāz over towards al-Furūʿ."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was absent from Medina only for ten days." But God knows best.

An Account of the Jews of Banū Qaynuqāʿ who dwelt in Medina.

Al-Wāqidī claimed that this relates to a Saturday (during the first) half of Shawwāl in 2 AH. But God knows best.

It is to them that reference is made in the words of the Almighty: "Like those shortly prior to them; they experienced the ugly consequences of what they did, and they shall have painful punishment" (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.15).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was at the time of these raids made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that the affair of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ arose.

"People say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assembled them in their market and addressed them, saying: 'O Jews, beware of God afflicting you as He did Quraysh. And so accept Islam. You well know that I am a prophet sent with a mission; you find that to be so in your Book and in God's pact with you.'

"They responded, 'Muḥammad, do you think we are your people? Don't delude yourself, just because you did battle with those who lacked knowledge of warfare, and so you could take advantage of them. If you fight against us, you'll find us to be real men!'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "A freed-man of Zayd b. Thābit related to me, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, and from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The following

verse was revealed specifically concerning them. "Tell those who disbelieve: 'You shall be defeated and herded into hell, a terrible abode. A proof of this came to you when two forces clashed.'" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.11). This refers to the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to those who participated at Badr, and to Quraysh. (Along with:) "One side fights for God's cause, while the other is unbelieving, whom they see with their own eyes to be twice their like. And God aids with His help whomsoever He wishes. There is surely a lesson in this for those who have sight." (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.12).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that the Banū Qaynuqā' were the first of the Jews who broke their pact and fought in the period between the battles of Badr and Uḥud."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. al-Miswar b. Makhrama related, from Abū 'Awn, 'The problem with Banū Qaynuqā' arose as follows. An Arab woman took an ornament of hers and sold it in the market of Banū Qaynuqā'. She sat there with one of their goldsmiths and the men present began pestering her to uncover her face. She refused, but the goldsmith managed to attach the hem of her dress to her back. When she got up, she was exposed, and they all laughed at her. She screamed and one of the Muslim men attacked and killed the goldsmith, who was a Jew. The Jews then seized the Muslim and killed him. The Muslim's family called for help from the other Muslims against the Jews. The Muslims were enraged, and so enmity arose between them and Banū Qaynuqā'."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me, 'And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), besieged them until they surrendered to him.

"Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Sallūl went to him after God had given him power over them and said, "Muḥammad, treat my allies kindly!" They were allies of Banū al-Khazraj. He turned away from him, however, and so 'Abd Allāh put his hand inside the pocket of the chain-mail of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Hishām stated that this pocket was known as the *dhāt al-fuḍūl*, "the bounteous".

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him 'Let go of me!' His face darkening in rage, he repeated, 'Let go of me, I say!'

"Abd Allāh replied, 'No; I'll not do so until you agree to treat my allies well. Four hundred men without armour and three hundred with chain-mail have protected me from all and sundry, and you would mow them down in one morning! I'm a man who is afraid of turns of fate.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to him, 'They are yours!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. 'Abd al-Mundhir in charge (of Medina) during his siege of them, which lasted for 15 days."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "My father related to me, quoting 'Ubāda b. al-Walīd, from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmīt, who said, 'When Banū Qaynuqā' opposed the Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy remained allied with them and protected them, while ‘Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who had the same alliance with them as did ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave them over to him, renouncing his pact with them in favour of God and His Messenger. ‘Ubāda told him, “O Messenger of God, I ally myself with God, His messenger and the believers, and I renounce my association and alliance with these unbelievers.””

Ibn Ishāq continued, “It was about him and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy that the following verses were revealed, ‘O you who believe, do not ally yourselves with the Jews and the Christians; they are allied with one another’” (*sūrat al-Mā’ida*; V, v.50). This referred to ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy. And “... those who ally themselves with God and His messenger and those who believe; they are the party of God who will triumph” (*sūrat al-Mā’ida*; V, v.56). This referred to ‘Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit. We have discussed this in our *Tafsīr*.

THE ATTACK MADE BY ZAYD B. ḤĀRITHA AGAINST THE QURAYSH CARAVAN WHICH WAS ALSO ACCOMPANIED BY ABŪ SUFYĀN AS WELL AS, IT IS SAID, BY ṢAFWĀN.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as follows, “This occurred six months after the battle of Badr.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The account of it related that Quraysh became insecure about the route they usually followed to Syria, after the events of Badr, and so they took the Iraq route. Some of their merchants, including Abū Sufyān, who was bearing a large quantity of silver which was the greater part of their merchandise, left, having hired as a guide for that route a man of Banū Bakr b. Wā’il named Furāt b. Ḥāyyān, that is al-‘Ījlī, who were allied to Banū Sahlm.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Zayd b. Ḥāritha who met up with them at a well called al-Qarda. He seized the caravan, and all it contained, but its men escaped. He returned with the spoils to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about this:

‘Say farewell to the rivulets of Syria, for in the way
are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels hurting
from eating *arāk* leaves

In the hands of men who have moved off towards their
Lord and to His helpers in truth, and in angels’ hands.

If they proceed to the lowlands from the sand valley,
then tell them, “the route is not there!””

Ibn Hishām stated, “This *qaṣida* is included in the verses by Ḥassān; Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith composed a response to them.”

Al-Wāqidī stated, “This foray by Zayd b. Ḥāritha occurred at the start of Jumādā al-Uwla, some 28 months after the Hijra. Ṣafwān b. Umayya was the leader of this caravan.

"The reason he sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha was that it was Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd, then still a follower of his own people's religion, who had come to Medina with news of this caravan. This Nu'aym had met with Kināna b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, along with some of Banū al-Naḍīr, among whom was Sulayṭ b. al-Nu'mān, of Aslam. They had been drinking, this being before the prohibition of wine. Nu'aym had talked of the departure of the caravan with Safwān b. Umayya, and of the valuables it carried. Sulayṭ had immediately left and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had promptly despatched Zayd b. Ḥāritha. His force met and seized the caravan, but the men accompanying it escaped. They did capture a man or two, then took command of the caravan and brought it in. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided it up into five portions, each of which amounted to 20,000 dirhams. He apportioned four-fifths of it to the expedition. Among those captured was the guide, Furāt b. Ḥayyān. He accepted Islam, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Al-Wāqidi asserted that in the spring of that year 'Uthmān b. 'Affān married Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that she was brought to him in Jumādā al-Ākhira."

THE KILLING OF KA'Ḍ B. AL-ASHRAF, THE JEW.

He was of the Ṭā'ī tribe, part of Banū Nabhān; but his mother was of Banū al-Naḍīr.

Ibn Ishāq related it thus, before the withdrawal of the Banū al-Naḍīr. Al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī, however, noted it following their accounts of the Banū al-Naḍīr affair. Ibn Ishāq was correct in relating it as he did, as will be clear from what follows, namely that the Banū al-Naḍīr matter occurred after the battle of Uhūd. It was in the siege of the enemy then that wine was prohibited, as we will later explain, if God wills it.

In his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, al-Bukhārī stated, in a section entitled, "The killing of Ka'Ḍ b. al-Ashraf", that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, that 'Amr stated, "I heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who will deal with Ka'Ḍ b. al-Ashraf? He has sought to harm God and His Messenger.' Muḥammad b. Maslama arose and replied, 'O Messenger of God, do you wish that I kill him?'" "Yes," he answered. "Then please permit me to say something." "Do so," he was told.

"Muḥammad b. Maslama then approached him (Ka'Ḍ) and said, 'This fellow (i.e. the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), asked us for charity, but he has become a nuisance to us. I've come to you to ask you to give us a loan.'"

"He responded, 'So, by God, you too are tired of him!'"

"Muḥammad b. Maslama responded. 'Having followed him, we don't want to abandon him until we see how it turns out for him. We'd just like you to make us a loan.'"

"'All right; give me some security.' 'What would you like?'"

“Pledge me your womenfolk!”

“They objected, ‘How could we pledge you our women, you being the most handsome of the Arabs!’”

“Then pledge me your sons’, he asked.

“How could we pledge you our sons?’ they demanded, ‘and have them insulted by being told they are only worth the value of a *wasq* or two! That would be shameful for us. But we will pledge you our *laʾma*.’ Sufyān said that by this he meant their weapons.

“Muḥammad b. Maslama then made a night rendezvous with him and did go to him one night, accompanied by Abū Nāʾila, who was Kaʿb’s foster-brother. Kaʿb invited them into his castle and came down to them. His wife asked him, “Where are you going at this late hour?” (According to another account, one not from ʿAmr, she commented, “I hear a voice dripping blood!”)

“He replied, ‘It’s only my brother Muḥammad b. Maslama and my foster-brother Abū Nāʾila. A man of honour, if invited to a stabbing at night, would still accept!’

“Muḥammad b. Maslama went in accompanied by two men. He told them, ‘When he comes, I’ll lean over towards his hair to smell it. When you see me seize his head, then you come on over and strike him.’ He went on, ‘I’ll do it once, then let you smell.’

“When Kaʿb came down, he was wearing a loose sash and was redolent with perfume. Muḥammad b. Maslama commented, ‘I never smelled a finer scent than today!’” (According to the other tradition, he (Kaʿb) commented, “I have the best-perfumed and best-looking women of all the Arabs!”)

ʿAmr went on, “He then asked, ‘Would you permit me to smell your head?’ ‘Certainly,’ Kaʿb replied.

“He then smelled it and had his companions do the same. He then asked, ‘Do you permit me?’ ‘Yes,’ Kaʿb replied. And then he (Muḥammad b. Maslama) seized him, calling out, ‘Get him!’ And they killed him. They then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and informed him.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf was of the Tāʾi tribe, of the sub-tribe of Banū Nabhān, though his mother was of Banū al-Naḍir. He received news of the deaths of those at Badr after the arrival of Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He commented, ‘By God, if Muḥammad has really struck down those people, then better be inside the earth than upon it!’

“When this enemy of God was sure of this news, he left for Mecca, where he visited al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadāʿa b. Dubayrat al-Sahmī, whose wife was ʿĀtika, daughter of Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf. She accommodated him graciously and he began instigating an attack upon the

1. The Arabic of this comment, curious since it is being made to a Jew, reads, *wa anta ajmalu al-ʿarab*.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speaking verses and mourning the deaths of those polytheists killed at Badr."

Here Ibn Ishāq gave his poem which begins with the verse,

"The Badr millstone ground to death those killed there,
and for the like of Badr one speaks and weeps."

He also gave the response to this poem by Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, as well as verse by others.

He went on, "Ka'b then returned to Medina where he composed verses that were suggestive about the Muslim women and critical of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his followers."

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, "Ka'b b. al-Ashraf was of Banū al-Naḍir, or associated with them; he harmed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by ridiculing him in verse and he rode in to Quraysh to incite them further. Abū Sufyān, in Mecca, asked him, 'In your view, I pray you tell me, which religion is more favoured by God, that of Muḥammad and his friends, or our own? Which of us, do you think, is more correct and appropriate? We slaughter our meat generously, give milk-topped water to drink, providing food for all and sundry who come.'

"Ka'b b. al-Ashraf replied, 'You are better-guided in your path than they are.'"

Mūsā went on, "And so God revealed to His Messenger the verses, 'Have you not considered those given a part of the Book who believe in enchantment and devils, and who say to those who disbelieve, "These are better guided on the path than those who believe (in God)." They are indeed cursed by God; those whom God curses you shall find to be without succour'" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.51, 2).

Both Mūsā and Ibn Ishāq stated further, "He went to Medina where he proclaimed his enmity and incited people to go to war. He had not left Mecca before he had united them to fight the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he then began composing amatory verse about Umm al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥarith and other Muslim women."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, as 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughith b. Abu Burda related to me, 'Who will take care of Ibn al-Ashraf?'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama, a brother of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, responded, 'I'll take care of him for you, Messenger of God. I will kill him!'

"Do so then, if you can,' he told him."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Maslama then returned and stayed three days and nights eating and drinking nothing except what was essential. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of this and he summoned him and asked, 'Why have you given up food and drink?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I promised you something that I don't know whether I can fulfil or not.' He was told, 'You only have to try.'

"He replied, 'O Messenger of God, we'll have to say certain things.'

"Say whatever you think fit; you will be free of blame for doing so.'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama then set about killing Kaʿb with Salkān b. Salāma b. Waqsh, who was known as Abū Nāʾila. He was of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal. He was, moreover, the foster-brother of Kaʿb b. Ashraf. Also with them were ʿAbbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh, of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, along with al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Muʿādh, of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, and Abū ʿAbs b. Jabr, a brother of Banū Ḥāritha."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "They then dispatched to Kaʿb, that enemy of God, Salkān b. Salāma Abū Nāʾila. When the latter was with him, he talked with Kaʿb and they recited poetry to one another; Abū Nāʾila was a poetry reciter. He then told Kaʿb, 'I'm so sorry, Ibn al-Ashraf, but I've come to you about something I want to discuss, and for you to keep confidential.' 'I'll do that,' he said.

"Muḥammad b. Maslama went on, 'This man's arrival among us was a disaster! The Arabs became hostile to us, and united against us. They have cut off our routes, so that our young are deprived and scared. We and our families are suffering greatly.'

"Kaʿb commented, 'I'm al-Ashraf's son! Didn't I tell you, Ibn Salāma, that things would turn out this way?'

"Salkān then told Kaʿb, 'What I wanted was for you to sell us some food for which we would give you a surety and keep trust with you; you'll do well by that.'

"He asked, 'Will you give me your sons as surety?'

"'You want to disgrace us? I have companions who share my views, and I wanted to bring them to you for you to sell to us, by which you would do well, and we would give you an equivalent pledge in weapons.'

"Salkān wanted him not to refuse to have weapons present when they brought them. Kaʿb agreed, saying, 'Weapons would be good security.'

"Salkān then returned to his companions and informed them what had transpired. He told them to get their weapons and to set off, and to meet up with him. They then assembled with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Thawr b. Zayd related to me, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled with them as far as Baqīʿ al-Gharqad, and there he dispatched them, saying, "Go in God's name! O God, give them help!" He then returned home. It was a moonlit night, and the men set off and reached Kaʿb's castle.

"Abū Nāʾila called up to him. Kaʿb had recently taken a new wife, and he jumped up wrapped in a coverlet. His wife took hold of its hem and said, "But you're a man engaged in combat! Warriors don't go down at such a time as this!" Kaʿb replied, "But it's Abū Nāʾila. He'd not have woken me if I had been asleep." She commented, "I swear I sense evil in his voice!" Kaʿb replied, "If a man of honour were invited to a stabbing, he'd still accept!"

"He then went down and engaged them in conversation. Eventually they asked him, "Ibn al-Ashraf, would you like to take a walk with us to Shiʿb

al-ʿAjūz, where we can spend the rest of the night talking?” “If you wish,” he replied. And so they left and walked for a while.

“Eventually Abū Nāʾila touched the hair at Kaʿb’s temple with his hand, which he then sniffed, saying, “I swear, I’ve never before this night smelled anything so fine!” He then walked further, then did the same, to make Kaʿb feel secure. Having gone yet further, he then took hold of Kaʿb’s hair at both temples and said, “Strike down the enemy of God!” Their swords rained blows upon him, but to no effect.’

“Muḥammad b. Maslama continued, ‘I then remembered a poignard I had with my sword and drew it, Kaʿb meanwhile making such a din that all the forts thereabouts had lit up. I stabbed my dagger into his lower stomach and bore down on it till it reached his scrotum. The enemy of God then collapsed. Meanwhile al-Ḥārith b. Aws had suffered a wound from one of our swords in his leg or on his hand.

“‘Thereafter we left, our path taking us past Banū Umayya b. Zayd, then Banū Qurayza and then Buʿāth. After that we went on up the stony tract of al-ʿArid. On account of the blood he was losing, our companion al-Ḥārith b. Aws was lagging behind and so we halted for a while. When he came up, following our tracks, we carried him and so arrived at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the night was ending and he was engaged in prayer. We greeted him and he came out to us. We told him of the execution of God’s enemy. He then spat upon our companion’s wound and we went on to our families. By next morning the Jews were in shock at our attack upon God’s enemy; every Jew feared for his safety.’”

Al-Wāqidi claimed that they had brought the head of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Kaʿb b. Mālīk spoke the following verses about this affair:

‘Kaʿb having been left lying stretched out, after his
demise al-Naḍir were humiliated.

As he lay prostrate on his hands, our men with drawn
swords having overcome him

Upon Muḥammad’s order, when he told Kaʿb’s brother to
slip by night secretly to Kaʿb.

And he tricked him, bringing him down by deceit, yet
praiseworthy is he, worthy of trust and brave.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “These verses are from an ode he composed about the battle with Banū al-Naḍir that will be quoted hereafter.”

I note that the death of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf at the hands of Aws came after the battle of Badr. Khazraj killed Abū Rāfiʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq after the battle of Uḥud, as will be explained hereafter, if God, in whom is all trust, so wills it.

Ibn Ishāq also gave the following verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit:

“How fine a party of men you met, O Ibn al-Ḥuqayq, and
you too, Ibn al-Ashraf

Men who travelled by night to bring their light swords
to you, as cheerful as lions prowling in their lairs.

They came to you in your own territory, making you
taste death with their swift-killing blades

Foreseeing the victory of the religion of their
prophet, minimizing every matter of danger."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Kill whatever Jew you may conquer!'

"Muḥayyiṣa b. Mas'ūd of Aws thereupon attacked and killed Ibn Sunayna, a Jewish merchant who used to associate with them and do business with them. His brother Ḥuwayyiṣa b. Mas'ūd was older than Muḥayyiṣa and had not yet accepted Islam. When the latter killed the Jew, Ḥuwayyiṣa began hitting his brother and shouting, 'You enemy of God, you! Have you really killed him? Yet much of the fat in your belly is from his money!'

"Muḥayyiṣa replied, 'I was ordered to kill him by someone who, if he ordered me to kill you, I would strike your neck!' He also said that this was the start of Ḥuwayyiṣa's acceptance of Islam.

"Ḥuwayyiṣa asked, 'Do you really mean that if Muḥammad told you to kill me, you would do it?'

"Muḥayyiṣa reiterated, 'Yes, by God! If he were to order me to strike your neck, I would do so.'

"'By God, any religion that would so affect you is truly wonderful,' said Ḥuwayyiṣa, and he accepted Islam."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "A freed-man of Banū Ḥāritha related this to me, from Muḥayyiṣa's daughter, from her father.

"Muḥayyiṣa spoke the following verses about this:

"A mother's son complains that if I were ordered to
kill him, I would strike him with my sharp sword at the
nape of his head.

Its blade salt-like in colour, it is so well burnished;
when I aim it, it never deceives.

It would not have pleased me to kill you voluntarily,
even if we owned all between Buṣrā and Ma'rib."

Ibn Hishām recounted, from Abū 'Ubayda, from Abū 'Amr al-Madanī, that this story relates to the time following the battle with Banū Qurayṣa, and that the man killed was Ka'b b. Yahūdḥā. He stated that when Muḥayyiṣa executed him on the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the battle with Banū Qurayṣa, his brother Ḥuwayyiṣa said what he did and Muḥayyiṣa replied as above. And so that day Ḥuwayyiṣa accepted Islam. But God knows best.

Note: al-Bayhaqī and al-Bukhārī related the Banū al-Naḍīr affair before the battle of Uḥud, but what is correct would be to refer to it thereafter, as did Muḥammad b. Ishāq and other authorities on the early military engagements.

The proof of this is that wine was prohibited on the nights when Banū al-Naḍīr were being besieged. It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that some of those who died as martyrs at Uḥud had been drinking that morning. This indicates that wine was permitted at that time and was only prohibited later. And so it is clear that the Banū al-Naḍīr affair came after the battle of Uḥud. But God knows best.

A further note: the affair relating to the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā' came after the battle of Badr, as told above. The same applies to the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, the Jew, at the hands of Aws.

The Banū al-Naḍīr affair came after the battle of Uḥud, as will be told hereafter. The same is true of the death of Abū Rāfi', the merchant Jew from Hijāz who was killed by Khazraj.

The account relating to the Jews of Banū Qurayza will be given after the report of the battle of the *aḥzāb* – "the clans" – and after that of al-khandaq, "the trench".

THE BATTLE OF UḤUD, IN SHAWWĀL, 3 AH.

A supplementary note from the author on the naming of Uḥud: Uḥud was so named because of its unique² distinction among these mountains.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection it states, "Uḥud is a mountain that loves us and that we love. It is said that its name refers to its inhabitants. It is also said that it is so named to affirm the closeness of one's family on one's return from a trip, as does a lover. It is also said to mean, *'alā zāhirihi*, i.e. 'in a concrete and literal interpretation', as in God's words, 'some of them tumble down in fear of God' " (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.74).

In a *ḥadīth* from Abū 'Abbās b. Jabr, it states, "Uḥud loves us and we it; it stands at the gate of paradise. And it is (like a) wild ass that loathes us as we it. It stands at one of the gates of hell."

Al-Suhayli commented, in substantiation of this *ḥadīth*: "It is well established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'A man is with whomever he loves.'"

Al-Suhayli's comment is strange. For this *ḥadīth* relates to people and a mountain could not be referred to as human.

This battle took place in Shawwāl, 3 AH. This is stated by al-Zuhri, Qatāda, Mūsā b. Uqba, Muḥammad b. Ishāq and Mālik.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It occurred in the middle of Shawwāl." Qatāda said, "It took place on Saturday, the 11th of Shawwāl."

Mālik stated, "The battle took place early in the day, and it is commonly agreed that the reference is to it in the words of the Almighty: '... when you went forth from your family in the morning to set the believers in their positions for the battle; and God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. When two groups from

2. The Arabic root *aḥad* implies the number one and singularity or uniqueness.

among you were inclined to being cowardly, even though God was their ally. It is in God that believers should trust. And God did aid you at Badr when you were weak. Be pious in God, that you may give thanks. (Remember) when you said to the believers, "Is it not enough for you that your Lord give you the aid of 3,000 angels He has sent down? Yes indeed! If you remain fast and pious and they charge straight down upon you, your Lord will send down 5,000 of the angels to cause havoc ..." and so on to the words, "... and God is not one to leave the believers in circumstances such as yours without differentiating evil from good. Yet God is not one to reveal to you the unknown"" (sūrat *Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.120-124 and v.178).

We have sufficiently discussed details relating to all this in our *Tafsir*. And all praise and reliance is for God.

We will relate herewith the essentials of the battle as in the accounts given by Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God be pleased with him, and other scholars expert in this field.

(Ibn Ishaq stated) "Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān, 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'adh and others of our scholars related to me various aspects of the battle of Uhud. What follows is a composite of all their accounts.

"When those polytheists of Quraysh suffered their fate of burial in the pit, the remnants of their force returned to Mecca, as did Abū Sufyān with his caravan. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Rabi'a, 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl and Ṣafwān b. Umayya gathered with others of Quraysh whose fathers, sons or brothers had been struck down at Badr. They talked with Abū Sufyān and with others of the Meccan merchants who had been with that caravan, as follows: 'O Quraysh, Muḥammad has done you great harm and has killed your élite. Give us your assistance with this wealth to make war on him and to take revenge on him.' They agreed."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was about them, so I have been told by certain scholars, that Almighty God revealed the words, 'Those who disbelieve are spending their wealth to block off God's path. And they shall spend it and then they shall suffer regret and be defeated. Those who disbelieve will be herded together into hell' (sūrat *al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.36).

"And so Quraysh gathered to go to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Abū Sufyān and the caravan owners did this, assembling their Abyssinian mercenaries and those of the tribes of Kināna and the lowlands who accepted their authority.

"Abū 'Azza 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jumāḥī had been treated kindly by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Badr. He was a poor man with children and responsibilities and had been taken captive. Ṣafwān b. Umayya now asked him, 'Abū 'Azza, you are a poet. Help us with your voice and go forth with us,' He replied, 'But Muḥammad was kind to me, and I don't want to oppose him.' Ṣafwān persisted, 'Yes indeed, so help us with your mind; I swear that if you

return safe, I will make you wealthy. If you are killed, I swear I'll treat your daughters just like my own. Whatever happens to my children, good or bad, will be their lot too.'

"So Abū 'Azza went off into the lowlands calling upon Banū Kināna and reciting,

'O Banū 'Abd Manāt, brave men, you are fine warriors,
as were your fathers too.

Let not your help be promised a year from now; do not
let me down, for letting me down' is not right.'

"And Nāfi' b. 'Abd Manāf b. Wahb b. Hudhayfa b. Jumah went out to Banū Mālik b. Kināna haranguing them and saying,

'O māl(ik), *māl* (possessed of) prominent repute, I
appeal to ties and to covenants

Whether to relatives or to those not related, by the
alliance amidst the holy city,

At the venerated wall of the *ka'ba*.'

"Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm summoned an Abyssinian warrior slave of his, named Waḥshī, who could toss a spear in the Abyssinian manner, rarely missing, and told him, 'Go forth with our men; and if you should kill Ḥamza, the uncle of Muḥammad, in revenge for my uncle Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adī, then you are a free man.'"

"And so Quraysh went forth fully armed and accoutred and with their Abyssinian mercenaries and clients from Banū Kināna and the lowlands. They also took with them their womenfolk in *howdahs* (camel litter, sedan chairs) to keep their spirits high and so that they would not take flight.

"Abū Sufyān, Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb, he being their commander, went forth too, accompanied by his wife Hind, daughter of 'Utba b. Rabi'a.

"Ikrima b. Abū Jahl also went out with his wife, his cousin Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra. His uncle al-Ḥārith b. Hishām also went, accompanied by his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Walid b. al-Mughīra.

"Ṣafwān b. Umayya was accompanied by Barza, daughter of Mas'ūd b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr, a lady of Thaqif; 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had with him Rayṭa, daughter of Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj, she being the mother of his son 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr."

Ibn Ishāq also mentioned other Quraysh men who were accompanied by their womenfolk.

He went on, "And whenever Waḥshī passed by Hind, daughter of 'Utba or she passed by him, she would say, 'Go to it, Abū Dasma,⁴ avenge us and help yourself too!' That is, she urged him on to kill Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

"They advanced and made a halt at 'Aynayn, on a mountain at the Sakhba valley of Qanāt, on the edge of the *wādi* facing Medina.

3. The poet uses the word *islām*, here connoting "abandonment".

4. That is, "father of blackness", a reference to his black Abyssinian colouring.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of this, he told the Muslims, 'I swear by God, I had a favourable vision! I saw a cow being slaughtered and noticed a nick on the tip of my sword blade. Then I saw I had thrust my hand through a strong coat of mail. This I interpreted to be Medina.'"

This *ḥadīth* was related by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma, from Burayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) whom they quoted as follows, "I saw in a dream that I was leaving Mecca for some land where there were palm trees. I thought that it was either al-Yamāma or Hajar, but then I realized that it was the city of Yathrib (Medina). In that vision, I saw myself wielding a sword, the middle of which broke. And that was what happened to the believers at the battle of Uḥud. I then wielded it again and it became better than ever. And that was what happened when God gave victory and united the believers. In the vision, I also saw a cow. And, by God, this was good, for it represented the band of believers at the battle of Uḥud. And the good was what God brought forth from the good, and the reward of the truth that came to us after the battle of Badr."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, as did al-Aṣamm, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Wahb, while Ibn Abū Zinād informed me from his father, Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took possession of his sword *Dhū al-Fiqr* at Badr. And it was about that sword that he saw the vision on the day of the battle of Uḥud."

"When the polytheists came at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Uḥud, it was his view that he should remain in Medina and fight them there. But people who had not witnessed Badr told him, "Let's go out, Messenger of God, to them and fight them at Uḥud." They hoped to attain some of the credit that had accrued to those at Badr. They kept on at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he put on his chain-mail. Then they repented and told him, "O Messenger of God, stay here. Your view must prevail."

"He told them, "It is not proper for a prophet to take off his armour after dressing in it until God decides between him and his enemy."

"Before putting on my armour that day,' he had been telling them, 'I had a vision of myself in stout armour – which I interpreted to be Medinā – and that I made the (squadron) leader ride behind me; this I interpreted as the leader of the squadron. I also saw that my sword, *Dhū al-Fiqr*, had been notched; this I interpreted as a weakness in you. Then I saw a cow being slaughtered, its stomach open. I swear by God, it was good.'"

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father.

Al-Bayhaqī related this *ḥadīth marfū'an*, through Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Alī b. Zayd, from Anas, back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said, "I had a vision as if I had made the (squadron) leader ride second saddle. And the blade

of my sword seemed to have been damaged. This I interpreted as meaning that I would kill the enemy's leader. I interpreted the damage to my sword's blade as being the death of a man from my own family."

And Ḥamza was killed, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) killed Ṭalḥa, who was in charge of their banner.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "When Quraysh returned (from Badr) they brought in all the Arab polytheists whom they controlled. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb then went forth with a Quraysh force, it being in Shawwāl of the year following the battle of Badr. They halted in the middle of the *wādī* across from Uḥud. There were some Muslims who had not been present at Badr and who regretted the distinction that they had lost. They were eager to meet the enemy to attain what their brethren had achieved at the battle of Badr.

"When Abū Sufyān and the polytheists halted at the base of Uḥud, the Muslims who had not attended Badr were delighted at the enemy's approach to them. They told one another that God had fulfilled their dreams.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received a vision on the Friday night. When he arose next morning a group of his Companions came to him and he told them, 'Last night in my sleep I saw a cow being slaughtered, and by God, it was good. And I also saw that my sword, *Dhū al-Fiqr*, had been notched on its blade.' (Or he said, 'And it had notches in it, and I hated this. These were two disasters.') 'And I saw myself in stout armour and that I was making a (squadron) leader ride second saddle.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them of his visions, they asked, 'O Messenger of God, what interpretation do you give your visions?' He replied, 'I interpreted the cow I saw as one among us and among the enemy; I disliked what I saw happen to my sword.'

"Some men say that what he saw in his sword was what was to strike his face, for the enemy did wound him in the face that day; they broke one of his front teeth and tore his lip. They claim that it was 'Utba b. Abū Waqqās who threw it. The cow represented those of the Muslims who were killed at that battle.

"(The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said) 'I interpret the *kabsh*, to be the (squadron) leader of the enemy, God damn them, and the stout armour to be Medina. So remain here, drawing the families into the citadels. When the enemy attacks us through the alleys, we'll fight them and fire down at them from on top of the houses.' The Muslims had lined the alleys of Medina with fortifications so that they had become like fortresses.

"Those Muslims who had not been present at Badr said, 'We had been looking forward to this day, and praying to God for it. God has brought it to us, and made the outcome close at hand.'

"One of the *anṣār* asked, 'When will we do battle with them, O Messenger of God, if not right here in our area?'

"Others asked, 'What about our people; what will we be able to defend, if we can't defend ourselves in war because of fear?'"

"Others made statements agreeing with him or going even further. One of these men was Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, 'By Him who revealed the Book to you, we shall take issue with them!'"

"Nu'aym b. Mālik b. Tha'laba, he being of Banū Sālim, said, 'O Prophet of God, do not deprive us of paradise! By Him who holds my soul in His hands, I shall enter it!'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'By what?' 'By my loving God and His Messenger, and I will not run away on the day of war.' 'You have spoken the truth,' commented the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And the man did die a martyr on that day.

"Many of the Muslims insisted on going forth to battle, refusing to accept the words and views of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If they had been content with what he had told them, it would have turned out so. But fate and destiny were to triumph.

"Most of those advising him to go forth were men who had not been present at Badr; they were aware of the credit that had earlier accrued to those who were present at it.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the Friday prayer, he preached to the congregation and enjoined them to fight hard and well. Having finished his address and his prayer, he called for his armour and dressed in it. He then made announcement to the people that they were to go forth to battle.

"Aware of all this, some men of good sense observed, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us to remain in Medina and he knows best about God and what He wants; revelation comes to him from heaven.'

"They addressed him, 'O Messenger of God, remain here, as you told us to do.' He replied, 'It is not fitting for a prophet who has put on armour for war and given the order to proceed to battle the enemy to return without fighting. I did call upon you to do that, but you insisted on going out to battle. You must fear God and remain firm in the violence when you meet the enemy. Look for what it is God has ordered you, and do it.'"

The account continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left with the Muslims. They took the route through al-Badā'ī' and numbered 1,000 men. There were 3,000 in the polytheist force. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on till he reached Uḥud.

"Then 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl went back with 300 men, there remaining 700 with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is what is widely known among scholars of early military affairs – namely, that their force remained at 700 fighting men."

Al-Zuhri, however, was of the opinion that they had 400 fighting men left.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān related it thus from Uṣḅugh, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri; but by this chain of authorities the number was also given as 700. God knows best.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "The polytheists' cavalry was under the command of Khālīd b. al-Walīd. They had with them 100 horses. Their banner was in the charge of 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa. The Muslim force did not have a single horse." He then related the battle, as will now be done in detail, if God wills it.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had related his visions to his Companions, he told them, 'If you agree to remain in Medina and leave them where they have halted, that spot will turn out bad for them, while if they come in after us, we will fight them in the town.'

"Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl agreed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they should not go forth to meet the enemy.

"Some Muslims, however, including some whom God granted martyrdom at Uhūd and others who had not attended at Badr, said, 'Messenger of God, lead us forth to our enemies so that they won't consider us to be scared of them, or too weak.'

"Abd Allāh b. Ubayy stated, 'Messenger of God, don't go out to attack them. Whenever we have left the town to do battle with an enemy, we have been beaten, whereas whenever they came in we beat them.'

"People kept on badgering the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he went in and dressed in his armour. That was on Friday, after he had finished the prayer. A man from Banū al-Najjār named Mālīk b. 'Amr had died that day. He said prayers for him and then went out to his men. They were now repenting their attitude and saying, 'We made him do what he did not wish, and we had no right to do that.'

"When he came out to them, they told him, 'Stay here if you wish, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'It would not be fitting for a prophet who put on armour to take it off before he did battle.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forth with 1,000 of his men."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "He went on as far as al-Shawṭ, between Medina and Uhūd, and there 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy withdrew back with one-third of the men. He said, 'He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) agreed with them, but not with me. We don't know why we should kill ourselves out here, men!'

"He returned home with those of his tribe who were hypocrites and doubters. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām al-Sulamī, the father of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, went after them, saying, 'People, I enjoin you by God not to abandon your people and your Prophet when their enemy is at hand!' They replied, 'If we knew that you would do battle, we would not surrender you; but we don't believe there will be any fighting.'

"When they disobeyed 'Abd Allāh and refused to change their decision to retreat, he commented, 'May God banish you, you enemies of God; His Prophet (ṢAAS) will do without you!'"

I comment that these people are those to whom reference is being made in the words of the Almighty, "And so that He would know the hypocrites who were told, 'Come fight in God's cause, or defend yourselves.' They replied, 'If we knew there would be fighting, we would have followed you.' On that day they were closer to disbelief than to faith. They spoke with their mouths what was not in their hearts. But God knows well what they conceal" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.166).

This meant that they were lying in their statements, "If we knew there would be fighting, we would have followed you." This is because the occurrence of the fighting was completely clear and evident, not something unknown or in doubt.

About them God also revealed, "What ails you then, that you have become two parties about the hypocrites; God had subverted them because of what they had earned" (*sūrat al-Nisā'i*; IV, v.88). This is because one group had said, "We shall fight them!" while others said, "We will not fight them!" This is made clear and is well-established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Zuhri stated that on that day the Companions asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to enlist the aid of their Jewish allies in Medina, but that he replied, "We have no need of them."

ʿUrwa b. Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when 'Abd Allāh b. Ubbay and his men withdrew, Banū Salama and Banū Ḥāritha were about to lose courage, so God Almighty gave them strength. He therefore revealed, "When two of your parties were about to lose courage, yet God was the protector of them both, and it is upon God that believers rely" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.123).

Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh stated, as is established about him in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, "I would not have liked it if it had not been revealed, for '... God was the protector of them both.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on, passing through the stony tract of Banū Ḥāritha. A horse swished its tail and caught against the hilt of a sword and jerked it out. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told the man whose sword it was, 'Sheathe your sword; I can see swords are to be drawn today.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked his Companions, 'Who can take us close to the enemy by a path that will not take us past them?' Abū Khaythama, brother of Banū Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith replied, 'I will, Messenger of God.' He then led them out into the territory of Banū Ḥāritha, passing through their properties. Eventually Abū Khaythama led him into the farm of Mirba' b. Qayzī. This man was a hypocrite and also blind. When he heard the sound of the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims with him passing by, he began tossing dirt into their faces, saying, 'If you are the Messenger of God, then I do not permit you to enter my garden!'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "It was told to me that he then took up a handful of dirt, saying, 'By God, if I knew I'd strike no one but you, Muḥammad, I'd hit you in the face with this!' The Muslims charged at him to kill him, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Don't kill him! This sightless fellow is blind both in his heart and in his eyes!' But Sa'd b. Zayd, brother of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, had already charged at him before the command of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had hit him with his bow in his head and split it open.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded ahead and came down the defile from Mt. Uḥud, at the head of the valley, at the mountain. He positioned his camels and his men towards Uḥud and said, 'Let no one begin fighting before I give the order to attack.'

"Quraysh had released their camels and horses in the fields at al-Ṣamgha, part of Qanāt that was Muslim territory. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the order not to attack, one of the Companions asked, 'Are the fields of Banū Qayla to be grazed without us going to battle?'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made ready for battle. His force consisted of 700 men; he appointed 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr, brother of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, in charge of the archers. He stood out by being dressed in white clothing; the archers totalled 50 men. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said 'Fend off the cavalry from us with your arrows, so that they don't come at us from the rear. Whether the battle goes for or against us, hold your position so that we can't be attacked from your direction.'"

This statement will receive testimony in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, if God wills it.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out wearing two sets of armour; that is, he wore one suit of chain-mail above another. He gave charge of the banner to Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, brother of Banū 'Abd al-Dār."

I comment that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent back a group of young men from the battle of Uḥud, not permitting them to be present at the fighting because of their youthfulness. These included 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. He stated, "I was offered to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the battle of Uḥud, but he would not allow me. I was later presented to him for the battle of al-khandaq, 'the trench', at a time when I was 15, and he then did permit me to participate."

On that occasion he also rejected Usāma b. Zayd, Zayd b. Thābit, al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, Usayd b. Dhahīr and 'Arāba b. Aws b. Qayzī. Ibn Qutayba related this and al-Suhayli also gave it. It is of the last-mentioned that al-Shammākh stated:

"If a banner be raised for glory, then 'Arāba will take it in his right hand."

Ibn Sa'd b. Khaythama was also one of these. Al-Suhayli mentioned him too. He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) allowed all of these to participate at the battle of al-khandaq.

He had sent back from Uḥud Samura b. Jundub and Rāfi' b. Khadij, both of these being 15 years of age. But someone told him that Rāfi' was an archer, and so he let him stay. Then someone told him that Samura could wrestle Rāfi' down, and so he let him stay too.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Quraysh positioned their forces. They numbered 3,000. They had brought 200 horses with them which they positioned on the flanks, with Khālīd b. al-Walīd in charge of the right flank of the cavalry and 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl b. Hishām in command of its left."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, 'Who will take this sword, along with its rights?'

"Various men arose, but he refrained from giving it to them. Then Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharsha, brother of the Banū Sā'ida, came to him and asked, 'What are its rights, Messenger of God?'

"'For you to strike the enemy with it until it bends.'

"'I will take it, Messenger of God, along with its rights,' he agreed, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave it to him."

Ibn Ishāq related this anecdote thus, *munqati'an*.⁵

The Imām Aḥmad stated, "Both Yazīd and 'Affān related to us as follows, 'Ḥammād, he being Ibn Salama, related to us, and Thābit informed us, from the Prophet (SAAS) that at Uḥud he picked up a sword and asked, 'Who will take this sword?' Some men began examining it and he then asked, 'Who will take it along with its rights?' The men withdrew, but Abū Dujāna Simāk responded, 'I will take it with its rights.' And he did take it and cleaved a path with it through the middle of the polytheists.'"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr, from 'Affān.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Dujāna was a brave man who engaged in bravado when he went into battle. He had a red headband he would put on to set himself apart in battle and it would be known that he was preparing to fight."

He went on, "When he took the sword from the hand of the Messenger of God (SAAS), he took out the red headband and put it on. He then began strutting about between the two lines.

"Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aslam, the freed-man of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb related to me, from one of the *anṣār* of the Banū Salama, who related to me as follows, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, when he saw Abū Dujāna strutting, 'That is a way of walking that God dislikes except in circumstances like this!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Abū Sufyān had told those of Banū 'Abd al-Dār who were in charge of the banner, inciting them to battle, 'Banū 'Abd al-Dār, you were in

5. This word indicates a *ḥādīth* of which the line of transmission is incomplete.

charge of our banner at the battle of Badr, and you saw what happened to us. Men will only fight for their flags; if once they are lost, they withdraw. Either take care of our banner for us, or give it over to us and we will relieve you of it.'

"They were angered at this and threatened him, saying, 'We give over our banner to you? You will learn tomorrow, when we meet in battle, how we will behave!' That was the response that Abū Sufyān wanted.

"When the forces met and drew close to one another, Hind, daughter of 'Utba, arose amidst the women accompanying her, and they took up tambourines and began beating them, positioning themselves behind the men and urging them on to battle. Hind spoke the following verses:

'Go to it, 'Abd al-Dār, go to it protectors of the rear!

Strike with your sharp weapons!

"She also said,

'If you advance we will embrace and spread out cushions;

But retreat and we'll leave and love not!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that Abū 'Āmir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Ṣayfi b. Mālik b. al-Nu'mān, one of Banū Dubay'a, had left for Mecca, having disagreed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was accompanied by 50 young men of Aws, though some say they were 15 in number. He had been promising Quraysh that if he were to meet up with his people, no two men of them would quarrel with him.

"When the sides clashed, the first to meet them was Abū 'Āmir with the Abyssinians and the slaves owned by the Meccans. Abū 'Āmir shouted out, 'Aws, I am Abū 'Āmir!' They responded, 'May God grant you no ease, you sinner!'

"Before Islam, Abu 'Āmir had been known as 'the monk'; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had renamed him 'the sinner'.

"When Abū 'Āmir heard their reply, he shouted, 'So, evil has befallen my people since I left!' He then engaged them in fierce battle, eventually casting stones at them."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The sides advanced until the warfare grew intense and Abū Dujāna progressed deep into the enemy's force."

Ibn Hishām stated, "More than one scholar related to me that al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām said, 'I was offended when I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the sword and he refused it me and gave it to Abū Dujāna. I told myself, 'I'm the son of his aunt Ṣafiyya, and of Quraysh. Also, I went up and asked him for it before he did, yet he gave it to Abū Dujāna, rejecting me. By God, I'll watch what he does!'

"So I followed him. He took out a red headband and put it on his head. The *anṣār* then said, 'Abū Dujāna has put on the death headband!' This is what they

would say to him whenever he did this. He then went forth to battle, reciting the words,

"I am one with whom my companion made a pact, when we
were there on the hillside amidst the palm trees
I'll never remain at the rear; I'll strike hard with
the sword of God and His messenger."'''

Al-Umawī stated, "Abū 'Ubayd related to me, quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said that a man had approached him while he was battling with it and he had asked him, 'If I give it to you, you'll probably fight at the rear.' 'No, I won't,' the man replied. So he gave the man the sword, who then recited the words,

'I am one with whom my companion made a pact;
I'll never remain at the rear!'"

This is a *ḥadīth* that is related from Shu'ba. Isrā'īl also related it, both of them quoting Ibn Ishāq, from Hind, daughter of Khālīd; others also give it, attributing it directly to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The word used in the above *ḥadīth* interpreted as "the rear" is the noun *al-kayyūl*, a word I have not encountered elsewhere. It is said by some scholars to mean "the ranks at the back".

Ibn Hishām(s text) stated, "Every man he met, Abū Dujāna killed. Among the polytheists there was one man who executed every man he wounded. This man and Abū Dujāna came ever closer to one another, and I prayed to God to bring them together. And they did meet. They exchanged a couple of blows. The polytheist then struck at Abū Dujāna, who fended off the blow with his shield which trapped the man's sword. Then Abū Dujāna struck and killed him. I next saw Abū Dujāna aiming at the centre of the head of Hind, daughter of 'Utba. But he turned his sword aside, and I commented, 'God and his messenger know best!'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this *ḥadīth* in *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, quoting Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, who gave it.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Dujāna said, 'I saw one man who was giving great encouragement to his side, so I headed for him. When I attacked him with my sword, he let out a scream and I saw it was a woman! I respected the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by refraining from striking a woman with it.'"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), refused 'Umar's request when he made it for the sword and when next al-Zubayr sought it he rejected him too. This troubled them both. When he offered it a third time and Abū Dujāna asked for it, he gave it to him, and he did give the sword its rights.

He went on, "People claim that Ka'b b. Mālik said, 'I was among those Muslims who went forth to the battle. When I saw that the dead on both the Muslim and polytheist sides were similar, I moved forward to participate. I then

saw that one polytheist, heavily armoured, was striking the Muslims hard and saying, "Come on then, you sheep gathering for the slaughter!" But then I saw one Muslim, fully armoured, waiting for him and I went on over behind him and began comparing the Muslim with the polytheist. The latter was better in equipment and in form. I kept on waiting until they met. The Muslim then struck the unbeliever a blow with his sword on his shoulder artery. The sword came right down through to his thigh, cutting him into two. Then the Muslim uncovered his face and said, "What about that, Ka'b! I'm Abū Dujāna!"

THE DEATH OF ḤAMZA, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib fought on until he killed Artāt b. 'Abd Shurahbīl b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār, who was one of those bearing the banner. He also killed 'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa while he was carrying the flag and reciting,

'It is the duty of those who bear the flag to keep up
tall or to be struck down low.'

"Ḥamza then attacked and killed him.

"After that Sibā' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā al-Ghubshānī, who was commonly known as 'Abū Niyār', passed him by and Ḥamza called out to him, 'Come on over here, you son of a female who does circumcisions!' The man's mother was Umm Anmār, a freed-woman of Shariq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi; she was circumcisor (of women) in Mecca. When the two men met, Ḥamza struck and killed him.

"Wahshī, the slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im stated, 'I swear, I watched while Ḥamza struck out at everyone with his sword, letting none escape; he was like some gigantic camel. Sibā' got to him before me, then Ḥamza said, "Come on over here, you son of a woman who does circumcisions!" He then struck him so fast that he seemed to have missed his head. So I readied my spear until sure it was well aimed, then I let it fly at him. It hit him beneath his navel and came out between his legs. He advanced towards me, but collapsed. I left him till he died, then I went, retrieved my spear and returned to the camp; my only business was with him.'

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl b. 'Ayyāsh b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith related to me, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Ja'far b. 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri, who said, 'I and 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Adī b. al-Khiyār, one of Banū Nawfāl b. 'Abd Manāf, went out on a military expedition during the reign of Mu'āwiya. Having served with the others, we passed by Ḥimṣ, where Wahshī, the freed-man of Jubayr, had taken up residence. When we got there, 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Adī asked, "Should we go to see Wahshī and ask him about the death of Ḥamza, and how he killed him?" "If you would like," I responded.

“So we went off and enquired about him in Ḥimṣ. When we asked a man about him, he told us, “You will find him in the courtyard of his house. He has become addicted to wine; if you should find him sober, you’ll find him to be a true Arab man and you’ll get what you want from him and he’ll tell you whatever you ask him about. But if you find him under the influence, you’d better just leave him alone.”

“He continued, ‘So we went off to visit him and found him in the courtyard of his house on a rug. He was a large old man who looked like a *bughāth*, a blackish bird.⁶ He was sober and in good health and we greeted him when we reached him.

“He raised his sight to ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Adī and asked, “Are you the son of ‘Adī b. al-Khiyār?” “Yes, I am,” he replied. Waḥshi commented, “Well, I swear, I’ve not seen you since I handed you to your mother, al-Sa’diya, who was suckling you, at Dhū Ṭuwā. I lifted you up to her as she sat on her camel. She took hold of you around the waist and your feet shone as I handed you up to her. I swear, I therefore recognized your feet as soon as you stood before me!”

“He went on, ‘So we sat down with him and told him, “We have come to you to ask you about the death of Ḥamza; how did you kill him?”

“He replied, “Shall I tell it to you just as I did to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he asked me about it? I was a slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im, whose uncle was Tu‘ayma b. ‘Adī, who was struck down at Badr. When Quraysh went forth to Uhud, Jubayr told me, ‘If you kill Ḥamza, Muḥammad’s uncle, in retaliation for my uncle’s death, then you will be a free man.’

““So I went out with the warriors. I was an Abyssinian and could throw the spear like my countrymen; I rarely missed with it. When the forces met in battle, I went forth looking for Ḥamza to lie in wait for him. I found him right amidst the fray, like an enormous camel, striking out viciously at our men with his sword, nothing withstanding him. I made use of bushes and rocks to get close to him, but Sibā‘ b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā got to him before me. When Ḥamza saw him, he said, ‘Come over here, you son of a woman who does circumcisions!’ He then struck him a blow so quickly that it appeared to have missed his head. I aimed my spear carefully, and when sure of it, I hurled it at him. It struck him below his navel and emerged between his legs. He tried to move towards me, but was overcome. I left him with the spear until he died. Then I went over to him, retrieved my spear and returned to camp, where I stayed. I had no business with anyone other than him. I only killed him to gain my freedom.

““When I reached Mecca, I was manumitted and remained there until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Mecca. I then fled to Ṭā‘if, where I stayed. When the Ṭā‘if delegation left to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and to accept Islam, I didn’t know what to do. I told people, ‘I’ll go to Syria or Yemen or some other country!’ I was in this state of indecision and anxiety when

6. Ibn Hishām adds the comment to Ibn Ishāq’s account that the word stands for “a kind of bird inclining to black in colour”. See Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.753.

someone told me, 'Come on now! I swear, he'll not kill anyone who has adopted his religion and testified to the truth.'

"“When he told me that, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, surprising him by standing before him and speaking the testimony of the truth.

"“When he saw me, he asked, ‘Are you Waḥshī?’ I replied, ‘Yes, O Messenger of God.’ He then said, ‘Sit down and relate to me how you killed Ḥamza.’

"“So I related it as I did to you both. When I finished my account, he said, ‘Remove your face from me; I’ll not see you!’

"“So I used to avoid the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wherever he might be so that he would not see me, and eventually God, Almighty and Glorious is He, took him to Himself.’

"“When the Muslim force went to war against that liar Musaylima,⁷ who controlled Yemen, I accompanied them, taking the spear with which I killed Ḥamza. When the forces met, I saw Musaylima standing sword in hand, though I didn’t then know for sure the man was him. I prepared to attack him, as did another Muslim, an *anṣārī*, coming from the other side. Each of us was heading for him. I steadied my spear until I felt good about it and then let it loose at him. It pierced him. The *anṣārī* then attacked him with his sword. So God alone knows which of us killed him. If it was I who killed him, then I killed the best of men after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and also killed the worst of them!””

I note that the *anṣārī* was Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharasha.

Al-Waqidī stated in his account of *al-ridda*, “the apostasy wars”, as follows: ‘He was ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. ‘Āṣim al-Māzinī. Sayf b. ‘Amr stated, ‘He was ‘Adī b. Sahl. And it was he who spoke the verses,

“Do you not know that it was I and their Waḥshī, who killed Musaylima, who sowed dissension.

People ask me about his death and I reply, ‘I struck and he pierced!’””

What is well known is that it was Waḥshī who struck him when he attacked and that Abū Dujāna finished him off when wounded. This is because of what Ibn Ishāq related, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, “I heard someone shout out at the battle of Yamāma, ‘It was the black slave who killed him!’”

Al-Bukhārī related the story of the killing of Ḥamza through ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Salāma al-Mājishawn, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Ja‘far b. ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. He said, “I went forth to battle with ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Adī b. al-Khiyār.” And he then related the incident as given above. He recalled that ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Adī was wearing a

7. A self-styled prophet of Yemen whose Banū Ḥanifa forces were defeated by the Caliph Abū Bakr’s army under Khālīd b. al-Walīd at ‘Aqrabā’ in 12 AH.

turban, and that all Waḥshī could see of him was his eyes and his feet. And he related as above from his knowledge of him.

This was a great piece of detection, comparable to Mujazziz al-Mudliji's noticing a similarity in the feet of Zayd to those of his son Usāma despite the difference in their complexions.

He (al-Bukhārī) quoted Waḥshī as saying, "When the men were lined up for battle, Sibā went out and said, 'Will someone accept my challenge?' Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came forward and answered, 'So Sibā, it's you, son of Umm Anmar, the woman who does circumcisions! Do you challenge God and His messenger?' He then attacked him and it was all over for Sibā."

Waḥshī continued, "I was lying in wait for Ḥamza beneath a rock. When he came close to me I hurled my spear at him and it hit him beneath the navel and emerged between his thighs. And that was the end of him."

His account continued until he said, "And when God took the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) unto Himself and the pretender Musaylima appeared, I said, 'I'll go out after Musaylima in hopes of killing him to atone for Ḥamza.' So I did go forth with our force and the warfare progressed. Then I saw a man standing in a gap in a wall, looking like an enormous camel, rearing its head. I hurled my spear at him; it struck him in the middle of the chest and emerged between his shoulders. Then one of the Helpers charged at him and struck him with his sword on the top of his head."

'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl stated, "Sulaymān b. Yasār related to me that he heard 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar say, 'A girl at the back of the house screamed, 'The Commander of the Faithful! The black slave killed him!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "I have heard that Waḥshī continued being punished for abuse of wine until he was eventually removed from the pension list. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say, 'I always said God would not leave Ḥamza's killer unpunished!'"

I note that Waḥshī b. Ḥarb, Abū Dasma, known as Abū Ḥarb, died in Ḥims; he was the first person to wear his clothes *madlūka*, rubbed clean and hand-pressed.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr fought on, protecting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he was killed. It was Ibn Qamṭa al-Laythī who killed him, thinking that Muṣ'ab was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He went back to Quraysh and announced, 'I have killed Muḥammad!'"

I note that Mūsā b. 'Uqba recounted in his work on the military expeditions, quoting Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, to the effect that the man who killed Muṣ'ab was Ubayy b. Khalaf. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr was killed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the banner into the charge of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, "The banner was first with 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw that 'Abd al-Dār had

charge of the polytheists' banner, he said, 'We have a greater right to their allegiance than they do!' He then took the banner away from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and gave it to Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr. When Muṣ'ab was killed, he awarded the banner again to 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and Muslim warriors fought the enemy."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Maslama b. 'Alqama al-Māzinī related to me, 'When the fighting grew fierce at the battle of Uhūd, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat beneath the standard of the *anṣār* and sent a message to 'Alī, saying, "Bring the banner forward!" 'Alī went forward, shouting, "I am Abū al-Qaṣm!" Abū Sa'd b. Abū Ṭalḥa, he being the standard bearer of the polytheists, called back, "Will you accept single combat, Abū al-Qaṣm?" "Yes," he replied. So they both went forth between the opposing sides and exchanged two blows. Then 'Alī struck him down, but left without killing him off.

"Some of the men asked him, "Why didn't you finish him off?" He replied, "He exposed his private parts to me and I had pity on him because of our ties of kinship. And I knew that God had condemned him to death."'"

'Alī himself, may God be pleased with him, did this at the battle of Ṣiffin. When Busr b. Abū Arṭāt came up to kill him, he exposed himself to him and Busr withdrew from him.

'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ acted similarly when 'Alī came over to kill him in one of the battles at Ṣiffin; he exposed himself and 'Alī withdrew. On this subject al-Hārith b. al-Naḍr spoke the following verses:

"Is there at every battle a knight not yet expired,
with his private parts visible amidst the dust?

Because of this 'Alī holds back his spearhead, and
Mu'āwiya secretly scoffs at this!"

Yūnus related, from Ibn Ishāq, that Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-ʿAbdarī, standard bearer of the polytheists that day, made a challenge for single combat, but the men held back from him. Then al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām went out to him and leapt up on to his camel with him. He then hurled him down from it on to the ground and killed him with his sword. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praised him, saying, "Every prophet has his disciple, and my disciple is al-Zubayr."

He then said, "If he had not gone out to fight him, I would have done so myself, having seen how everyone held back!"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ killed Abū Sa'd b. Abū Ṭalḥa.

"Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ fought and killed Nāfi' b. Abū Ṭalḥa and his brother al-Ḥallās with arrows. One went to their mother Sulāfa and laid his head in her lap. She asked, 'Who was it shot you, son?' He replied, 'As he shot me, I heard a man say, "Take that; I'm Ibn Abū al-Aqlaḥ!"' She then swore that if God gave her 'Āṣim's head, she would drink wine from it."

ʿĀṣim had sworn to God that he would never touch a polytheist or have one touch him. That is why God protected him at the battle of al-Rajīʿ, as will be related hereafter.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ḥanzala b. Abū ʿĀmir met in battle with Abū Sufyān Sakhr b. Ḥarb. Ḥanzala was known as ʿAmr; he was also known as ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Ṣayfī. His father, Abū ʿĀmir, was known in the *jāhiliyya*, as 'the monk', because he prayed so much. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him 'the sinner' since he opposed the truth and those believing in it and fled from Medina abandoning Islam and in opposition to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ḥanzala was also known as *al-ghasil*, 'the washed one', since he was washed by the angels, as will be related.

"When Ḥanzala bested Abū Sufyān, Shaddād b. al-Aws, known as Ibn Shaʿūb, saw this and struck Ḥanzala down, killing him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Your friend is being washed by the angels in heaven; ask his family about his circumstances.'

"So they did ask his wife. According to al-Wāqidi, she was Jamila, daughter of Ubayy b. Sallūl; she had become his bride that night."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "She replied, 'When he went forth on hearing the call to arms, he was in a state of ritual impurity.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'And so the angels washed him.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that his father struck him in the chest with his foot and said, "Two sins you committed. I forbid you this fate of yours. And, by God, now you've achieved mercy, thanks to your father!"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ibn Shaʿūb recited on this subject,

'I guard my companion and myself with a thrust like a flash of sunlight.'

Ibn Shaʿūb spoke the verse,

"Were it not for my defence, Ibn Ḥarb, and my presence,
you would have been unresponsive at the mountain-slope
battle.

And had I not brought the colt back to the hilltop,
hyenas or jackals would have devoured it."

Abū Sufyān spoke the verses,

"Had I wished, my red-black swift-footed horse would
have saved me and I would bear no debt of thanks to Ibn
Shaʿūb.

And my colt would have stayed a safe distance from
them, that morning and on till dusk,

While I fought them, crying, 'Hail to the victor!'
fending them off with a stout arm.

Weep on, caring not for how others rebuke you, nor tire
of your tears and sighs,

For your father and his brothers who have passed away;
their fate deserves tears.

I am relieved of my earlier pain, now that I have
killed all the great chiefs of Banū al-Najjār,

And a fine leader of Hāshim, and Muṣ'ab too, a man who
was never timid in the fray.

Had I not relieved my mind by killing them, my heart
would have been hurt and scarred.

They withdrew, their *jalābiḥ*⁸ now dead, their wounds
gaping and oozing blood,

Struck down by men not equal to them either in descent
or in rank."

Ḥassān b. Thābit answered him with the verses,

"You mention the fine leaders of Banū Hāshim, and here
you are stating no lie.

Are you pleased at having struck down Ḥamza, a great
chief, as you yourself said,

And did they not kill 'Amr, and 'Utba and his son,
along with Shayba, al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Ḥabīb,

That morning when al-'Āṣī challenged 'Alī and he scared
him with the blow of a blood-stained sword?"

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Then God sent down victory for the Muslims, fulfilling his promise to them. They massacred them with swords, ultimately cutting them off from their camp. The enemy's defeat was indisputable.

"Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father 'Abbād, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from al-Zubayr, who said, 'I swear, I remember seeing the legs of Hind, daughter of 'Utba and her companions, their clothing tucked up as they fled. Almost nothing prevented them being captured when the archers turned away to the camp after we had blocked the enemy from reaching it. But this meant we had left our rear open to the cavalry, and they came at us from behind. Someone yelled, "Muḥammad has been killed!" So we turned back, the enemy reeling back on us too, after we had killed their standard bearers, preventing any of them from approaching it.

"And a scholar in the traditions told me that their standard remained down until 'Amra, daughter of 'Alqama, the Ḥārith woman, raised it again for Quraysh, and so they rallied back around it. The banner had been in the charge of Sawāb, an Abyssinian slave of Banū Abū Ṭalḥa. He was the last of them to take it; he fought on with it until his hands were cut off. He then crouched down

8. Guillaume offers an interesting discussion of this word. Normally meaning "leather smock", it seems here to have a pejorative sense of "vagabond" or "tramp". See *op. cit.* p.378.

over it, holding the banner between his neck and chest. He was killed right over it, and as he died, he said, "O God, have I 'azartu" (for 'adhartu, improperly pronouncing the dh sound) that is, 'Am I absolved?'"

"Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this:

'You were proud of your flag, yet poor pride it was to
give it over to Ṣawāb

You entrusted your pride in it to a slave, grovelling
in the dust on the ground

You thought – and a fool too has thoughts – though
rarely does he get them straight

That fighting us would be as when we would meet in
Mecca, with you selling us red leather bags.

It pleased us well when his hands turned red, though it
was not dye that made them so.'

"Ḥassān also spoke the verses that follow regarding how it was 'Amra, daughter of 'Alqama, who raised their banner for them:

'When the 'Adl were led to us, like gazelles of Shirk,
their eyebrows prominent,

We set at them, thrusting at them from all sides,
destroying, punishing and aggrieving them,

Were it not for the woman of al-Ḥārith having taken
their banner, they would have been sold in the markets
like slaves.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Muslim ranks broke and the enemy gained advantage over them. It was a day of trial and testing in which God honoured some with martyrdom. At last the enemy broke through to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was hit with a rock and fell on his side, breaking his front teeth, slashing his face and splitting his lip. The man who struck him was 'Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ.

"Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The front tooth of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was broken at the battle of Uḥud, and he was slashed in the face. Wiping off the blood, he said, "How could any people prosper who would bloody the face of their prophet while he invites them to come to God?" And so God sent down the verse: "You have no say in the matter; He may indeed forgive them or punish them (though) they are wrongdoers""' (sūrat *Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.127).

Ibn Jarīr stated in his history, "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn related to us, as did Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl, as did Asbāt, from al-Suddī, who said, 'Ibn Qamī'a al-Ḥārithi came up and cast a rock at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) which broke his nose and his front teeth, gashed his face and knocked him over. His Companions then scattered away from him, some going back to Medina and others climbing up the mountain to al-Ṣakhra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began calling out to

everyone, "Come to me, servants of God! Come to me, servants of God!" Thirty men did gather around him, then began moving out ahead of him, only Ṭalḥa and Sahl b. Ḥanīf staying. Ṭalḥa shielded him and was struck by an arrow in his hand that became paralysed. Ubayy b. Khalaf al-Jumāḥī then approached; he had sworn to kill the Prophet (ṢAAS). He said, "I really will kill him!" He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) responded, "You liar! Where will you hide?" Ubayy then attacked, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) pierced him through the chain-mail over his chest and Ubayy was slightly injured. He fell, bellowing like a steer and they carried him off, telling him, "You've not been badly wounded; what is upsetting you so?" He replied, "Didn't he say, 'I shall certainly kill you!' If all Rabī'a and Muḍar had assembled, he would have killed them!" And it was only a day or so thereafter that Ubayy did die of that wound.

"Word spread that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been killed. Some of those up at al-Ṣakhra said, "We'd better send an envoy to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and have him get us a truce from Abū Sufyān. People! Muḥammad has been killed! Go back home before they get to you and kill you!"

"Anas b. al-Naḍr responded, "People; even if Muḥammad has been killed, Muḥammad's God has not. Fight on for what Muḥammad (ṢAAS) strived for. O God, I apologize to You and seek Your forgiveness for what these people have said." He then gripped his sword and fought valiantly until he was killed.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) hurried off to summon his men and reached those at al-Ṣakhra. When they saw him coming, one of them put an arrow to his bow to shoot, but he called out, "I'm the Messenger of God!" They were overjoyed to see him and he too was delighted to have found some of his men to protect him. When they gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) their depression lifted, and they advanced, talking of victory, how it had escaped them and making mention of their comrades who had been killed.

"And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the following verse about these men who had said, "Muḥammad is dead! So go back to your people!" It was: "Muḥammad is only a messenger, and messengers have passed away before him" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.144).

"Abū Sufyān then advanced and took a position where he could look down upon them. When the men looked up at him, they forgot their enthusiasm and Abū Sufyān became their sole concern. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, "It must not be that they overcome us: O God, if this group of men are killed, then You will not be worshipped on earth." His Companions then repented and hurled rocks at the enemy until they forced them down.

"Abū Sufyān said on that day, "Raise up Hubal! Ḥanzala for Ḥanzala! The battle of Uḥud for the battle of Badr!"

He then went on to relate the rest of the story. This account is very strange and objectionable in part.

Ibn Hishām stated, “Rubayḥ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Sa‘īd claimed, quoting his father, from Abū Sa‘īd, that it was ‘Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ who shot at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), breaking his lower right incisor and damaging his lower lip. He stated further that ‘Abd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhri wounded his forehead, and that ‘Abd Allāh b. Qamḥa cut open his cheek, making two rings of his chain-mail helmet pierce it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then fell into one of the pits Abū ‘Āmir had prepared for the Muslims. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib took him by the hand and Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh raised him up till he could stand straight. Mālik b. Sinān, the father of Abū Sa‘īd, sucked the blood from the cheek of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and swallowed it. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) then said, ‘Whoever has had his own blood touch mine will not be touched by hell-fire.’”

I comment here that Qatāda related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lost consciousness when he fell on his side. He stated that Sālim, freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfa, went over to him, sat him down and wiped the blood from his face. As he came to, he said, “How could any people succeed who have done this to their prophet while he invited them to come to God?” And so God revealed, “It is not your business” (*sūrat Āl ‘Imrān*; III, v.127).

Ibn Jarīr gave this tradition, incomplete in its line of transmission; discussion of this will come later, separately.

I would comment that early in the day the Muslims had the upper hand over the unbelievers. As God Almighty stated, “God certainly made good to you His promise when you killed them by His leave, until you failed and disputed about what to do and were disobedient after He had demonstrated to you what you liked. Some among you desire this world, while others of you desire the next. He then put you to flight before them, to test you all. And He has now forgiven you; God is generous to believers. Remember when you went rushing up the hill, while the Messenger called you from your rear. And so He exchanged for you one sorrow for another” (*sūrat Āl ‘Imrān*; III, v.151, 2).

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Sulaymān b. Dā‘ūd related to us, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Zinād informed us, from his father, from ‘Ubayd Allāh, who quoted Ibn ‘Abbās as saying, ‘God never had a victory anywhere as He did at Uḥud.’

“He (‘Ubayd Allāh) said, ‘We contradicted this’, and Ibn ‘Abbās responded, ‘The Book of God stands between me and anyone contradicting that. God states about Uḥud, ‘God certainly made good to you His promise when you killed them by His leave.’” Ibn ‘Abbās then said, ‘In this text the word *al-ḥass* means “killing”. The text continues, “... until you failed” and so on till the words, “... and He has forgiven you; God is generous to believers.” By this he was referring to the archers. This is because the Prophet (ṢAAS) placed them in a position and said, “Protect our backs. If you see us being killed, don’t come to our aid. And if you see us winning, don’t join us.”

"But when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was winning and laid open the polytheists' camp, all the archers lost control of themselves and went in for plunder; the ranks of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then met up with them and intermingled with them in confusion.

"When the archers left the position they had had, the enemy cavalry attacked the men of the Prophet (ṢAAS) from that spot. The forces engaged in a general confused mêlée, and many of the Muslims were killed. The battle had gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) early in the day, to the point where seven or nine of the standard-bearers of the polytheists had been killed. The Muslims went on, making a circuit towards the mountain; they did not reach the place where people say is the cave, which was beneath the large hollowed-out rock.

"Then Satan shouted, 'Muḥammad has been killed!' It was not doubted that this was true. And we went on believing that this was so until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appeared amidst a group of men of Banū Sa'd; we recognized him from the distinctive way he walked. We were so overjoyed that it was as if we had not suffered what we had. As he approached us, he was saying, 'God will be extremely angry with a people who have bloodied the face of the Messenger of God!' He also said, 'O God, it must not be that they overcome us!'

"Eventually he reached us and stayed awhile. Then Abū Sufyān lower down on the mountain began shouting, 'Raise up Hubal! Raise up Hubal!' His reference was to his god. (He also shouted), 'And where is Abū Kabsha's son? And where is Abū Quḥāfa's son? Where is al-Khaṭṭāb's son?'

"At this, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) 'Shouldn't I answer him back?' 'You should,' the latter replied. And so when Abū Sufyān next said, 'Raise up Hubal!' 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb responded, 'God is far higher and more Glorious!' Abū Sufyān then said, 'Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the war has favoured us. Give it up!'

"He then said, 'And where is the son of Abū Kabsha? Where is Abū Quḥāfa's son? And where is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?' 'Umar responded, 'This, here, is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this, here, is Abū Bakr. And here am I, 'Umar.'

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'A battle for that of Badr. Battles move in cycles. Warfare has its ups and downs.' 'Umar replied, 'They're not equivalent. Our dead are in heaven, yours in hell!'

"He responded, 'That's what you claim! If that were indeed so, then it is we who have failed and lost!' Abū Sufyān went on to say, 'Regarding your discovery of some mutilated bodies among your dead, this was not from a decision of our leadership.' But then his pagan fanaticism got the better of him, and he said, 'However, if we had deliberated the matter, we might well not have decided against it!'"

Ibn Abū Ḥatīm related this, as did al-Ḥākim in his compendium. Al-Bayhaqī related it in his *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Ḥāshimī.

This *ḥadīth* is *gharib*, "unilateral". It is one of the incomplete traditions ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās. A variety of authorities testify to it, and we will quote those we can, if God wills it. And in Him is all trust, upon Him all reliance. It is He to whom one goes for help.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', who said, "It was on that day that we met the enemy in battle. The Prophet (ṢAAS) positioned a contingent of archers, placing 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr in charge of them, and telling them, 'Don't leave here; if you see us defeat them, don't leave. And if you see them defeat us, don't come to our aid.'

"When we met the enemy in battle, they fled in such disorder that I saw their women scurrying up into the mountains raising their legs and exposing their ankles. Our troops began calling for plunder, but 'Abd Allāh replied, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) charged me not to let you leave.' But they rejected this and no sooner had they done so than they became completely confused.

"70 men were killed and then there was Abū Sufyān looking down on us and asking, 'Is Muḥammad there among the men?' He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) told us not to respond. Abū Sufyān then demanded, 'And is the son of Abū Quḥāfa among you?' Again he told us not to reply. Now Abū Sufyān asked, 'Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb there?' He then commented, 'Well, these men have been killed; if they were alive, they would have responded.'

"'Umar could no longer contain himself. He shouted, 'You lie, you enemy of God! May God give you lasting torment!'

"Abū Sufyān now said, 'Raise up Hubal!' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Now give him an answer!' 'What should we say?' the men asked. He replied, 'Say: God is far higher and more Glorious!'

"Abū Sufyān responded, 'Consolation is ours; you have none.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) told them, 'Answer him back!' 'What should we say?' they asked. He replied, 'Say, "God is our master, but you have no master."' "

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'A battle for the battle of Badr. Warfare goes in cycles. And you will find some bodies mutilated. We did not order that, but it doesn't bother me.' "

And this is one of the traditions that al-Bukhārī includes, but Muslim does not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mūsā related to him, as did Zuhayr and Abū Ishāq, that al-Barā' b. 'Āzib said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr over the archers, who were 50 men in all, at the battle of Uḥud. He positioned them in a particular site and told them, 'If you see the vultures flying off with us don't leave until I send you a message. If you see us victorious over the enemy and trampling them underfoot, don't leave until I send you a message.'

"Our forces defeated them and, I swear by God, I saw their women scurrying up the mountain, their ankles and legs exposed as they raised their garments.

"The men under 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr asked, 'The plunder! Let's go for the booty, men! Your troops have won, so what do you think?'"

"'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr replied, 'Have you forgotten what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said?' They replied, 'By God, we should go and join our forces and get some of the booty.'

"And when they did join them, everyone became confused and they suffered a defeat and went on ahead, while the Messenger (ṢAAS) called at them from behind.

"Only 12 men were left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 70 of our men were struck down; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his forces had taken out 140 of the enemy at Badr, 70 being killed and 70 being taken prisoner.

"Abū Sufyān then asked, 'Is Muḥammad among the men?' He said this three times, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them not to respond.

"Then he said, 'Is the son of Abū Quḥāfa among the men? Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb there?' He then went forward to his own force and said, 'Those people have been killed; you have requited them.'

"Umar could not restrain himself from saying, 'You lie, you enemy of God. Those you enumerated are all alive. And the living will bring your harm!'

"Abū Sufyān commented, 'A battle for the battle of Badr! Warfare goes in cycles. And you will find some bodies mutilated. We did not order that, but it doesn't bother me.'

"He then began chanting, 'Raise up, Hubal! Raise up, Hubal!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked his men, 'Aren't you going to respond to him?' 'But Messenger of God,' they asked, 'what should we respond?' He told them, 'Say: "God is far higher and more Glorious!"'

"Abū Sufyān then commented, 'We have consolation, not you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'Won't you respond to him?' They asked, 'What should we respond, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'Say: "God is our master and you have no master."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in abbreviated form from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr, he being Mu'āwiyya's son, in abbreviated form. His version has been related above through Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Thābit and 'Alī b. Zayd, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that when the polytheists overwhelmed the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was in the company of seven of the *anṣār* and one man of Quraysh, he said, "Whoever will repel them from us will be my companion in paradise!" At this, one of the *anṣār* came up and did battle until he was killed.

The account goes on that when they next overwhelmed him, he again said, "Whoever will repel them will be my companion in paradise!" And eventually all seven were killed.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Our forces have not treated us fairly."

Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khālid, from an account of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, giving his chain of transmission from 'Umāra b. Ghaziyya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, "The men fled in defeat away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the battle of Uhūd. Eleven of the *anṣār* and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh remained with him as he climbed on up the mountain, but the polytheists caught up with them. The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'You stay where you are,' he told him. One of the *anṣār* then said, 'I will, Messenger of God!' and he fought hard in defence of him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) climbed up higher, along with those men remaining with him. Then the *anṣārī* was killed and the enemy again caught up with them. Again the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa responded as before and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said as before. Another of the *anṣār* then said, 'I will, Messenger of God!' And he fought on while his companions went on up. Eventually he was killed, and the polytheists caught up with them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on saying as he had the first time, with Ṭalḥa always volunteering, but being restrained, and another of the *anṣār* asking permission to do battle. He would be permitted to do so and would fight on as had those before him.

"Eventually only Ṭalḥa was left with him. The enemy was again attacking them, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked once more, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa responded that he would and he fought on as had all those before him. He was injured in his fingertips and called out in pain. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'If you had called out the words, 'In God's name!' the angels would have raised you up while everyone looked on at you, until they carried you right on up into the air of heaven.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then climbed up to join his men who were gathered there."

Al-Bukhārī related, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Shayba, from Wakī', from Ismā'īl, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who stated, "I saw Ṭalḥa's hand to be a stump, and with it he defended the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the battle of Uhūd."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. Ismā'īl, from Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, from Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī, who said, "During some of those days when he engaged in battle, no one remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), except Ṭalḥa and Sa'd, according to their accounts."

Al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa stated that it was related to him by Marwān b. Mu'āwiyya, from Hāshim b. Hāshim al-Sa'dī, who said, "I heard Sa'd b. al-Muṣayyab say, 'I heard Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ state, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took the arrows out of his quiver for me at the battle of Uhūd and said, 'Shoot, may my father and mother be your ransom!'"'"

Al-Bukhārī derived this *ḥadīth* from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from Marwān.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, there is a *ḥadīth* traced from 'Abd Allāh b. Shaddād who quoted 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib as follows, "I never heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) swear by both his parents to anyone except Sa'd b. Mālik. At Uḥud I heard him say, 'Sa'd, shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom!'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that it was related to him by a member of Sa'd's family, Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās., that at Uḥud he shot his arrows from directly in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Sa'd said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom!' He even handed me arrows without points, saying, 'Shoot with this!'"

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, from his father, from his grandfather, that Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās said, "At the battle of Uḥud I saw to the right and to the left of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) two men dressed in white who were fighting fiercely; I never saw them before that, and I never saw them thereafter." He was referring to Gabriel and to Michael, peace be upon them both.

Aḥmad stated, "Affān related to us and Thābit recounted to us, from Anas, that at the battle of Uḥud Abū Ṭalḥa was shooting from directly in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was shielding himself behind him. As he shot, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would raise himself up to see where the arrows would strike. At this Abū Ṭalḥa would say, as he brought his chest up to its full height, 'Let it be so, may my father and my mother be your ransom, Messenger of God; no arrow will hit you. My chest will be in the way of yours.' Abū Ṭalḥa would position himself directly before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and say, 'I am sturdy, Messenger of God. Direct me according to your needs and order me to do whatever you want.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Ma'mar – 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr al-'Aqdī, that is – related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz (b. Suhayb), from Anas, who said, "When the battle of Uḥud occurred the men fled in defeat away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Meanwhile Abū Ṭalḥa was directly in front of him, protecting him with a leather shield he had. Abū Ṭalḥa was a marksman and a very vigorous man who broke two or three bows that day. As the man with the leather bag of arrows would pass, he (the Prophet) would say, 'Hand them over to Abū Ṭalḥa.'"

He went on, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) would rise up to observe the enemy and Abū Ṭalḥa would say, 'May my father and mother be your ransom! Don't stand up! An enemy arrow may strike you. My body shields yours.' And I saw 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr, and Umm Sulaym with their garments tucked up so that I could see their anklets, carrying water containers on their backs that they would empty into the mouths of the troops, return to refill them and empty them as before. The sword fell from the hands of Abū Ṭalḥa twice or thrice."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Khalifa told me, 'Yazīd b. Zarī' related to us, quoting Sa'īd, from Qatāda, from Anas, from Abū Ṭalḥa, who said, "I was one of those

overcome by lassitude at the battle of Uḥud, so that my sword kept falling from my hands. It would fall and I would pick it up once more.””

Al-Bukhārī reported it thus, along with an affirmative commentary. In testimonial of this there are the words of God Almighty, “Then He sent down upon you, after sorrow, a sense of security, a lassitude overcoming a group of you. Another group had been made anxious by themselves; they have incorrect thoughts about God, thoughts of ignorance, saying, ‘Does the matter affect us at all?’ Say: ‘The entire matter is in God’s hands.’ They conceal within their souls what they would not reveal to you. They say, ‘Had we had any hand in this, we would not have been killed here.’ Say: ‘Even if you had stayed at home, those destined for being killed would still have gone forth to the places where they died. And so that God would test what was in your hearts and that He might purge what was in your hearts. And God knows what is inside one’s heart. Those of you who retreated on the day the two forces met were merely induced by Satan who made them slip on account of some things they had done. God, however, has pardoned them, for God is Forgiving, Merciful” (*sūrat Āl ‘Imrān*; III, v.153, 4).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abdān – ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān al-Marwazī – related to him, quoting Abū Ḥamza, from ‘Uthmān b. Mawhab, who said, “A man arrived to make the pilgrimage to the *ka’ba*. He saw a group seated and asked, ‘Who are those people seated?’ He (‘Uthmān b. Mawhab) replied, ‘They are men of Quraysh’ The man then asked, ‘And who is the sheikh, the elder?’ ‘He’s Ibn ‘Umar,’ they told him. The man then went over to him and said, ‘I’d like to have you respond to something I ask you. Please, I charge you by the sanctity of this place, do you know if ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān fled from the battle of Uḥud?’ ‘Yes,’ the sheikh replied. The man asked, ‘And do you know him to have been absent from Badr, and not to have witnessed it?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. ‘And do you know that he missed the *bay‘at al-riḍwān*, “the pledge of willingness”, and did not witness it?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied again. The man then, in satisfaction, affirmed the greatness of God.

“Ibn ‘Umar then said, ‘Come on over so I can tell you more, and explain more about what you asked me. Regarding his fleeing at Uḥud, I bear witness that God forgave him. Regarding his absence from Badr, his wife was the daughter of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and she was ill. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘You will receive the same full share of the spoils as a man who was present at Badr.’

“Regarding his absence from the *bay‘at al-riḍwān*, if there had been anyone more respected in the valley of Mecca than ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, he would have sent him in his place. The *bay‘at al-riḍwān* took place after ‘Uthmān had gone to Mecca. And the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, referring to his right hand, ‘This is ‘Uthmān’s hand.’ He then clasped it to his other hand, saying, ‘This is for ‘Uthmān.’

“‘Now take this information away with you,’ Ibn ‘Umar told him.”

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another place. Al-Tirmidhī's *ḥadīth* has a chain of authorities from Abū 'Awāna, from 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mawhab.

Al-Umawī, in his military chronicle, quoted Ibn Ishāq as saying, "Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād related to me, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, on the occasion when his men had fled in defeat away from him, some of them going as far as the sandy hillock below al-A'was, while 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Sa'd b. 'Uthmān, one of the *anṣār*, had fled and reached al-Jal'ab, a mountain near Medina, adjoining al-A'was. They stayed three nights there, then returned. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'You went there by chance.'"

All this shows that at Uḥud some of the same things happened as at Badr. One such is the occurrence of the *nu'ās*, the lassitude, amidst the warfare. This is an indication of their security of mind in God's help, and the totality of their reliance upon their Creator and Exculpator.

Comment has been previously made concerning the words of God Almighty concerning the expedition to Badr: "When He made lassitude overcome you as a security from Him" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11). Regarding Uḥud, He stated, "Then He sent down upon you, after sorrow, a sense of security, a lassitude overcoming a group of you" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.153). The reference here is to the perfect Muslims. As Ibn Mas'ūd and others of the early authorities stated, "Lassitude in war stems from faith, while lassitude in prayer stems from hypocrisy. This is why God stated thereafter, 'another group had been made anxious by themselves'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.11). And another similarity is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appealed for help at Uḥud as he had at Badr, saying, "If it is Your wish, You will no longer be worshipped on earth."

As Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Ṣamad and 'Affān both related to us, as follows, 'Ḥammād related to us, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of Uḥud, 'O God, if it is Your wish, You will no longer be worshipped on earth.'"

Muslim related it from Ḥajjāj b. al-Shā'ir, from 'Abd al-Ṣamad, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from 'Amr, who heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "At the battle of Uḥud a man said to the Prophet (ṢAAS) 'If I am killed, where will I then be?' 'In heaven,' he replied. Thereupon the man threw the dates out of his hand and fought until he was killed."

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna.

And this is similar to the story of 'Umayr b. al-Humām, which is given above relating to the expedition to Badr. May God be pleased with both these authorities.

Section: Concerning the treatment received that day by the Prophet (ṢAAS) from the polytheists, God damn them!

Al-Bukhārī gives a section entitled: "On the injuries done to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the battle of Uḥud."

He went on, "Ishāq b. Naṣr related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Hammām b. Munabbih, who heard Abū Hurayra say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The wrath of God is great towards those who did this' (pointing to his lower teeth) 'to His prophet. Great is God's wrath towards a man whom the Messenger of God kills in God's cause!'"

Muslim related this through 'Abd al-Razzāq. Makhlad b. Mālik related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawī, quoting Ibn Jurayj from 'Amr b. Dinār, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Great was the wrath of God against those whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed in God's cause. Great was the wrath of God against a people who bloodied the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

(Imām) Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of Uḥud as he wiped the blood from his face, "How could any people prosper who struck their prophet and broke his front teeth while he called people to God?" And God sent down, "It is not your business whether He forgives them or punishes them; they are wrong-doers" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.127).

Muslim related this from al-Qa'nabī, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Hushaym and Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had his front teeth broken and was struck in the face so that his blood flowed, and that he said, "How could a people prosper who did this to their prophet while he was calling them to their Lord?" And so God Almighty sent down, "It is not your business" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.127).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ya'qūb, from Abū Ḥāzim, who heard Sahl b. Sa'īd being asked about the injuries suffered by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He said, "I swear by God, I certainly do know who it was who washed the wounds of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who poured the water and with what he was treated. Fāṭima, his daughter washed him, and 'Alī poured the water from a shield. When Fāṭima saw that the water was only increasing the blood flow, she took a piece of matting, set fire to it, then attached it to the wound; the blood ceased flowing. And his front tooth was broken that day, his face was wounded, and his helmet was crushed on to his head."

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated in his *Musnad ḥadīth* collection, that Ibn al-Mubārak related to him, from Ishāq, from Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh quoting 'Isā b. Ṭalḥa from 'Ā'isha, *umm al-mu'minin*, the "mother of the believers", as having stated, "Abū Bakr would say, regarding Uḥud, 'All credit that day was due to Ṭalḥa!' He then would relate as follows, 'I was the first one to return. I saw a man fighting hard in front of him in God's cause. I saw him shout, 'To the defence!'"

I responded, "(Let it) be Ṭalḥa!" having lost track of things. Then I told myself, "I hope he is someone from my own people." Between myself and the polytheists there was a man I did not know. I was closer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than he was, but he walked faster than I did. Then I saw him to be Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. When we reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) his front teeth had been broken and his face had been gashed. Two links from the chain-mail of his helmet had pierced his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Both of you, take care of your companion!" meaning Ṭalḥa. He was bleeding profusely, but we disregarded his words."

He went on, "I went over to pull it out of his face, but he (Abū 'Ubayda) said, "I insist on my right of you letting me do it." I left him to do it, but he was reluctant to take it in his hand and so hurt the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). So he put his mouth over it and drew out a link, one of the front teeth falling with it. I then went over to do as he had, but he said again, "I insist on my right of you letting me do it." He then did as he had before and the other tooth dropped along with the link. It turned out that Abū 'Ubayda was great at tooth extraction!

"Having treated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) we then went over to Ṭalḥa who was in one of the pits there. He had some 70 wounds, including spear thrusts, arrow wounds and cuts. His fingers had been sliced off. We gave him treatment."

Al-Wāqidi recounted, from the son of Abū Sabra, from Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from Nāfi' b. Jubayr, who said, "I heard one of the *muhājirīn* saying, 'I was present at Uhud and saw the arrows coming in from all directions, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) right in their middle, but all of them were diverted from him. And I saw 'Abd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhri that day as he said, "Direct me to Muḥammad; I'll not survive if he does." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was right there at his side, with no one else with him. He went on past and Ṣafwān b. Umayya criticized him for that. 'Abd Allāh responded, "By God, I didn't see him! I swear by God, he is forbidden to us. There were four of us who agreed together and made a pact to kill him, but we couldn't get to him."'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "In my opinion, it is well established that it was Ibn Qamī'a who shot the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the cheek and 'Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ who hit him in the lip and struck his lower teeth."

An account similar to this has been given above from Ibn Ishāq; it states that his front tooth that was broken was his lower left incisor.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Ṣālīḥ b. Kaysān related to him, from someone who related it to him, on the authority of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, who said, "I was never more determined to kill anyone than I was to kill 'Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ; I knew him to be a man of evil character and hated by his people. And the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was enough for me – that 'Great is God's wrath against those who bloodied the face of His messenger.'"

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated that Ma‘mar related to him, from al-Zuhri, from Uthmān al-Ḥarūrī, from Miqsam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke a curse against ‘Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ when he broke his lower teeth and bloodied his face, saying, “O God, may change not come to him, so that he dies an unbeliever!”

And no change did come over him, so that he did die an unbeliever, bound for hell-fire.

Abū Sulaymān al-Jawzajānī stated, that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥarb, from his father, from Abū Umāma Sahl b. Ḥanīf, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated his face at Uḥud with a dried bone.

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, “unilateral”, and I found it in the military chronicle of al-Umawī regarding the battle of Uḥud.

When he had done injury to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘Abd Allāh b. Qamṭa went back and said, “I’ve killed Muḥammad!” And on that occasion that devil the *‘izb* of al-‘Aqaba shouted at the top of its voice, “Hear this! Muḥammad has been killed!”

Consternation spread among the Muslims. Many people believed it, and yet remained determined to fight on in defence of Islam until they died in the same way as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Anas b. al-Naḍr and others of whom mention will be made were among these.

Almighty God had sent down consolatory verses to deal with this eventuality. He had stated, “And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; messengers have passed away before him. And if he dies or is killed, will you turn on your heels? Whoever should turn on his heels will do no harm to God thereby. And God will reward the grateful. And no soul shall die except with God’s permission at a specified time. And whoever desires the rewards of this world, those We will give him; and whoever desires the rewards of the hereafter We will give him those. We will reward the grateful. And many are the prophets who have fought along with many worshippers! And they did not weaken because of what befell them in God’s cause. They neither weakened nor abased themselves. God loves those who stand firm. And what they said was merely, ‘O God of ours, forgive us our sins and our excesses! Set our feet firmly and give us victory against the disbelieving enemy!’ And so God did give them the reward of this world and the fine reward of the hereafter; God does love those who do good. O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve, they will turn you back on your heels and you will go back having lost. But God is indeed your master and He is best of all helpers. We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve for their having associated with God that for which He sent down no authority. Hell-fire shall be their abode. And terrible is the abode of the unjust!” (*sūrat Āl-‘Imrān*; III, v.143–50).

9. See above, Vol. II, pp.138 ref. “Azabb of al-‘Aqaba”.

Abū Bakr, "the trusting", made an address at the first assembly he held following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in which he said, "O my people, regarding those who worshipped Muḥammad, Muḥammad has died. Regarding those who worshipped God, God is alive and shall not die!" He then recited this verse: "And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger." He said, "It was as though the people had never heard this before, and so all, without exception, recited it thereafter."

Al-Bayhaqī related in his *Dalā'il al-Nubūwa* (*Signs of the Prophethood*), through Ibn Abū Najīh, from his father, who said, "At Uḥud, one of the *muhājirīn* passed by one of the *anṣār*, a man who was covered in his own blood, and asked him, 'Are you aware that Muḥammad has been killed?' The *anṣārī* responded, 'If Muḥammad (ṢAAS) has been killed, then he must have fulfilled his mission! So fight on for your religion!'"

"And so the verse was revealed, 'And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; messengers have passed away before him.'"

That *anṣārī* might well have been Anas b. al-Naḍr, may God be pleased with him; he was the uncle of Anas b. Mālīk.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yazīd related to us, quoting Ḥamid, from Anas, that his uncle was absent from the fighting at Badr and said, 'I was absent from the first battle fought by the Prophet (ṢAAS) against the polytheists; if God should have me witness a battle against the polytheists, I'll certainly show him what I can do!'"

"When, at the battle of Uḥud, the Muslims gave way, he said, 'O God, I apologize to you for what these men have done' – meaning his fellow fighters – 'and I declare myself innocent of what these others' – meaning the polytheists – have done against You.' He then advanced and was met before Uḥud by Sa'd b. Mu'adh. Sa'd told him, 'I am with you!' And Sa'd also said, 'But I could not do what he did.'"

"Some 80 wounds were found on him, consisting of sword cuts, spear thrusts and arrow punctures."

He went on, "We used to say that it was about him and his Companions that the verse was revealed, 'and of them there are those who fulfilled their vow; and of them there are those who wait'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23).

Al-Tirmidhī related this from 'Abd b. Ḥamid; al-Nasā'ī related it from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh; both gave Yazīd b. Hārūn as a link. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This tradition is *ḥasan*, 'good'."

I would comment that this *ḥadīth* conforms to the criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from this source.

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Bahz and Hāshim related to him that Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra quoted Thābit as having said, "Anas (b. Mālīk) stated, 'My uncle' – Hāshim gave his name as Anas b. al-Naḍr – 'was the one for whom I was named. He was not present at Badr. This fact troubled him, and so he said, 'I was absent from the first battle fought by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); if

God allows me to participate with him later in another battle, then he will certainly see what it is I can do!””

He (Anas b. Mālik) went on, “He was too much in awe to say anything different. And he was present at Uḥud with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He met up with Sa’d b. Mu’ādh, and Anas asked him, ‘Abū ‘Amr, where to? How wonderful is the fragrance of paradise I sense before Uḥud!’”

He (Anas b. Mālik) continued, “He fought them until he was killed. Some 80 wounds were found on his body – sword cuts, spear thrusts and arrow punctures. His sister, my aunt al-Rabī‘, daughter of al-Naḍr, said, ‘I only recognized my brother by his fingertips.’ And this verse was revealed, ‘and of them are those who fulfilled their vow, and of them there are those who wait – and they have not changed at all’” (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23).

He concluded, “They used to consider that this verse was revealed about him and his Companions.”

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, from Bahz b. Asad. Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā’ī related it from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak. Al-Nasā’ī added to this. Abū Dāwūd and Ḥammād b. Salama also gave it, and all four of these authorities quoted Sulaymān b. al-Mughira as a source. Al-Tirmidhī stated the tradition to be *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, “good and authentic”.

Abū al-Aswad stated, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, “Ubayy b. Khalaf, a brother of Banū Jumūh, had made an oath in Mecca that he would certainly kill the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When news of the oath reached him, he said, ‘No; I will kill him, if God wills it!’

“When it was time for the battle of Uḥud, Ubayy came forth armoured and helmeted, saying, ‘I will not live on if Muḥammad does!’ He attacked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) trying to kill him, but Muṣ’ab b. ‘Umayr, a brother of Banū ‘Abd al-Dār, met him in defence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Muṣ’ab b. ‘Umayr was killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed that Ubayy’s collarbone was visible between his helmet and his suit of chain-mail, and so he thrust him there with his spear. Ubayy fell from his horse, though no blood was coming from his wound.

“His companions came and carried him off; he was bellowing like a bull, but people told him, ‘He’s not harmed you; it’s just a scratch.’

“He then told them of what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, namely that he would kill Ubayy. He then said, ‘I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, if what afflicts me were to afflict all the people of Dhū al-Majāz, they’d all die of it!’

“And he did die and go to hell; and damned be all the denizens of hell-fire!”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba related this tradition in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhri, from Sa’d b. al-Musayyab, in similar terms.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his way up into the defile, Ubayy b. Khalaf caught up with him and said, ‘I shall not live on if you do!’

"The Muslims asked, 'O Messenger of God, should one of our men go for him?' He replied, 'Just leave him alone.'

"When Ubayy came close, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took a spear from al-Ḥārith b. al-Summa. Some people said, as I have been told, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took it from him, he shook himself so hard that they flew off away from him like a hair from the back of a camel stung by a fly! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went towards Ubayy and thrust him in the neck, so that he swayed back and forth several times, then fell from his horse."

Al-Wāqidī recounted much the same from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, from 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, from his father.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibn 'Umar used to say, "Ubayy b. Khalaf died in the Rābigh valley. I was once passing through the Rābigh valley late at night when all of a sudden flames flared up, scaring me greatly. And there was a man emerging from it, dragging a chain and with a raging thirst. Then another man said, 'Don't give him anything to drink! He was killed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this man is Ubayy b. Khalaf.'"

This *ḥadīth* is fully authenticated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, as stated above, through 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from Hammām, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Great is God's wrath against a man whom the Messenger of God kills in God's cause."

Al-Bukhārī related this through Ibn Jurayj, from 'Amr b. Dinār, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, with the wording, "Great is God's wrath against someone killed by the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in God's cause."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walid said, quoting Shu'ba, from Ibn al-Munkadir, who said, "I heard Jābir say, 'When my father was killed, I began to weep and to uncover the shroud from his face. The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped me, but he himself did not. Instead, he told me, 'Don't weep for him; the angels kept him shaded with their wings until he was raised up.'"

This tradition is related here in this form with a full chain of authorities. In the section (of his work) on funerals, he (al-Bukhārī) gives its provenance as from Bindar, from Ghundar, from Shu'ba. Muslim and al-Nasā'ī related it from various paths, all quoting Shu'ba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abdān related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Mubārak, from Shu'ba, from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, from Ibrāhīm's father, to the effect that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was brought food while he was fasting. He then said, "Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr was killed, yet he was better than me. A cloak was used as his shroud. If it was placed over his head, his feet were visible, while if his feet were covered his head was visible." He is also quoted as saying, "Ḥamza was killed, yet he was better than me, while we have been granted earthly favours." He is also quoted as saying, "Things have been given to us here on earth, and we fear that the favours have come prematurely for us." He then wept, till the food was cold.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Zuhayr and al-Aʿmash, from Shaqīq, from Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, who said, "We went forth with the Prophet (ṢAAS), seeking to work in God's cause, and reward from God was our due. Some of us passed away or left without enjoying any part of their reward. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was one of these; he was killed at the battle of Uḥud, leaving nothing but a woollen cloak. When we covered his head with it, his feet emerged. When his feet were covered with it, his head emerged. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) told us, 'Cover his head with it and place the *al-idhkār*, (an aromatic rush), over his feet. Some of us have their fruit already ripened; he is harvesting them.'"

The rest of the authorities on traditions – with the exception of Ibn Mājah – derive it through various paths from al-Aʿmash.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "When the battle of Uḥud arrived, the polytheists were being defeated. So Satan, God damn him, called out, 'Worshippers of God, look to your rear!' At this the forward lines turned around and began battling with their rear lines. Ḥudhayfa saw his father al-Yamān right there and so he shouted, 'Worshippers of God! My father!'"

ʿĀʾisha went on, "But, I swear by God they continued fighting until they had killed him. And Ḥudhayfa said, 'May God forgive them.'"

"ʿUrwa commented, 'I swear that goodwill continued on in Ḥudhayfa until he joined Almighty and Glorious God.'"

I note that the reason this happened was that al-Yamān and Thābit b. Waqsh were back in the defences with the women because of their age and debility. The two men had said, "There's no more than a donkey's life-span left for our generation." And so they had dismounted to be there at the fighting and their course had taken them over towards the polytheists. Thābit was killed by the polytheists, while al-Yamān was killed by mistake by the Muslims. Ḥudhayfa gave up his claim against the Muslims to blood money for his father and blamed none of them because of the obvious excuse for it.

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān was struck in the eye that day, so that it fell out on to his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it back in for him, using his hand; it was thereafter always the better and sharper of Qatāda's eyes."

There is a *ḥadīth* from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh that Qatāda b. al-Nuʿmān was struck in the eye at Uḥud, so that it slipped out on to his cheek. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it back in its place and it was thereafter the better and sharper of his eyes. It did not become inflamed when his other eye was so inflicted.

Al-Dārquṭnī related, with a *ḥadīth* that was *gharīb*, "unilateral", from Mālik, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ṣaṣ'a, from his father, from Abū Sa'd, from his brother Qatāda b. al-Nu'mān, who said, "Both my eyes were struck at Uhud and they fell out on to my cheeks. I went with them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he returned them both to their places. He spat into them and they regained sight."

The first version is the one generally accepted – that he was struck in the one eye. This is why, when his son presented himself to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and the latter asked him to identify himself, he replied, in verse:

"I'm the one whose father's eye slipped out on to his cheek
And it was replaced most effectively by the hand of the Chosen One.
It became again as it had been at first.
How fine an eye it became and how fine a cheek!"

Thereupon 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz responded with the line:

"Those noble qualities were not two cups of milk mixed
with water that would later change into urine!"

'Umar then welcomed him and rewarded him richly; may God be pleased with him!

Ibn Hishām stated, "Umāra's mother, Nasiba, daughter of Ka'b al-Māziniyya, fought at Uhud. Sa'd b. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī recounted that Sa'd's mother, daughter of Sa'd b. al-Rabi', used to say, "Umāra's mother came in to me and I asked her, "Aunt, tell me your story." She replied, "Early in the day I went out to see what our people were doing, bearing a water-skin filled with water. At the time I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was among his Companions, everything was going in the Muslims' favour. When the Muslims were defeated, I stood near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), engaging in the battle, defending him with my sword and shooting with my bow until I was ultimately wounded."'"

Umm Sa'd went on, "And on her shoulder I saw a deep scar, so I asked her, 'Who was it gave you this wound?' She replied, 'It was Ibn Qamī'a, God damn him! When our men deserted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he advanced, saying, "Direct me towards Muḥammad; I will not live on if he survives!" I blocked his way, along with Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr and others who stayed firm with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was then that he gave me this wound; and I struck him many times back, but that enemy of God was wearing double armour.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Dujāna shielded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with his own body. The arrows fell upon his back while Abū Dujāna leaned over him."

He continued, "Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shot from his bow until its curved frame broke. Qatāda b. al-Nu'mān then took and kept it.

"Al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rāfi' related to me, he being a brother of Banū 'Adi b. al-Najjār, as follows, 'Anas b. al-Naḍr, uncle of Anas b. Mālik, reached 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh along with some *muhājirīn* and *anṣār* who wanted to surrender. He asked them, "Why are you just sitting?" They replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been killed." "And what will you do with your lives after he has gone?" Anas asked. "Get up and die for the same cause as he has!" He then advanced to the enemy and fought until he was killed. Anas b. Mālik was named after him."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'That day we found 70 wounds on Anas b. al-Naḍr. The only person to recognize him, from his fingertips, was his sister.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It was related to me by a scholar that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was injured in the mouth and lost some teeth; he had 20 or more wounds, including one in his foot, which made him lame."

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated that according to what he was told by al-Zuhri, it was Ka'b b. Mālik who first reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the defeat and the report of his death. Ka'b said, "I saw his eyes gleaming from beneath his helmet. So I shouted at the top of my voice, 'Muslims! Rejoice! This is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' But he signalled me to be silent."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "When the Muslims recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they and he moved on together up into the defile; with him went Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, al-Ḥarith b. al-Simma and a group of other Muslims. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had climbed up into the defile, Ubayy b. Khalaf caught up with him."

Ibn Ishāq then proceeded to relate how the former killed the latter, in an account similar to that given above.

He then went on, "Ubayy b. Khalaf, so it was related to me by Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, used to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he met him in Mecca, 'Hey, Muḥammad, I've a horse, al-'Awdh, that I feed every day with measures of corn. I'll be riding it when I kill you!"

"To this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'No; it is I who will kill you, if God wills it.'

"When Ubayy was taken back to Quraysh having suffered a small injury in his neck, the blood having stopped flowing, he said, 'By God, Muḥammad has killed me!' They told him, 'You've lost your courage! You're not badly hurt.' He replied, 'But he told me in Mecca that he was going to kill me. And, I swear, he'd have killed me if he'd only spat on me!' And that enemy of God did die, at Sarif,¹⁰ while they were transporting him to Mecca."

10. A place some six miles from Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this:

'He inherited evil from his father, did Ubayy, the day the Messenger engaged him in combat.

You came at him, Ubayy, bearing a rotting bone, threatening him, unaware who he was;

Banū al-Najjār killed Umayya from among you as he called for aid, "*Aqil!*"

Abū Rabi'ā's two sons died when they obeyed Abū Jahl, bereaving their mother.

Ḥārith escaped when we were diverted by our work in taking prisoners; capturing him was a trivial matter.'

"Ḥassān also composed:

'Who will be my messenger to Ubayy? You have been tossed into deepest hell.

You longed for evil from afar and swore oaths that you were all-powerful.

Your designs subverted you from afar, but stating disbelief results in delusion.

You were struck by a thrust from a man with divine protection, of noble lineage, no sinner he.

He has precedence over all others alive when disasters occur.'"

Ibn Ishāq further stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached the start of the defile, 'Alī emerged and filled up his shield with water from the well al-Mihrās. He brought it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) so that he would drink from it. But the latter found it had an unpleasant odour and declined to drink it. But he did wash the blood from his face and poured it over his head, saying, 'Great is God's wrath against whoever bloodies the face of His prophet!'"

Sufficient authentic *aḥādīth* have been given above to testify to this quotation.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there in the defile, along with some of his Companions, a band of Quraysh warriors climbed on up the mountain."

Ibn Hishām added, "Khālīd b. al-Walīd was among them."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stated, 'O God, it is not fitting for them to be above us!'

"Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, along with a group of *muhājirīn*, fought on until they forced the enemy down from the mountain. The Prophet (ṢAAS) arose to climb upon a rock but, since he was heavy due to his age and the fact that he was wearing a double chain-mail, he could not. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh then bent beneath him and lifted him up upon it.

"Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from al-Zubayr, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say that day, "Ṭalḥa earned his place in heaven for what he did that day for the Messenger of God.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "Umar, the freed-man of 'Afra, related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained seated for the noon prayer the day of

the battle of Uḥud because of his wounds, while the Muslims remained seated behind him."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Āṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me as follows, 'There was with us a man none of us knew who went by the name of Quzmān. Whenever he was mentioned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, 'He will go to hell!'"

"At the battle of Uḥud he fought very fiercely, himself killing some seven or eight of the polytheists. He was a man of great courage. Eventually his wounds disabled him, and he was carried off to the Banū Zafar quarter.

"Some of the Muslims told him, 'You fought superbly, Quzmān, cheer up!' 'Why should I?' he replied. 'It was only for my people's account that I fought; otherwise, I would not have.' When the pain from his wounds became extreme he took an arrow from his quiver and used it to kill himself.'"

A story similar to this is also given regarding the fighting at Khaybar, as will be told hereafter, if God wills it.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'We were present along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar, and there was one man claiming to be a Muslim of whom he said, 'He'll go to hell.'"

"When the fighting began, the man fought most bravely and he was wounded. Someone told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'The man you said was going to hell fought most bravely, but now he's dead.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'He's gone to hell.'"

"Some of our men were almost sceptical about this, and while they were in this state it was announced that he had not died, though he was gravely wounded. That night he could no longer stand the pain of his injuries and so he killed himself.

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was told of this, he proclaimed, '*Allāhu Akbar!* God is Most Great! I testify that I am God's servant and His messenger!'"

"He then ordered Bilāl to call out among the Muslims, 'Only a Muslim soul shall enter paradise! And God even aids this religion by using sinners!'"

The compilers of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this tradition from one of 'Abd al-Razzāq.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "At Uḥud, one of those killed was Mukhayriq. He was of Banū Thaḥaba b. al-Fiṭyawn. On the day of the battle of Uḥud he proclaimed, 'O Jews, you have learned, I swear by God, that it is your duty to help Muḥammad to victory.' They responded, 'But today is the sabbath.' 'You shall have no sabbath,' he insisted.

"He then took his sword and equipment saying, 'If I should fall, then my wealth goes to Muḥammad to do with as he wishes.'

"He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and fought along with him until he was killed.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, so I have been told, 'Mukhayriq is the very best of the Jews.'"

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) converted Mukhayriq's property, consisting of seven orchards, into a *waqf*, a charitable endowment, in Medina."

Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī stated, "This was Medina's very first *waqf*."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Mu'adh related to me, from Abū Sufyān, the freed-man of Abū Aḥmad's son, from Abū Hurayra, that the last-mentioned used to say, 'Tell me which man it was who entered paradise without ever having performed the prayer?'"

"If those there did not know who it was and asked him, he would reply, 'Uṣayrim of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, 'Amr b. Thābit b. Waqsh.'"

Al-Ḥuṣayn went on, "I asked Maḥmūd b. Asad, 'Tell me about al-Uṣayrim.' He replied, 'He used to deny Islam despite his own people's acceptance of it. But when the day for Uḥud arrived, he accepted Islam. He then took his sword and piled into the thick of the fray, fighting on until overcome by wounds. When some of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal were searching out those of them killed in the battle, they came upon him. They commented, 'By God, this man is al-Uṣayrim; what brought him here? When we left him he was against this event.' They asked him, 'What brought you here, 'Amr? Was it your concern for your people, or a desire for Islam?'"

"'It was my desire for Islam,' he replied. 'I have come to believe in God and His messenger and I have accepted Islam. I took my sword and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fought until I was injured.'"

"Soon thereafter he died in their arms. When they told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'He has gone to paradise.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "My father related to me, from elders of Banū Salama, who said, 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ was a man who was exceedingly lame. He had four sons who fought battles like lions alongside the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When it came time for the battle of Uḥud, they wanted to restrain 'Amr, saying that God had excused him. So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'My sons want to restrain me from going forth to battle with you. But, by God, I hope to set foot in paradise despite my lameness!'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Regarding yourself, God has indeed excused you; it is not your duty to fight.' Then he addressed the sons, saying, 'It is your duty not to restrain him; God might well grant him martyrdom.'"

"And so al-Jamūḥ did accompany him to battle and he was killed at Uḥud. May God be pleased with him.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "As Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān related to me, Hind, daughter of 'Utba, along with other women, mutilated the bodies of the dead Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), cutting off their ears and their noses. Hind would

make the noses and ears of the men into anklets, necklaces and pendants and then give them over to Waḥshī. She also cut open Ḥamza's liver and chewed it. But she couldn't swallow it and so she spat it out."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that it was Waḥshī who cut open Ḥamza's liver and then took it to Hind who chewed it but was unable to swallow it. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Hind then climbed upon a rock overlooking the place and, at the top of her voice, spoke the following verses,

'We've now repaid you for the battle of Badr and terrible is the warfare that follows war!

I could not stand the loss of 'Utba, of my brother, of his uncle, and of my first-born son.

Now I have assuaged myself and fulfilled my vow; you, Waḥshī, have relieved my burning breast.

My thanks to Waḥshī will be due for all my life, until my bones rot in my grave."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "She was answered by Hind, daughter of Athātha b. 'Abbād b. al-Muṭṭalib, who recited,

'You were dishonoured at Badr and after Badr too, you daughter of a worthless fellow extreme in his disbelief!

God brought against you in the early dawn tall, fit Hāshimite warriors

Each man wielding his sharp sword, Ḥamza, my lion, 'Alī, my falcon.

When Shayb and your father sought to deceive me, they put sacrificial blood upon their chests;

Your oath was evil in the extreme."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Al-Ḥulays b. Zabbān, a brother of Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt, who was at that time commander of the Abyssinian levies, passed by Abū Sufyān while he was striking the jawbone of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with the tip of his spear and saying, 'Taste this, traitor!'

"At this al-Ḥulays asked, 'Banū Kināna, tell me, can this really be, as you see, the Lord of Quraysh mutilating the flesh of his cousin?'

"The reply came, 'Confound you, keep quiet about this; it was done in error.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When wishing to depart, Abū Sufyān ascended the mountain and shouted at the top of his voice, 'A splendid achievement! Warfare goes in cycles. This day for that at Badr! Arise, Hubal!' By this he meant, 'Hubal, your religion triumphs.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Umar, 'Get up, 'Umar, and respond to him. Say, "God is far higher and more glorious! There is no equivalence: our dead are in paradise, yours in hell."'

"Abū Sufyān then said, 'Come on up to me, 'Umar!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told 'Umar, 'Go to him and see what he wants.'

"Umar did so and Abū Sufyān told him, 'I adjure you by God, Umar, have we killed Muḥammad?' Umar replied, 'I swear by God, no; he is listening now to your words.' Abū Sufyān commented, 'I consider you more truthful and artless than Ibn Qamṭā.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Then Abū Sufyān called out, 'Some mutilation was done to your men. I swear this neither pleased nor angered me; I neither ordered nor forbade it.'

"As Abū Sufyān moved off, he called out, 'We have an appointment with you next year, at Badr!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told one of his men to reply, 'Say: "Yes there is indeed an appointment we have with you."'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then despatched 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib saying, 'Follow after the enemy and see what they do and plan. If they lead their horses and ride their camels, then they will be heading for Mecca. If they ride the horses and lead the camels, they will be heading for Medina. By Him in whose hands is my soul, if they head for Medina, I'll fight them there and annihilate them!'

"Alī said, 'So I followed them to see what they would do; they led their horses and rode their camels and headed for Mecca.'"

*An Account of the prayers that the Prophet (ṢAAS)
spoke after the battle of Uhud.*

Imām Aḥmad stated that Marwān b. Muḥawiya al-Fazārī related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman al-Makkī, from Ibn Rifā'a al-Zurqī, from his father, who said, "When the polytheists withdrew after the battle of Uhud, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Stand up, so that I may give praise to my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He.' The Muslims assembled behind him in ranks and he then said, 'O God, to You is due all praise. O God, there is no grasping what You have dispersed, nor dispersing what You grasp. There is no guiding aright those whom You have led astray, nor any leading astray of those You have guided. There is no giving of what You have prevented, nor any prevention of what You have given. There is no drawing close what You have distanced, nor any distancing what You have drawn close. O God, spread forth Your blessings, Your mercy, Your generosity and Your favours upon us.

"O God, I ask of You those enduring blessings that never change nor cease. O God, I ask You for blessings at a time of deprivation, and security at a time of fear.

"O God, I seek refuge with You against the evil of what You have given us, as well as from the evil from which You have saved us.

“O God, have us view faith with favour, and endear it to us well. Have us view disbelief, immorality and disobedience with antipathy. Place us among those who are well-guided.

“O God, take us to Yourself as Muslims and give us life as Muslims. Place us among the virtuous, not the shamed or the demented.

“O God, do battle with those disbelievers who give the lie to Your messengers and who oppose them. Torment and punish them. O God, do battle against those disbelievers who were given the scripture, O God of the Truth!”

Al-Nasāʾi related this in his work *al-Yawm wa al-Layla* (Day and Night) from Ziyād b. Ayyūb, from Marwān b. Muʾāwiya, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from ʿUbayd b. Rifāʿa, from his father.

Chapter.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Muslims looked for their dead. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ṣaṣʿa al-Mazīnī, a brother of Banū al-Najjār, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Who will find out for me what became of Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, whether he is alive or dead?’ One of the *anṣār* said he would.

“He searched and found him wounded and barely alive amidst the dead. The *anṣārī* told him, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to find out whether you are among the living or the dead.’ Saʿd replied, ‘I’m among the dead; inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this: “Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ says to you: ‘May God reward you on our account better than He ever rewarded any prophet on account of his nation.’ And greet your people from me and tell them: ‘Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ says to you, ‘You will find no excuse with God if harm comes to your prophet while you still have one eye to blink!’”’

“Thereupon he died. I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him what had happened to him.”

I would observe that the *anṣārī* who found Saʿd among the dead was Muḥammad b. Salama, according to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidi. He related that he called out to him twice without him replying, but that when he said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered him to locate him, he responded to him in a very weak voice.

Sheikh Abū ʿUmar stated in his work *al-Istīʿāb*, “The man who located Saʿd was Ubayy b. Kaʿb.” But God knows best.

Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, God be pleased with him, was one of the leaders at the pledge of al-ʿAqaba. It was he whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established as the brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.

Ibn Ishāq continued, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off, so I have been told, to locate Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He found him in the middle of the

valley, his liver having been cut from his mutilated body, from which his nose and ears had been removed.

"Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when he saw the sight, 'If it were not for the sorrow it would cause Ṣafiyya and become a tradition after myself, I would leave him here to find his way into the stomachs of wild beasts and the crops of birds. And if God gives me victory over Quraysh anywhere else, I will have 30 of their men mutilated!'"

"When the Muslims saw the sadness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his anger at those who had done this to his uncle, they determined to mutilate their enemy as no Arabs had ever done if God one day gave them victory over them."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Burayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslamī related to me, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b, and another reliable source related to me from Ibn 'Abbās, that in that regard God revealed the verse, 'If you inflict punishment then do so in the like manner that you were punished; but if you are patient, it is indeed better for those who are patient' (*sūrat al-Nahl*; XVI, v.126).

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forgave, was patient and forbade mutilation."

I observe that this verse was revealed in Mecca. And the battle of Uḥud occurred three years after the Hijra. How, then, could this relate? But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl related to me, from al-Ḥasan, from Samura, who said, 'Whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a stop somewhere he would always before he left enjoin charity and forbid mutilation.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood over Ḥamza, he said, 'I shall never be afflicted as you have been; I have never experienced anything that has angered me more than this!' He then said, 'Gabriel came to me and told me that Ḥamza's name is written in the seven heavens in the words, 'Ḥamza, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib – lion of God and lion of His messenger.'"

Ibn Hishām also said, "Both Ḥamza and Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad were foster-brothers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). All three were suckled by Thuwayba, the freed-woman of Abū Lahab."

An Account of the Prayers said for Ḥamza and the Dead at Uḥud.

Ibn Ishāq stated that he was told by a reliable source, from Miqṣam, that Ibn 'Abbās said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that Ḥamza be covered with a cloak and he then prayed over him. He spoke the words, *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is most Great', seven times. The other dead were then placed next to Ḥamza and he prayed over them and him together, so that a total of seventy-two prayers were spoken over him."

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral", and its line of transmission is weak.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "None of the scholars at the major centres of learning support this tradition."

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib, from al-Sha'bi, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said, "At Uḥud the women were following behind the Muslim fighters finishing off the polytheists who were wounded. If I had sworn an oath that day that I would have hoped to fulfil, it would have been that none of us desired this world. But this was before God sent down the verse, 'Some of you desired this world, while others of you desired the hereafter; then He turned you away from them, so that he might test you' (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.151).

"When the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disobeyed the orders they had received, he was left with only nine men about him. Seven of these were *anṣār*, two were of Quraysh; with himself added, they totalled ten men. When the enemy set upon him, he said, 'May God have mercy upon any man who repels them from us!' He continued saying this until all seven had been killed. Then he said to his two Companions, 'Our comrades did not treat us fairly!'

"Then Abū Sufyān came and said, 'Arise, Hubal!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his men to respond, 'God is far higher and more glorious!'

"To this Abū Sufyān replied, 'We have (the goddess) al-'Uzzā; you have no *ʿizzā*, "consolation"!'.

"Abū Sufyān then called out, 'A battle for that of Badr. One for us, one against us. One gave us distress, one pleasure. Tit for tat. Man for man.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'There's no equivalence. Our dead live on and are rewarded; your dead are in hell being tortured.'

"Then Abū Sufyān said, 'There has been some mutilation engaged in by our people, though not the result of any decision by us. I neither ordered nor forbade it, liked nor disliked it. It neither annoyed nor pleased me.'

"When they searched, they found Ḥamza. His liver had been cut out and chewed by Hind, but she had been unable to swallow it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asked, 'Did she eat any of it?' 'No,' they told him. He commented, 'God would never have allowed any part of Ḥamza to enter hell-fire!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) positioned Ḥamza and one of the dead *anṣār* was brought and placed beside him. When he had prayed over them both, Ḥamza was left there, that *anṣārī* was lifted away and another was brought in his place. This was repeated so that he ultimately said 70 prayers over Ḥamza."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And there is some weakness in its chain of authorities, namely relating to 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib. But God knows best.

The account given by al-Bukhārī is more solid. He stated, "Qutayba related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik, (who said) that Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh recounted to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would place one piece of clothing over each two of the men killed at Uḥud and then would ask, 'Which of these had a better knowledge of the

Qur'an?' He would then place the one indicated in the grave first, saying, 'I will testify for these at Judgement Day.' He ordered that they be buried in their blood; he did not pray over them, nor were they washed."

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this; Muslim did not. Other scholars relate it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Sa'd.

Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad – meaning Ibn Ja'far – related to us, quoting Ibn Ja'far, quoting Shu'ba, having heard 'Abd Rabbihi relate from al-Zuhri, from Ibn Jābir, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said about those killed at Uḥud, 'Each wound, each drop of blood will exude musk at Judgement Day.' And that he did not pray over them."

It is well established that he did pray for them some years thereafter, shortly before his death. As al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm related to us, quoting Zakariyyā' b. 'Adī, and Ibn al-Mubārak recounted to us, from Ḥaywa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Khayr, from 'Uqba b. 'Amir, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) delivered a prayer for those killed at Uḥud eight years thereafter, just as though he were saying farewell to the living or the dead. He then mounted the *minbar* and said, "I shall stand before you, having preceded you, and will be a witness for you. Your appointment is at the *al-ḥawḍ*, 'the celestial pool', and I look at it now from this position of mine. I do not fear for you that you will (later) become polytheists. What I do fear for you is the influence of this world, that you will compete with one another over it.'""

'Uqba concluded, "And that was the last time I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī also related this elsewhere, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb in similar words.

Al-Umawī stated, "My father related to me, quoting al-Ḥasan b. 'Umāra, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, who said, 'Ā'isha said, 'We went forth from al-Saḥar, the place through which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left for Uḥud, seeking news. When dawn arose, there was a man barring our way and reciting insistently:

"Stay awhile. A load will bear witness to the battle."

"We then saw him to be Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. We stayed where we were after that and then saw a camel approaching, being ridden by a woman seated between two loads.

"We approached her and found her to be the wife of 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ. We asked her for news and she replied, "God protected the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while some of the Muslims have been martyred." "God turned back those who disbelieved, in all their anger, and they did not achieve advantage. God sufficed for the believers in the fighting, and God is mighty and powerful" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25).

"She then told her camel to kneel, and she dismounted. We asked her about her loads, and she replied, "My brother and my husband.'""

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Safiyya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had come forward to see him (Ḥamza), who was her full brother. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her son al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, 'Go and meet her and take her back so that she does not see her brother's state.' Al-Zubayr told her, 'Mother, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) orders you to go back.' She replied, 'Why? I have been told how my brother has been mutilated; that was in God's cause. And that fact has comforted us. I will keep myself under control and remain calm, if God wills it.'

"When al-Zubayr went back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and reported this, he said, 'Let her through.' When she came, she looked at him (Ḥamza), said a prayer over him, asked forgiveness for him and spoke the words, 'To God we belong, and to Him do we return.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave orders that he be buried, and this was done. With him was buried his cousin 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, whose mother was Umayma, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He too had been mutilated, though his liver had not been cut out. May God be pleased with them both."

Al-Suhayli stated, "He was later known as *al-mujadda*, 'he who was mutilated in God's cause'. And Sa'd related that he and 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had said prayers, both of which had been answered. Sa'd had prayed that he meet a polytheist horseman whom he would kill and rob, and that came true. 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had prayed that a horseman would meet and kill him and cut off his nose in God's cause. And that came true."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār related that his sword broke at Uḥud, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him the bough of a palm tree, which when in the hand of 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh turned into a sword with which he fought. It was later sold in the estate of one of his sons for 200 dinars.

This is also what had happened earlier to 'Ukāsha at the battle of Badr.

It is also given in, as above, al-Bukhārī's *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to bury two or three men in one grave, and even in one shroud.

He permitted this because of the wounds the Muslims had that would have made it hard for them to dig a grave for each individual. And he would position first in the grave whichever dead Muslim had had a greater knowledge of the Qur'ān.

He would join in the same grave two men who had been close friends, as he did 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām, Jābir's father, along with 'Amr b. al-Jumūḥ. This was because they were friends.

They were not washed, the wounds and blood being left untouched.

Ibn Ishāq also related from al-Zuhri, from 'Abd Allāh b. Thaḥaba b. Ṣu'ayr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said as he was leaving the dead at Uḥud, "I shall bear witness for these men; every man wounded in God's cause will be raised by God on Judgement Day, his wounds still bleeding. The colour shall be that of blood, the fragrance that of musk."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "My uncle, Mūsā b. Yasār, related to me that he heard Abū Hurayra say, 'Abū al-Qāsim (i.e. the Prophet (SAAS)) said, "Every man wounded in God's cause will be raised by God on Judgement Day while his wounds are still bleeding. The colour shall be that of blood, the fragrance that of musk."'"

This *ḥadīth* is also firmly given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from other lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Alī b. 'Āṣim related to us, from 'Atā' b. al-Sā'ib, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) said that those martyred at Uḥud should have all articles they wore of iron or leather removed from them. He said, "Bury them in their blood and clothing."'"

Abū Dā'ūd and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of 'Alī b. 'Āṣim.

Imām Abū Dā'ūd stated, in his work *al-Sunan*, "Al-Qa'nabī related to me that Sulaymān b. al-Mughira related to them, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Hishām b. 'Āmir, who said, 'The *anṣār* went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Uḥud and told him, "We are suffering from wounds and exhaustion; what are your orders?" He replied, "Dig and extend, placing two or three in the one grave."

"He was asked, 'Which dead man will be placed in it first?' (The reply was) "The one with the greater knowledge of the Qur'an."'"

He then related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from Ayyūb, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Hishām b. 'Āmir. His account adds a word, "Dig, deepen and extend."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Some Muslims had borne their dead to Medina and buried them there. But then the Messenger of God (SAAS) forbade that practice, saying, 'Bury them where they were struck down.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Alī b. Ishāq related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh and 'Attāb, who quoted 'Abd Allāh, who quoted 'Umar b. Salama b. Abū Yazīd al-Madīnī, who quoted his father, as follows, 'I heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "My father was martyred at Uḥud. My sisters sent to me for him a transport camel they owned with the message, 'Load your father on this camel and bury him in the cemetery of Banū Salama.'"

"So I went for him, with some helpers, and news of this reached the Prophet (SAAS) while he was seated there at Uḥud. He called for me and told me, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hands, he'll be buried only with his brothers!'"

"And he was buried with his comrades at Uḥud."'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from al-Aswad b. Qays, from Nabīḥ, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that when those who were killed at Uḥud were being carried away, the crier of the Messenger of God (SAAS) shouted out that the dead had to be returned to where they lay.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, while al-Tirmidhī gave it from one of Shu'ba. Al-Nasā'ī also gave it, as did Ibn Mājah, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. All of these were derived from al-Aswad b.

Qays, from Nabīḥ al-ʿAzī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth from Medina to battle the polytheists, and my father ʿAbd Allāh told me, 'Jābir, there'll be no harm in you being among the lookouts of the people of Medina until you know how things fare with us. I swear, if it weren't for my having daughters who will survive me, I'd be happy for you to be killed right before me!'"

Jābir continued, "While I was there among the lookouts, my aunt arrived with my father and my uncle whom she had balanced on a baggage camel. She bore them into Medina to bury them in our cemeteries when a man arrived and called out, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) orders you to return with the dead and to bury them where they were killed.' So we did take them back and buried them where they had been killed.

"During the Caliphate of Muʿāwiyya b. Abū Sufyān, a man came to me and said, 'Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, some of Muʿāwiyya's workers have uncovered your father to sight, and part of him is outside the grave.' So I went and found him to be in a similar, unchanged state as when I buried him, except for what always happens to those killed."

The Imām then went on to relate how Jābir paid off his father's debt, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bayhaqī related through Hammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "When Muʿāwiyya made the canal where the dead of Uḥud were buried, it being by then 40 years later, we were asked to help. When we arrived there, we brought them out. A spade struck the foot of Ḥamza, and blood came forth."

In Ibn Ishāq's account, Jābir stated, "We brought them out and it was as though they had been buried the previous day."

Al-Wāqidi related that when Muʿāwiyya was about to dig the canal, he had a crier announce, "Anyone who had a relative killed at Uḥud should be witness." Jābir said, "When we dug for them, I found my father in his grave lying as though asleep, unchanged. We also found that his companion in the grave, ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ, had his hand over a wound and when it was removed, the wound emitted blood!"

And it is said that the grave of each one of them, may God be pleased with them, gave forth a scent like that of musk. This was 46 years following the day of their burial.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Bishr b. al-Mufaddal, quoting Ḥusayn al-Muʿallim, from ʿAtāʾ, from Jābir, who said, "When Uḥud arrived, my father called out to me in the night, 'I see myself as definitely being one of the first of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be killed. And there will be nothing dearer to me I will leave on earth than yourself, apart from the soul of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I have a debt I want you to redeem; and I charge you to take good care of your sisters.'

"When morning came, he was the first to die. I also buried another man in his grave with him. But later it disturbed me to have placed him along with another, so six months thereafter, I exhumed him. I found him to be in the same state as when I put him there, except for his ear."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr, from Jābir, that when his father was killed, Jābir began tearing at his clothing and weeping. People told him not to do this, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Whether or not you weep for him, the angels went on shading him (with their wings) until you had lifted him up."

In one account it is his aunt who is the person who cried.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz, and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī, both related to us as follows, 'Abū al-Abbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Fayḍ b. Wathīq al-Baṣrī, quoting Abū Ubāda al-Anṣārī, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said to Jābir, 'Jābir, shall I tell you good news?' 'Yes indeed, do,' replied Jābir, 'may God give you much good news.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, 'Have you sensed that God gave life to your father and said, "O worshipper of Me, request anything of Me and I shall give it to you."' He responded, 'O Lord, I have truly worshipped you well; I request of You that you return me to the world so that I may battle alongside Your prophet and be killed in Your cause once more.' He (God) answered, 'It has been previously decreed by Me that there shall be no returning there.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abū al-Maʿrūf al-Asfarāyīnī related to us, quoting Abū Sahl Bishr b. Aḥmad, quoting Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr, quoting 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, quoting Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr b. Bashīr b. al-Fakīh al-Anṣārī, who said, 'I heard Ṭalḥa b. Khirāsh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khirāsh b. al-Simma al-Anṣārī al-Sulamī say, "I heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) looked at me and said, "Why do I see you looking depressed?"' I replied, "Messenger of God, my father has been killed and he has left a debt and children." He commented, "Didn't I tell you. God only ever spoke to anyone before from behind a screen, whereas He spoke to your father face to face! He told him, 'O worshipper of Me, ask of Me and I will give it you.' He replied, 'I ask of you that you return me to the world so that I may be killed a second time.' God answered, 'I said previously, "They will not return there!"' He then asked, 'O Lord, then tell those I left behind.' And so God revealed, Do not consider those killed in God's cause to be dead, but alive. They will be well provided for by their Lord.'"""" (sūrat *Āl-Imrān*; III, v.169).

Ibn Ishāq quoted from a colleague of his who related to him, quoting from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqayl, who stated, "I heard Jābir say, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, "Shall I not give you good tidings, Jābir?" "Please do!" I replied. He then said, "God greeted your father right there at Uhūd where he was struck down. He then asked him, 'What is your wish, 'Abd

Allāh? What do you wish me to do with you?' He replied, 'O Lord, to return me to the world so that I may fight again for You and be killed once more.'""

Aḥmad related this from 'Alī b. al-Madini, from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Rabī'a al-Salami, from Ibn 'Uqayl, from Jābir. His account adds, "God replied, 'I have decreed that they shall not return to it.'"

Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, who said, "'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir, from 'Abd Allāh, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, when he made a reference to those who fought at Uḥud, "O God, how I would have liked to have been left there with them at the *hiḍn*, 'the foot of the mountain'" – meaning at the *safh*, "the foot of the mountain".'"¹¹

Aḥmad is alone in giving this tradition.

Al-Bayhaqī recounted, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-A'la b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Qutn b. Wahb, from 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr, from Abū Hurayra, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Uḥud, he passed on his way by Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr who had been killed. He stood over him, said a prayer for him, then recited, "There are some Muslim men who indeed spoke true in the pact they made with God" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.23). And he stated, "I testify that these men will be seen as martyrs by God at Judgement Day. So come and visit them. And I swear by Him who has my soul in His hand, all who greet them up to Judgement Day will have their greeting returned."

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, "unilateral".

It is related as *mursal*, from 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr.

Al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. Ya'qūb, from 'Abbād b. Abū Ṣāliḥ, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to go to the graves of the martyrs. And when he came to the entry to the defile, he would say, 'Peace be upon you for what you bravely suffered and may the rewards of paradise be truly excellent!' Abū Bakr continued with this tradition after the Prophet (ṢAAS), as did 'Umar after Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān after 'Umar."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) would visit them every year. When he reached the hollow in the defile, he would say, 'Peace be upon you for what you bravely suffered and may the rewards of paradise be truly excellent.' Abū Bakr did the same every year thereafter, as later did 'Umar and then 'Uthmān. Fāṭima would weep when she would go to them, and she would pray for them. And Sa'd would greet them, then go over to his companions and ask, 'Won't you greet some men who will respond to you?'"

Al-Wāqidi then related their visit in another *ḥadīth* from Abū Sa'd, Abū Hurayra, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and Umm Salāma, may God be pleased with them all.

11. Both words mean the same. It is unclear why the text explains the first word with a synonym; perhaps *al-hiḍn* was a rare word in the writer's dialect.

Ibn Abū Dunyā stated, "Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Nāfi', quoting 'Aṭṭāf b. Khālīd, who said that his aunt related to me saying, 'I rode one day to the graves of the martyrs' – something she often did – 'and I stopped and prayed for a certain time near Ḥamza. There was no one there in the valley except for the youth standing holding the head of my mount. When I had finished, I made a farewell gesture indicating "Peace be upon you". Then I heard the greeting being returned to me, emanating from beneath the ground! I am as sure of this as I am that Almighty and Glorious God created me, and as I know night from day. Every hair on me stood on end!"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, from Ismā'īl b. Umayya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) told me, 'When your brothers were struck down at Uḥud, God placed their spirits in the crops of green birds that would go down to the rivers of paradise and feed off the fruits there. Then they would retire to golden candelabra hung in the shade of the throne. Enjoying their food, drink and lodgings so well, they asked, "Who can tell our brothers about us, that we are alive in paradise and being well provided for, so that they will not shirk the battle, not be reluctant in warfare?"

"God, the Almighty and Glorious, replied, "I will inform them about you!" And so God sent down in the Book His statement, "Do not consider those killed in God's cause to be dead, but alive. They are being provided for by their Lord"" (sūrat *Āl-Imrān*; III, v.169).

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Mu'āwiya, from al-A'mash, from 'Abd Allāh b. Murra, from Masrūq, who said, "We asked 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd about this verse, 'Do not consider those killed' and he replied, 'Actually, we asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about that and he said, "Their souls are in the crops of green birds that fly wherever they want, then retire to candelabra hanging near the throne. Once when they were there your Lord looked over at them and said, 'Ask whatever you want.' They replied, 'What could we have to ask for, flying about anywhere in paradise as we do?' He repeated His question to them three times and when they realized that they would be asked again and again, they replied, 'We ask of You that You return our souls to our bodies on earth so that we may be killed in Your cause once more.' And when God saw that this was the only request they would make, they were left alone.""

Section: On the number of the martyrs at Uḥud.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "The total of the *muhājirīn* and *anṣār* martyred at Uḥud was 49 men."

It is established in the authentic tradition given by al-Bukhārī from al-Barā' that 70 Muslims were killed. But God knows best.

Qatāda stated, from Anas, that 70 *anṣār* were killed at Uḥud, 70 at the battle of Bī'r Ma'ūna and 70 at the battle of al-Yamāma.

Ḥammād b. Salama stated, from Thābit, who said that Anas used to say, "Approximately 70 were killed at Uḥud, Bīr Maʿūna, Muṭa and al-Yamāma."

Mālik stated, on the authority of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Ansārī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that at Uḥud and al-Yamāma 70 *anṣār* were killed and 70 again at the battle of Abū ʿUbayda bridge.

ʿIkrima, ʿUrwa, al-Zuhri and Muḥammad b. Ishāq all made similar statements about Uḥud and further testimony was given by the Almighty's words, "And when an affliction struck you, you having already afflicted them twice the like, you said, 'Whence comes this?'" (*sūrat Āl-ʿImrān*; III, v.164). This refers to their having killed 70 at Badr and captured 70 more.

Ibn Ishāq reported that the *anṣār* who were killed at Uḥud – perhaps he meant Muslims – totalled 65; there were four *muhājirūn*: Ḥamza, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr and Shammās b. ʿUthmān, while the remainder were *anṣār*.

He listed their names by tribe. Ibn Hishām added 5 more names to these, thus totalling, in his view, 70 men.

Ibn Ishāq also listed the names of those polytheists who were killed, and they totalled 22 men.

According to ʿUrwa, there were 44 men martyred at Uḥud, though he also gave this number as 47.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated that 49 Muslims were killed at that battle, along with 16 polytheists.

ʿUrwa gave this figure as 19, while Ibn Ishāq stated they numbered 22.

Al-Rabiʿ stated, from al-Shāfiʿī, "The only polytheist captured then was Abū ʿAzza al-Jumāhī. He had been among the prisoners taken at Badr, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had released him without ransom on condition that he not fight against him again. When Abū ʿAzza was captured at Uḥud, he said, 'O Messenger of God, please release me for the sake of my daughters, and I promise you I won't fight you again.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I'll not have you stroking your beard in Mecca and saying, "I've tricked Muḥammad twice over!"' Then he gave orders and he was beheaded."

Some say that it was on that occasion that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "A believer doesn't get bitten twice from the same lair!"

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left for Medina where, so I have been told, he was met by Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh. When she was told of the loss of her brother, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, she prayed for forgiveness for him and stated the creed, 'To God we belong and to Him we return.' Then she was told of the death of her uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and she spoke similar prayers for him. Then she was informed of the death of her husband, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, and at this she screamed and wailed. The Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) having seen how stoically she had received the news of the deaths of her brother and her uncle and how she lamented for her husband, commented, 'A woman's husband has a very special place with her.'

Ibn Mājah stated that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā related to him, quoting Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-Farwa, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, from his father, from Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh, who said that when she was told of the death of her brother, she said, "May God have mercy on him! To God do we belong, and to Him do we return." When she was then told that her husband had been killed, she burst out, "O woe!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "A husband alone has control over part of his wife's feelings."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ʿAwn related to me, from Ismāʿīl, from Muḥammad, from Ṣa'd b. Abū Waqqās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went past a woman of Banū Dinār whose husband, brother and father had been struck down while with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Uḥud. When their deaths were reported to her, she asked, "And how is it with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" They replied, "He is fine. He's just as you might wish." She then asked, "Show him to me; I want to see him." When he was pointed out to her, she commented, "Every loss after you had gone would be *jalal*, trivial.'"

Ibn Hishām noted, "*Al-jalal* is a word that can apply to minor or to major matters. Here it means 'minor'. Imru' al-Qays spoke the verse,

'Banū Asad's killing of their chief makes anything thereafter *jalal*.'

"Here the word *jalal* means trivial or few."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived home to his family, he handed his sword to his daughter Fāṭima and said, 'Wash the blood off this, my child. I swear by God, it was true to me today!'

"ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib then handed her his sword repeating, 'Wash the blood off it; I swear by God it was true to me today!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then commented, 'And if you stood true in the fighting, so too along with you did Sahl b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujāna!'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated elsewhere, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw ʿAlī's sword tinged with blood, he said, 'If you fought well, then so did ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma and Sahl b. Ḥanīf.'"

Al-Bayhaqī recounted from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib at the battle of Uḥud brought along his sword that had bent and told Fāṭima, "Be thankful when you take this sword, for it satisfied my thirst for revenge!"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, "If you did well in striking with your sword, so did Sahl b. Ḥanīf, Abū Dujāna, ʿĀṣim b. Thābit and al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma."

Ibn Hishām stated, "This sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *Dhū al-Fiqr*. And a scholar told me, quoting Ibn Abū Najīh, 'A crier called out at the

battle of Uḥud, "There is no sword to match *Dhū al-Fiḡār*."¹² And a scholar told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Alī, "The polytheists will not cause us similar losses again before God gives us victory over them."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by the home of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal and he heard weeping and wailing over their dead. The eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) welled with tears and he then said, 'But Ḥamza has no women weeping for him!'"

"When Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Usayd b. al-Ḥuḏayr returned to the home of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, they ordered their women to dress for outdoors and to go and weep for the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥanīf related to me, from a man of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard their weeping over Ḥamza, he went out to them; they were at the door to the mosque, weeping. He told them, "Go home, God bless you all; you have been very kind."

"And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade public lamentation that day, according to Ibn Hishām. But this *ḥadīth* he gives as *munqaṭi'*, 'discontinuous' and *mursal*, 'incompletely transmitted'."

Imām Aḥmad gave the tradition a complete line of transmission, stating, "Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb related to us, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, and Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Uḥud and the *anṣār* women began weeping over those of their husbands who had been killed, he said, 'But Ḥamza has no women weeping for him!'"

"He then went to sleep and when he awoke, the women were weeping. He said, 'Today they are weeping and lamenting the loss of Ḥamza.'"

This tradition meets the criteria of Muslim.

Ibn Mājah recounted it, from Hārūn b. Sa'd, from Ibn Wahb, from Usāma b. Zayd al-Laythī, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by some women of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal who were weeping over their dead at Uḥud. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "But Ḥamza has no women weeping over him."

So then some *anṣār* wives did go and weep for Ḥamza. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awoke, he said, "Confound them! They'll not be upset when they leave! Let them return, and not wait for the dead from this day on!"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went off into the alleys of Medina, there was much lamentation in progress in the houses. He asked, 'What's all this?' He was told, 'These are *anṣār* women lamenting their dead.' He said, 'But there are no women lamenting for Ḥamza.' He then prayed for forgiveness for Ḥamza.

"Sa'd b. Mu'adh, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, Mu'adh b. Jabal and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa heard this and walked to their homes, where they set about assembling all the

12. The editor of the Arabic printed text observes in a footnote, "Ibn Hishām stated: 'There is no sword to match *Dhū al-Fiḡār*, and no warrior to match 'Alī!'"

weeping and lamenting women there in Medina. The men told them, 'By God, don't weep for those slain from among the *anṣār* until you have mourned for the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He has mentioned how there are no women lamenting him in Medina.'

"They claim that the man who summoned the mourning women was 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard them, he asked, 'What's all this?' He was told what the *anṣār* had told their wives; he then prayed for them warmly and asked for them God's forgiveness, saying, 'But I didn't want this; I don't like wailing!' And he forbade it."

Ibn Lahī'a recounts it similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "The hypocrites took advantage of the mourning of the Muslims to further sadden them and divide them from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The deceit of the Jews was evident and all Medina boiled with hypocrisy."

The Jews said, "If he were indeed a prophet, they would not have defeated him, and he would not have suffered such losses at their hand. But he's just ambitious to establish a domain under his own absolute control."

The hypocrites said similar things, telling the Muslims, "If you had provided properly for us, those who made you suffer would not have done so."

And so God sent down the Qur'ān concerning the obedience of those who were obedient and the hypocrisy of those who were that, and in consolation for the Muslims, for those of them who were killed, that is. God stated, "And (remember) when you went forth from your family to establish the believers in camps for battle – and God is All-Hearing and All-Knowing" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.120). We have discussed this subject in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*; and to God belongs all praise and credit.

An Account of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, despite their bruises and their wounds, to intimidate and pursue Abū Sufyān and his men as far as Ḥamrā' al-Asad, a place some eight miles from Medina.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, following his account of the battle of Uḥud and of the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina, "A man from Mecca came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the latter asked him about Abū Sufyān and his men. The man replied, 'I stayed with them and heard them arguing, some saying, "You have accomplished nothing. You damaged their leadership and their elite, but then you left them without finishing them off. They still have leaders left who will gather men against you."'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders for his men – despite their grievous wounds – to move out in pursuit after the enemy in such a way that they would hear of this. He announced, 'Only those who were present at the

battle may go.' 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy asked, 'May I ride with you?' 'No,' he told him.

"And the Muslims did respond to God and to His messenger, despite their suffering, and set off.

"God stated in His Book, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good, and who are pious shall have a great reward' (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.171).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did give permission to Jābir (b. 'Abd Allāh) to go forth when he related how his father had ordered him to stay in Medina to care for his sisters.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then pursued the enemy as far as Ḥamrā' al-Asad."

Ibn Lahī'a related this similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related in his military chronicle, as follows, "The battle of Uḥud took place on Saturday in the middle of Shawwāl. On the morning of Sunday, the 16th of Shawwāl, the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to the people that they should leave in pursuit of the enemy. His crier also announced that only those who had been present at the previous day's battle should go forth. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh spoke with him and he permitted him to join the force.

"The purpose of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in pursuing was to frighten the enemy. This was by making them aware that they were still powerful and that their losses had not so weakened them that they could no longer face their enemy.

"'Abd Allāh b. Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit related to me, from Abū al-Sā'ib, the freed-man of 'Ā'isha, daughter of 'Uthmān, that a man of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal said, 'I was present at Uḥud, along with a brother of mine. We came home wounded and when the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the pursuit of the enemy, I and my brother agreed that we should not lose the opportunity of participating in another expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) even though we did not (each) have a mount to ride and were badly wounded. So we left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I was less badly wounded than my brother; when he became exhausted, I would let him ride for a while and then he would again walk for a while. Eventually we caught up with the other Muslims.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on as far as Ḥamrā' al-Asad, a place some eight miles from Medina. There he remained the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday and then he returned to Medina."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that Ma'bad b. Abū Ma'bad al-Khuzā'i passed by them. The Khuzā'a tribe, both those of them who were Muslims and those who were unbelievers, were secretly the allies of the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Tihāma and their understanding with him was that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. Ma'bad at that time was a polytheist and he told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his way past Ḥamrā' al-Asad, 'Muḥammad, we're deeply sorry at what happened to your men, and we would hope for God to protect you and them.'

"He then left, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still there at Ḥamrā' al-Asad, and met up with Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and his men at al-Rawḥā'. They had decided to return to fight the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men. They had concluded, 'We have severely damaged the best of his Companions and their chieftains and nobles, so should we now go home before we uproot them completely? We should go back for the rest of them and be finished with them.'

"When Abū Sufyān saw Ma'bad, he asked him, 'How are things back up behind you, Ma'bad?' He replied, 'Muḥammad has come out with his men seeking you in a force the like of which I never saw before. They are truly enraged towards you. He has been joined by those who stayed behind when you did battle with him, and these men much regret what they did. The anger they have towards you is something the like of which I've never seen before.'

"What are you suggesting, confound you?" Abū Sufyān demanded. He replied, 'I swear, I don't think you'll be able to leave before you catch sight of the forelocks of their cavalry.'

"But we've decided to attack them to destroy the rest of them!"

"Ma'bad commented, 'I really do advise you against that. I swear, I was so affected by what I saw that I composed some verse on the subject.'

"What did you compose?" Abū Sufyān asked.

"Ma'bad then recited,

'At the noise, my mount almost shied, the earth streaming with masses of fine horses.

Racing on, their riders like noble lions, men not effeminate in the fray and not poorly armed.

I ran on, thinking the earth itself moving, as they brought up a leader never to be forsaken.

And I said, "Woe to Ibn Ḥarb when you meet and the plain shakes beneath the lines of men!"

I warn the people of Mecca very plainly, addressing every wise and sane man they have,

Of the army of Aḥmad, not some mixed rabble, and my warning should not be described as mere hearsay.'

"Abū Sufyān and his party were dissuaded from action by this.

"A party of men from 'Abd Qays passed by, and he asked them where they were headed. When they told him to Medina, he asked why, and they replied that they were going there for supplies. Abū Sufyān asked them, 'Would you deliver a message I will give you for Muḥammad? If you will, I'll load up these camels of yours with raisins at Ukāz tomorrow.' They agreed and he then told

them, 'When you reach him, tell him that we have decided to come on after him and his Companions to wipe out the rest of them!'

"The men passed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥamrā' al-Asad and told him what Abū Sufyān had said. To this he commented, 'God suffices for us; a fine protector is He!'"

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī gave the same tradition.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to us, saying, 'Abū Bakr related to us, from Abū Ḥusayn, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Ibn 'Abbās, that this phrase *ḥasbunā Allāh wa ni'ma al-wakil*, "God suffices for us; a fine protector is He" was spoken by Abraham when he was cast into the fire. Muḥammad (ṢAAS) spoke it when they told him, "The people have assembled for you; make them afraid." And he did inspire greater faith in them and they said, "God suffices for us; a fine protector is He."'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this account.

He also stated, "Muḥammad b. Salām related to us, quoting Abū Mu'awiya, from Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, God bless her, who said to 'Umrā about the verse, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good and who are pious shall have a great reward' (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.171): 'Nephew, your fathers were among these, al-Zubayr and Abū Bakr, God be pleased with them. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suffered his losses at Uḥud and the polytheists withdrew, he was concerned that they might return. And so he asked, "Who will pursue them?" Seventy of his men volunteered, including Abū Bakr and al-Zubayr.'"

This is the account given by al-Bukhārī. Muslim gave it in an abbreviated form through Hishām. Sa'īd b. Manṣūr and Abū Bakr al-Ḥumaydī jointly related this from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. Ibn Mājah also verified it through him, from Hishām b. 'Urwa. Al-Ḥākim related it in his compendium through Abū Sa'īd from Hishām b. 'Urwa; he related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Suddī, from 'Urwa. He said that both scholars considered the tradition *ṣaḥīḥ*, authentic, but that these scholars had not narrated it.

This is what he stated. But the context of this is very strange. For it is well known by the scholars who have written on the military expeditions that all those who advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Ḥamrā' al-Asad were those who had been present at Uḥud and that these totalled 700, as is told above, of whom 70 were killed, the remainder surviving.

Ibn Jarir related, through al-'Awfi, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "God cast terror into the heart of Abū Sufyān after what had happened at Uḥud and he returned to Mecca. The battle of Uḥud took place in Shawwāl. The merchants would come to Medina in Dhū al-Qa'da, staying once every year at Badr al-Ṣughrā. They arrived again after the battle of Uḥud. The Muslim warriors had suffered severe injuries and were complaining of these to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, he told his men to go forth and continue what they

had been doing. He told us, 'If you leave now, the month for the *hajj* will soon be upon us and they will not be able to do the same again until next year.'¹³

"Then the devil came to scare his deputies, saying, 'The enemy is all gathered against you.' His men refused to follow him and so he said, 'I am going forth, even if no one follows me.'

"Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Talḥa, al-Zubayr, Sa'd, 'Abd al-Raḥman b. 'Awf, Abū 'Ubayda, Ibn Mas'ūd and Ḥudhayfa left with him, accompanied by 70 men. They went in pursuit of Abū Sufyān as far as al-Ṣafrā'. And God revealed the verse, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good and who are pious shall have a great reward'" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.171).

This account is also very strange.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū 'Ubayda related to us that when Abū Sufyān b. Harb withdrew after the battle of Uḥud, he wanted to return to Medina. But Safwān b. Umayya advised him, 'No, don't do that. The enemy is thoroughly enraged and we fear they might engage in battle differently from before. Return home.' And so they did.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was at Ḥamrā' al-Asad when he received news that they were about to go home, then said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, rocks have been assigned them; if they had been greeted with them, they would have been history!'

"While out there and before his return to Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) captured Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's grandfather on his mother's side, she being 'Ā'isha, daughter of Mu'āwiya, along with Abū 'Azza al-Jumāḥi. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had captured this Mu'āwiya at Badr and then released him. Mu'āwiya asked him, 'O Messenger of God, forgive me!' But he replied, 'No, by God, you'll not stroke your beard in Mecca and say, 'I've twice deceived Muḥammad!'' Strike off his head, Zubayr!' And his head was severed."

Ibn Hishām also stated, "Ibn al-Musayyab was quoted to me as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'A believer doesn't get bitten twice from the same lair; strike off his head, 'Āṣim b. Thābit!' And his head was severed."

Ibn Hishām went on, "Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ was given sanctuary by 'Uthmān provided that he remain only three days. Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha and 'Ammār b. Yāsir to capture him, telling them, 'You'll find him in such and such a place; kill him!' And they did so, may God be pleased with them both."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was related to me by al-Zuhri that 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy had a particular spot (in the mosque) he would occupy each Friday; this position

13. The sanctity of the *hajj* season would deprive the Meccans of the opportunity of attacking the Muslims.

would not be disputed by anyone else, out of respect for him and his people, he being a chieftain. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took his seat to address the people on Friday, ‘Abd Allāh would arise and say, ‘People, this is the Messenger of God before you. God has given you honour and glory through him. Give him aid and support and listen and obey.’ He would then sit down.

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men had returned to Medina, following the events at Uḥud, ‘Abd Allāh got up as usual but the Muslims grasped his clothing from all sides, saying, ‘Sit down, you enemy of God! You’re no longer worthy of that, having acted as you did!’

“He therefore left, stepping over the necks of the men there, saying, ‘By God, it’s as if I were committing some sin by arising to express my support for him!’

“At the door of the mosque he was met by some of the *anṣār*, who asked him, ‘What’s wrong with you?’ He replied, ‘I arose to express my support for him, but some of his Companions jumped on me and roughed me up. It’s as if I were committing some sin by arising to express my support for him!’ ‘Go back inside’, they told him, ‘and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will ask them to forgive you.’ ‘By God,’ he replied, ‘I don’t want him to ask forgiveness for me!’”

Ibn Ishāq then referred to what was revealed in the Qur’ān concerning the battle of Uḥud, in *sūrat Āl-‘Imrān*, beginning with the verse, “And (remember) when you went forth in the morning from your family to place the believers in positions for the fighting. And God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.”

He made reference to 60 verses and discussed these.

We have ourselves written at sufficient length on this in our work of exegesis.

He then proceeded to mention the martyrs of Uḥud, enumerating them and their names and those of their fathers, according to their tribes, as was his custom.

He referred to 4 of the *muhājirin* – Ḥamza, Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr, ‘Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Shammās b. ‘Uthmān, God be pleased with them all. He named 65 *anṣār* who were killed. Ibn Hishām added 5 other names to these; thus in his view the *anṣār* killed totalled 70 men.

Ibn Ishāq then named those of the polytheists who were killed; these totalled 22 men whom he arranged by their tribes.

I observe that none of the polytheists were captured except for Abū ‘Azza al-Jumāḥī, as al-Shāfi‘ī and others report. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had him killed right before him; he ordered al-Zubayr to execute him. It is also said that this was done by ‘Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aflāḥ. The man’s head was cut off.

Chapter: The verses exchanged between the believers and the unbelievers concerning the battle of Uḥud.

We record here the poems of the unbelievers merely in order to give the responses to them made in the Islamic poetry, emphasizing the aesthetic and intellectual impact of the latter and exposing the idiocy of the former, that rabble!

Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq, may God be pleased with him, stated, "Among the poems spoken at Uḥud was the following by Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī, a follower of the religion of his people, the Quraysh,

'Why do I suffer this painful love-sickness that afflicts me for Hind when warriors are on the move?

Hind now blames and reproaches me at a time when warfare diverts me from her,
Easy now, do not reproach me; my character is thus, as you have learned, and I have never concealed.

I give aid to Banū Ka'b as they require; I bear weights and burdens I suffer from.

I bore my sword upon a tall, long-paced steed, smooth its gait, keeping up with the rest when it runs,

As it races it is like an onager in the wild which, though pursued, stays by the female asses, protecting.

From the line of A'waj he is, and the crowd loves him; he is like the healthy, full branch of a very tall tree.

I readied him along with a fine, select blade and a spear for whatever dangers I might meet.

And also chain-mail, rippling like running water, finely wrought and closely fitting, no faults apparent.

We led Kināna forth from the ends of Yemen across the lands, herding them along.

Kināna asked, "Where are you taking us?" We replied, "To al-Nukhayl."¹⁴ And so they headed for it, and for those there.

We were the knights of the battle on the slope of Uḥud; Ma'add were afraid, so we said we would go to them.

They feared the blows and thrusts, accurate and damaging, that they had seen when their advance forces were engaged.

Then we arrived like a hailstorm, and up went the bird-spirit of Banū al-Najjār, mourning them,

And their heads in the battle were like ostrich eggs, shattered and scattered.

Or a colocynth plant, its stem dried out, being buffeted by fierce winds.

We expend our funds generously and without accounting and thrust at the knights, in their eyes, from all sides.

Many is the night a man warms himself at a carcass he has slaughtered, but reserved for the wealthy he invited.

And many the frosty and rainless, freezing night of Jumādā I've travelled through,
So bitter cold that dogs would bark only once, and snakes not move.

On such nights I've lit for the needy a big fire, bright as lightning, illuminating all around.

'Amr and his father before him bequeathed me this practice, one he would often repeat.

Such men rivalled the stars in brightness, their achievements no less than the greatest of deeds."

14. A well near Medina.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him, responded with the following verses."

However, Ibn Hishām said that these were also attributed to Kaʿb b. Mālik and others. In my view the attribution Ibn Ishāq makes to Ḥassān is more widely and frequently accepted. But God knows best.

"It was your foolishness that made you blindly lead Kināna against the Messenger, for God's forces would humble them.

You brought them down to pools of death that morning, for being killed and hell-fire await them.

You gathered up Abyssinian slaves, devoid of ancestry, you chiefs of disbelief, deceived by your tyrants.

Did you not remember God's horsemen when they killed those at the well, and those they threw therein?

How many were the captives we freed without cost and how many a forelock we cropped of those we mastered!"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Kaʿb b. Mālik also spoke the following verses in response to Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī,

'Has, then, Ḥassān heard about us, even though between us and them there is desert land difficult to traverse?

Wastelands and mountains, their dark forms from the distance looking like barren dust columns, widely scattered,

Where young, hardy camels weaken and the annual heavy rain clouds pass over when they come,

Where the bones of the carcasses of exhausted beasts appear stretched out like the linens of traders.

There the wild cows and the antelopes walk in file and ostrich eggs have their shells scattered far.

Our fighters defending our faith are all fine warriors, the crests of their helmets glinting.

Every chain-mail in storage when put on seems like a full-running stream.

But at Badr ask any man you meet and any news of people far away may be useful.

There we were in the land of fear and had others than us been there, they would have left by night, in flight.

When one of our out-riders came he would say, "Prepare for what Ibn Ḥarb is gathering and preparing."

No matter how others would react at what affects us, we would have remained more calm than them.

If others than us had faced such a host, they would have given up and dispersed.

We battled them and no tribe could have withstood us without becoming terrified and taking flight.

When they went to live at al-ʿIrḍ,¹⁵ our chief said, "If we do not protect *al-ʿIrḍ*, the seed, why sow it?

15. A place on the outskirts of Medina. The use of the word *ʿird* again in the same verse, meaning "seed", is, of course, a deliberate pun.

We have a messenger among us whose instruction we obey; when he orders us we do not delay.

The spirit comes down upon him from his Lord, made to descend from the heavens and then to arise again.

We seek his advice on what we want, and our goal is to listen and obey all his wishes."

The messenger said, when they came in our sight, "Give up fear of death and seek it instead;

Be like those who sell their lives by coming close to a King who gives life and restores it.

Take up your swords and put your trust in God; all power rests with God."

We headed straight for them on their mounts, our swords held above us and not afraid,

Our squadron bearing swords and lances, the feet of our mounts not wavering once planted.

We plunged on as into the waves of the sea, amidst which were their Abyssinians, some bearing armour, others not.

They were 3,000 strong, we some 300 or at most 400 choice warriors

When we plunged into them death flowed all around us; we raced towards death's pool and we came first.

Lote-wood bows shot to and fro between us, all with fine strings from Yathrib,

The arrows all made from the holy city of Ṣā'īd, and treated with poison when crafted

That pierced men's bodies and sometimes glanced off their armour, making a noise.

The cavalry on the plain were numerous as locusts on a cool night, brought by an east wind.

Then we clashed and fighting was fierce between us; and there is no denying God's command.

We struck at them until we left their leaders in the hollow lying like felled trees.

That morning and on till refreshed by evening, our energy was like the heat of a fire, consuming all.

They retreated in suffering, as though they were cloud remnants that had shed their water, blown away by the wind.

We advanced, our rearguard following slowly; we were like lions striking out at their game at Bisha.

We caused casualties, as did the enemy to us; it was we who acted, but God's role was greater.

We fought hard and they fought too, all getting their fill of evil.

We are a people who do not consider that to kill is blameworthy for those who protect and defend their charges.

Stoic in adversity, we never find ourselves to weep over someone killed.

We are warriors who never retract what we said, and we never despair at whatever warfare brings.

We are warriors who, if victorious, never commit atrocities, and we never complain at our injuries.

We are like a flame from whose heat others seek protection while those near it and exposed are scorched.

You claim superiority over me, Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, yet a party went forth in pursuit of you late at night.

And so on the heights of Maʿadd and elsewhere ask yourself about which of all men is the least esteemed,

And who it was the warfare left with nothing to boast of, and whose face was most shamed in the battle.

We attacked you fiercely, with God's help and support, the heads of our spears well directed.

Our lances caused wounds among you like the orifices of waterskins, gushing water.

We headed for the standard-bearers and those who speed to defend the banner are those swiftest in receiving praise.

Yet your men were traitors and gave up in desertion; and God refutes any order but it is He who is most effective.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibaʿrā spoke the following verses about the battle of Uḥud, he still being a polytheist at that time,

‘O rook of ill-omen, since you foretell, then speak; you only announce what is already done.

Both good and evil have their course and both of these have witnesses to them.

For them gifts are valueless and the graves of rich and poor are all alike.

All life, all pleasure, fades and fate's handmaidens toy with us all.

Convey to Ḥassān a message from me, for composing poetry alleviates those in pain.

How many were the skulls you saw at the mountain's foot, how many the severed feet and arms.

How plentiful the fine armour removed from warriors slaughtered in the fray.

How many the noble lord we killed, men of fine lineage, on both sides, leaders and heroes,

Men truly brave, lords of distinction, not cowards when the sharp points struck.

Ask al-Mihrās, the well at Uḥud, what skulls and brains inhabit it, like partridges.

How I wish that my elders at Badr had witnessed the terror of the al-Khazraj when the points struck home,

When warfare scratched its chest at Qubā and killing boiled among the ʿAbd al-Ashhal.

They sped away rapidly then, like young ostriches climbing up the mountain.

Of their nobles we killed twice as many, and we reversed the trend at Badr, and it was equalized.

I am not blaming ourselves, except that if we had done it again we would have harmed them badly

With our Indian swords rising above their heads, drinking deep again and again.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him, responded as follows,

'Ibn al-Zibā'ra got carried away by a battle in which we had the advantage; if only he had been fair!

We damaged you and you us; warfare sometimes goes in cycles like that.

We put our swords to your shoulders and there we drank your blood time and again.

We made your backsides flow, as happens to old camels eating *'aṣaḥ*¹⁶ for medicine!

You took to your heels in flight in the defile, following along like sheep.

Then we attacked you fiercely, forcing you down to the foot of the mountain;

Our groups of warriors were like *ashdāq*¹⁷ in the desert wastes, terrifying whomever came across them.

The defile pressed in upon us and we crossed through it and filled its heights and low places alike,

With men whose equal you are not and who were aided by Gabriel who came down.

It was our piety that won the day at Badr, our obedience to God and our belief in the prophets.

We killed every one of their chieftains and all their nobles in flowing robes.

At the battle of Badr we left shame upon Quraysh and exemplary tales to be told.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in truth was witness to the battle of Badr, while the short, corpulent men

Of Quraysh assembled there were like unattended camels gathering in a pasture.

It is we, not people like you born to your mothers' arses, who face up to the fray when warfare comes!"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ka'b recited the following verses honouring Ḥamza and those Muslims, may God be pleased with them all, killed with him at Uḥud,

'You wept. And was it another who made you do so, when it was you who cried when remembering?

Your memory was of a people about whom stories have reached me in this tortuous time.

To think of them your heart throbs in longing and tear-filled sadness.

But those they killed are in pleasant gardens, honoured therein both when they enter or leave

For what they endured beneath the flag, the flag of the prophet at Dhū al-Aḍwuj¹⁸

That day when all of Aws and Khazraj gave answer with their swords.

Along with Aḥmad's men following the truth, its path so well illuminated.

They kept on striking the warriors as they traversed through the swirling dust.

So it was until the King summoned them to a garden whose entrance was shielded by much foliage.

All of them died heroically, in God's faith, and received no punishment,

Like Ḥamza when he held true, wielding a sharp sword, cutting deep.

16. A word with various connotations, i.e. honey, date juice, flowers, gum from trees etc.

17. The word *shidq*, pl. *ashdāq* means according to the dictionaries, the sides or ends of valleys. It also has a connotation of the sides of the mouth and of being large-mouthed, or talkative and eloquent. Its precise meaning here is unclear.

18. A site near Uḥud.

The slave of Banū Nawfal confronted him, snorting like a black camel,
 And ran him through with a spear, fast as a flame blazing up in a fire.
 Nu'mān fulfilled his promise, and Hanzalla, the good, did not turn away
 From the truth until his spirit passed on to a place splendid with jewels.
 Those were men, not those of yours lying in the furthest depths of hell."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses in mourning for Ḥamza and the Muslims struck down at the battle of Uḥud. It is in the same rhyme as the poem of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt eulogizing the polytheists killed at the battle of Badr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "There are some scholars expert in the poetry who deny that this poem should be attributed to Ḥassān. But God knows best."

(Ḥassān b. Thābit recited),

"O Mayy, arise and lament loudly as the mourning women do,
 Like hags bearing heavy burdens, complaining, overladen,
 Wailing, and scratching at the faces of other women,
 Their flowing tears reminding one of pillars stained with the blood of sacrifice,
 Tearing at their hair and letting its ends appear,
 Looking like the tails of restive horses being tossed in the morning,
 Looking like scraps of meat cut up and left to be blown dry in the wind.
 They cry in sadness, mourning women overwhelmed by tragedy,
 Their hearts wounded, emitting pus from beneath scabs,
 Now that fate has struck down those we relied upon when we feared
 The warriors at Uḥud injured, and destroyed by fate,
 Our knights and protectors when warriors are sent forth.
 O Ḥamza, I will not, I swear, ever forget you as long as time goes on.
 You were the refuge of orphans, strangers and modest-eyed widows,
 Protecting against that fate that brings successive, searing wars.
 O knight and champion, O Ḥamza, you were our gallant defender
 Protecting us from terrible, calamitous blows of hate.

I thought of you as the lion of the Prophet, who is himself our champion, our protector,

He who has always been considered when our noble and generous lords are counted.
 Towering above all nobles in fame, a man of generosity and pre-eminence,
 Not an irresponsible or fearful or weak man who complains at bearing burdens.

A liberal man who would never withhold any generosity or kindness from his neighbours.

Fine young men have perished, men of great esteem,
 Men who would provide food in winter when the cattle were dispersed,
 Camel meat with chunks and slices of fat on top of it,
 Defending their neighbours for so long as those hating them attack.
 I grieve for the young men of whom we are deprived, men like shining lamps,
 Proud men, lords, nobles, men of generosity and breeding,
 Men who purchased praise with their wealth, for praise brings dividends,
 Men who jumped to their bridles if there cried out for them

Someone beset by the misfortunes of an evil time,
 His mounts moving steadily along on the flat land,
 Competing with one another, he being in one group whose chests poured with sweat,
 Moving on until success came, but not from the luck of a winning arrow of chance.
 O Ḥamza, you have rendered me lonely, like a branch severed by someone
 pruning it.

I express my pain to you, now that earth and stones are piled above you,
 And a flagstone placed on top of you by the gravedigger, completing his work,
 On an open plain, covering the grave with earth and smoothing it well.
 Our consolation is for us to say, though our speaking it is very hard, that whoever
 has been spared life's misfortunes
 Should come to us for his eyes to weep for our noble dead
 Who acted as they spoke, men of generosity and good deeds,
 Men whose hands were always stretched forth in liberality."

Ibn Hishām commented, "Most scholars of poetry refute attribution of this poem to Ḥassān."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses eulogizing Ḥamza and his fellow warriors,

'Struck by anxiety, you lay sleepless, worried that joyful youth had been stripped
 from you,

While a Ḍamrī girl invited your heart to loving; but your passion is of Ghawr, and
 your wakefulness of Najd.

Abandon excessive pursuit of passion; you were always blamed for acting that way.

It is now time for you to refrain, obediently, and to pay heed when counsel warns.

You were devastated by the loss of Ḥamza, your stomach in confusion.

If Mt. Ḥirā' itself suffered such a shock its peaks would collapse.

A chief he was, formed from Ḥashim's stock wherein lie prophethood, nobility and
 leadership,

Leaders who would slaughter big-humped camels when the wind almost froze the
 water,

Men who would leave their brave foes prostrate on the battlefield, their lances
 broken in two.

This was a man who strutted in his armour as though he were a huge, brown,
 big-pawed lion.

He was the uncle and the confidant of the Prophet, Muḥammad, and he went most
 gloriously to his death.

He went with distinction to his fate, one of a family who aided the Prophet, and of
 whom some sought martyrdom.

Hind was told the good tidings of this, to alleviate the burning pain inside her,

When we met her folk that morning on the sandhill, that day her happiness fled.

(And we talked) of the well at Badr, when Gabriel and Muḥammad, beneath our
 flag, repelled the enemy,

So that the Prophet saw their hosts as two parts whom we could either kill or drive
 away at will,

Left prostrate at the site, they were 70 in number, ʿUtba and al-Aswad among them.

And Ibn al-Mughīra too whom we struck above his neck-artery, making it flow and foam.

And it was a sharp sword in the hands of the believers that set Umayya al-Jumāḥī straight.

The polytheist rabble came to you, chased by the cavalry, like ostriches in retreat.

What a difference there is in those for ever in hell and those who dwell in paradise in eternity!"

Ibn Ishāq went on to say that Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following verses in mourning for Ḥamza and his fellow warriors killed at the battle of Uḥud. Ibn Hishām, however, stated that Abū Zayd recited them to him as having been composed by Kaʿb b. Mālik. But God knows best.

"My eyes wept, and they had a right to do so; but weeping and wailing will do no good.

For the lion of God, that day they asked, 'Could that man slain be Ḥamza?'

Through his death all the Muslims were injured there, the Messenger as well.

O Ḥamza, Yaʿqā's father, the very foundations were destroyed; you were the epitome of glory, piety and kindness.

May God's peace be upon you in paradise, in pleasure that will never end!

O Ḥāshim, of all men the best, be steadfast; and all your deeds were good and generous.

The Messenger of God is noble and patient; it is at God's command he enunciates when he speaks.

Who will inform Luṣayy for me, for after today, the world will be utterly changed.

And before this day they have known and tasted deeds of ours by which the thirst for vengeance was satisfied.

You have all forgotten our blows at the pool of Badr, that day when sudden death struck you.

That day when Abū Jahl fell prostrate, the vultures circled and hovered above him,

And ʿUtba and his son also fell, and Shayba was bitten by the burnished sword.

There we left Umayya stretched out, a slim spear between his ribs.

Ask the heads of Banū Rabīʿa; our swords have notches because of them.

O Hind,¹⁹ weep and tire not of it; for you are passionate, shedding tears as though bereaved of a son.

And You, Hind, show no joy at Ḥamza's death; your exultation is despicable.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ṣafiyya daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses, mourning her brother Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. She was the mother

19. This Hind is presumably Hind daughter of Uthātha b. ʿAbbad b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who had eulogized Ḥamza (see above p.52), while the Hind of the next line would be the daughter of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, the wife of Abū Sufyān, who had sworn to eat Ḥamza's liver when the latter had killed her father ʿUtba at Badr. The two women spoke verses against one another after the battle of Uḥud.

of al-Zubayr and was the aunt of the Prophet (ṢAAS); may God be pleased with them all.

'Are you, sisters of mine, asking, in fear, those present at Uḥud, the ignorant and knowledgeable alike?

The knowledgeable replied, "Ḥamza is dead! The adviser, the very best adviser of the Messenger of God!

The God of truth and the throne has summoned him to paradise, where he will live in joy."

That was what we had hoped for; we anticipate for Ḥamza the best of fortunes on assembly day.

By God, I'll not forget you so long as the winds blow; I will mourn and be sad whether I am at home or away.

For God's lion who was a defender who protected Islam from all who disbelieved.

How I wish my limbs and bones had been there then, for the hyenas and vultures to attack me!

I say, my family having made louder their lament, "May God reward well this brother, this champion!"'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Nu'mān, wife of Shammās b. 'Uthmān, spoke the following verses in mourning for her husband; but God, to whom all praise and credit are due, knows best.

'Eyes, weep copiously and without stop for a noble, brave warrior,

A man of firm conviction and fine disposition, a standard-bearer and a horseman.

When his death was announced, I cried in pain, "Gone is the man of generosity! Gone is he who fed and clothed!"

And I said, when his usual places were empty of him, "May God not distance from us our nearness to Shammās!"'"

"Her brother al-Ḥakam b. Sa'īd b. Yarbū' responded as follows in consoling her,

'Guard your modesty, in seclusion and dignity; Shammās was just one of our men.

Do not kill yourself because his death has come, in obedience of God, and on a day of violence and terror.

Now Ḥamza was God's lion; so bear up, for he tasted from Shammās's cup that day.'

"Hind, daughter of 'Utba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, recited, upon their return from Uḥud,

'I have returned home with my mind in much confusion, some of those I was after having escaped me,

Those of Quraysh at Badr, and others, including some of Banū Hāshim and of the people of Yathrib.

However, I did gain one thing, even if it was not all as I had hoped in my journey.'" "

Ibn Ishāq gives many more such poems. We have left out the others because of our concern not to be long-winded and boring; those poems we have given suffice. And to God be all praise.

Al-Umawī gave in his military chronicles even more poems than Ibn Ishāq; this was his usual practice, though even more evident here.

Among the verses quoted from Ḥassān b. Thābit were the following delivered about the battle of Uḥud,

“It was the devil they obeyed, when he let them down and their disgrace and failure was fully evident,

When they shouted in unison with Abū Sufyān, ‘Rise up, Hubal!’

We all answered back, ‘Our Lord, the All-Merciful, is greater and more splendid!’

Be sure, you used this cry once at the ‘pool of death’ (at Badr), death being a place to drink.

You should know that when thoughts of death must be slaked, we are cooking pots on the boil.”

It seems that these verses may well be part of Ḥassān’s response to ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zibāʿrā; but God knows best.

This brings to an end commentary on the battle of Uḥud.

DIVISION.

There has been recounted above those events, raids and expeditions that occurred in 3 AH. The best-known of these was the battle of Uḥud, that occurred in the middle of Shawwāl of that year, as we have detailed above. And to God be all praise.

At Uḥud, there died as a martyr Abū Yaʿlā, also known as Abū ‘Amāra, Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was known as ‘God’s lion’ and ‘His messenger’s lion’. He was the foster-brother of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as also was Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Asad. All were suckled by Thuwayba, the freed-woman of Abū Lahab, this fact being established in a reliable *ḥadīth* account.

He would, moreover, have been more than 50 when he was killed. He was a brave, heroic man and a major early trusting follower; at that battle others totalling 70 were killed along with him. May God be pleased with them all!

That same year ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān married Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following the death of her sister Ruqayya. His betrothal to her took place in Rabī‘ al-Awwal of that year, and the marriage was consummated in Jumādā al-Ākhira, as has been told above. Al-Wāqidi related this.

Ibn Jarīr also said of that year: “Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb was born to Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).” He added that the same year she conceived al-Ḥusayn; may God be pleased with them all!

In the name of God, the Most Merciful
and Compassionate; O Lord, facilitate!

THE YEAR 4 AH.

In Muḥarram of that year Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad made his foray against Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī, and he went on as far as the place known as Qaṭan.

Al-Wāqidi quoted 'Umar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd al-Yarbū'ī, from Salama b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Abū Salama and others, as having said, "Abū Salama was present at Uḥud, where he was seriously wounded in the upper arm. He rested for a month recuperating and then, in Muḥarram, at the beginning of 35 months after the Hijra, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned him and told him, 'I want you to go forth into Banū Asad territory and to attack them.'" He charged him to behave with piety and to treat the Muslims with him well.

One hundred and fifty men accompanied him on this expedition.

He went out to near Qaṭan, which is a well belonging to Banū Asad, where Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī and his brother Salama, both sons of Khuwaylid, were also present. He had assembled his allies from Banū Asad with the intention of making war against the Prophet (ṢAAS). But one of their men had come to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him of what they were planning against him. He had therefore dispatched Abū Salama on this expedition.

When they (the Muslims) reached their territory, they dispersed, leaving large quantities of camels and goats as booty for them. Abū Salama took all this into his possession, along with three of their slaves he had taken prisoner, and set out to return to Medina. He then awarded a substantial portion of the booty to that man of Banū Asad who had given them information. Having extracted the portion due to the Prophet (ṢAAS), a slave and one-fifth of the booty, he divided up the rest among his companions. Then he entered Medina."

'Umar b. 'Uthmān stated that 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Ubayd related to him, from 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Sa'īd b. Yarbū'ī, from 'Umar b. Abū Salama, who said, "It was Abū Usāma al-Jushamī who injured my father. He spent a month recovering and when he had done so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him, in Muḥarram of that year, 4 AH that is, to Qaṭan. He was away for some ten days and when he returned to Medina his wound got the better of him and he died, three days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Uwla."

'Umar then added, "My mother then observed the *'idda*²⁰ period of four months and ten days. Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with her and this he consummated a few days prior to the end of Shawwāl. My mother used to say, 'There's nothing wrong with contracting and consummating a marriage in Shawwāl; it was then that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both contracted and consummated marriage with me.'"

20. The period of waiting prescribed in Islamic law during which a woman may not remarry following the death of her husband.

He stated that Umm Salama died in Dhū al-Qa‘da, 59 AH.

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

I observe that we will report in regard to the latter part of this year, 4 AH, that it was in Shawwāl that the Prophet (ṢAAS) arranged his marriage with Umm Salama. (I will also comment) on whether the son negotiates on his mother’s behalf in marriage, and I will note the views of scholars in that regard. If God Almighty wills it so, and in Him is all confidence.

THE EXPEDITION TO AL-RAJĪ.

Al-Wāqidi stated, “In Ṣafar — of the year 4 AH — the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent men to the Meccans to receive safe passage from them.”

He added, “Al-Rajī‘ is positioned some eight miles from ‘Asfān.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hishām b. Yūsuf, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Amr b. Abū Sufyān al-Thaqafi, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent out a reconnaissance expedition, having appointed ‘Āṣim b. Thābit as their leader; he was the grandfather of ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

“They travelled out to a point between ‘Asfān and Mecca and there news of them reached a tribe of Banū Hudhayl known as Banū Liḥyān. The latter proceeded to pursue them, their force consisting of some 100 archers. They followed their tracks to a camp site where they had made a halt and there they found kernels of the dates with which the Muslims had provisioned themselves in Medina. The Banū Liḥyān men recognized these as being from Medina, followed on after them and eventually caught up with them.

“When ‘Āṣim and his companions could go no further, they took refuge on an outcrop of rock where they were surrounded by Banū Liḥyān. The latter told them, ‘If you come on down, we give you our pledge and promise not to kill any one of you.’ ‘Āṣim replied, ‘For myself, I’ll not place myself under the security of a non-believer. O God, inform Your prophet about us!’

“The Banū Liḥyān men then attacked and killed ‘Āṣim and seven of his men with arrows. Khubayb, Zayd and one other man remained alive. When Banū Liḥyān repeated their pledge and promise, Khubayb and the others came down. When they had them in their power, their enemy untied some bow strings with which they bound their prisoners. The third Muslim remonstrated, ‘So now the treachery begins!’ He then refused to accompany them. His captors dragged him along, trying to force him to accompany them, but when he resisted, they killed him.

“They then set off with Khubayb and Zayd and sold them in Mecca. The tribe of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Āmir b. Nawfal bought Khubayb; it had been Khubayb who had killed al-Ḥārith at the battle of Badr. He remained with them for some time as their prisoner until they decided to kill him. Khubayb then asked one of

al-Ḥārith's daughters if he could borrow a razor with which to shave his pubic hair and she loaned him one.

"She later said, 'My attention then left a baby of mine who crawled over to Khubayb, who lifted it up on to his lap. When I saw the baby there I was terrified and Khubayb, holding the razor, saw this and asked, 'Are you scared I might kill him? I would hope to God I'd never do any such thing!'

"She used to comment, 'I never saw a better prisoner than Khubayb. I once saw him, bound in irons, eating a large bunch of grapes at a time when there were no such fruit in Mecca; the grapes were nothing but bounty that God bestowed on him.'

"His captors ultimately took him outside the sanctuary to kill him. He asked, 'Allow me to make two *rak'āt* in prayer.' Having done so, he went over to them and said, 'Except for the fact that you would have thought me scared of dying, I would have prayed longer.' He was the first to institute the practice of making two *rak'āt* before execution. Khubayb then said, 'O God, count them one by one, and give them violent death!'

"He also spoke the following verses,

'Being killed as a Muslim, I care not how my death comes, since it is in God's cause.

For that is God's prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessings to severed limbs.'

"Thereupon 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith went up and killed him. Quraysh later sent for a part of 'Āṣim's body that they would recognize; 'Āṣim had killed one of their leaders at Badr. But God sent down a cloud of wasps; these protected his body from the Quraysh emissaries who could not gain access to him."

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from 'Amr, who heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "It was Abū Sarwa'a who killed Khubayb."

I comment that the man's name was 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith. He accepted Islam thereafter and there is a *ḥadīth* attributed to him concerning the foster relationship. It is said that Abū Sarwa'a and 'Uqba were brothers. But God knows best.

This is the account of the expedition to al-Raji' as given by al-Bukhārī in the section of military campaigns in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He also related this in his section on *al-tawḥīd*, and on *al-jihād*, through various lines from al-Zuhri, 'Amr b. Abū Sufyān, Asad b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafi, ally of Banū Zuhra. Some authorities give the above name as 'Umar b. Abū Sufyān, though it is widely accepted to be 'Amr.

In one account of al-Bukhārī he states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) despatched ten men on a reconnaissance expedition, appointing 'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ as their leader."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Mūsā b. ʿUqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, however, offer somewhat contradictory accounts. We will give herewith the wording of Ibn Ishāq to show the difference and discrepancy. Ibn Ishāq is, however, the unchallenged leading authority in this, for as al-Shāfiʿi, may God be pleased with him, put it, "Whoever wishes to research the early military engagements is reliant upon Muḥammad b. Ishāq."

Ibn Ishāq stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to him, "A group of men from ʿAḍal and from al-Qāra approached the Messenger of God (SAAS) after the battle of Uḥud and asked, 'O Messenger of God, Islam has already reached us. Could you now send a group of your Companions to give us instruction in the religion, in how to recite the Qurʾān, and in the laws of Islam?'"

"The Messenger of God (SAAS), therefore did send with them a group of six of his Companions. These were Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī, an ally of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib – Ibn Ishāq relates that he was their leader – Khālīd b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī, ally of Banū ʿAdī, ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlaḥ, brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Khubayb b. ʿAdī, brother of Banū Jahjabī b. Kulfa b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Zayd b. al-Dathina, brother of Banū Bayāda b. ʿĀmir, ʿAbd Allāh b. Tāriq, ally of Banū Zafar. May God be pleased with them all."

Ibn Ishāq, therefore, is stating that they were six in number; Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated the same, and named them as Ibn Ishāq had done.

Al-Bukhārī, however, states that they were ten in number and, according to him, it was ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aflaḥ who was their leader. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "These men went forth as far as al-Rajīʿ, a well belonging to Hudhayl in the Ḥijaz, above al-Hadʿa.²¹ There (other persons) betrayed them and aroused Hudhayl against them. The party were there in camp when men bearing swords suddenly descended upon them. They therefore took up their own swords to do battle. Their attackers, however, told them, 'We swear by God we don't want to kill you; we just want to get some money for you from the Meccans. We pledge and promise by God that we will not kill you.'

"Marthad, Khālīd b. al-Bukayr and ʿĀṣim b. Thābit, however, replied, 'By God, we'll never accept any pledge or oath made by a polytheist.' ʿĀṣim b. Thābit then recited – and God knows best and to Him is all praise and reliance –

'What weakness do I have, a brave archer with a bow that has a tough string?
Long, thick arrows can wing from it; and death is truth, life false.
All that God determines comes about for man and man to Him returns.
If I do not battle you, then may my mother be bereaved!'

"ʿĀṣim also recited,

'I am Abū Sulaymān, and I have arrows made by al-Muqʿad²² and weapons like hell's fire.

21. A location between ʿAsfān and Mecca, some seven miles from ʿAsfān.

22. The name of a well-known Meccan arrow-maker.

When fighters throng, I'm not afraid; I have my shield of smooth bull's leather.
And I'm a believer in Muḥammad's mission.'

"He also said,

'I'm Abū Sulaymān, an archer, and my people are of noble stock.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He then fought until he was killed, as were also two of his companions.

"When 'Āṣim was killed, Hudhayl wanted to take his head and sell it to Sulāfa, daughter of Sa'd b. Suhayl. She had sworn after he had killed her two sons at Uhud that if she got possession of 'Āṣim's head, she would drink wine from his skull.

"But when wasps prevented their getting access to it, they said, 'Let's leave him till nightfall; then they will leave and we will take it.' And so God sent (a flood) into the *wādi* which bore 'Āṣim away. He had made a pledge to God that no polytheist would ever touch him, or he one of them, because they might sully him.

"Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say, when someone said that the wasps had protected him, 'God does protect believers.'

"'Āṣim had sworn that no polytheist would ever touch him or he one of them during his life; and God protected him after his death just as he had defended God while living!"²³

Ibn Ishāq went on, "However, Khubayb, Zayd b. al-Dathina and 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāriq were weak and pliant and protective of their lives and so gave themselves up. The enemy took them prisoner and then took them into Mecca to sell them there.

"When they were in al-Zahrān, 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāriq extracted his hand from his bonds and drew his sword. The enemy, however, kept their distance from him and pelted him with stones until they had killed him. His grave is there at al-Zahrān.

"Khubayb b. 'Adī and Zayd b. al-Dathina were brought on into Mecca where they were bought by Quraysh in exchange for two prisoners of Hudhayl who were in Mecca.

"Ḥujayr b. Abū Ihāb al-Tamīmī, an ally of Banū Nawfal, bought Khubayb on behalf of 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal to kill him for his father; Abū Ihāb was the brother of al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir by the same mother.

"Zayd b. al-Dathina was bought by Safwān b. Umayya to kill him in revenge for his own father. Safwān despatched him to al-Tan'īm in the company of a freed-man of his named Nisās who took him outside the sanctuary to kill him. A group of Quraysh gathered among whom was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. Abū Sufyān asked him, as he was being brought forth for execution, 'I implore you, by God, Zayd; wouldn't you like it to be Muḥammad here in your place with us now for us to strike off his head, and for you to be with your own people?'

23. The line could be translated alternatively: "... just as God had protected him while he was alive".

"He replied, 'By God, I would not like Muḥammad, wherever he now is, to be harmed by even a single thorn and for me to be sitting among my people.'

"Abū Sufyān used to say, 'I never saw anyone so love anyone else as Muḥammad's Companions loved Muḥammad.'

"Nisās then killed him.

"Regarding Khubayb b. 'Adī. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najih related to me that it was related to him from Māwiyya, the freed-woman of Hujayr b. Abū Ihāb, who had accepted Islam, who said, 'Khubayb was kept prisoner in my home. One day I looked at him and saw that he was eating from his hand a bunch of grapes as large as a man's head – and that at a time when I don't know of any grapes being eaten anywhere on God's earth!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "'Aṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najih related to me that she also said, 'When the time for his execution came, he said, "Send for a steel blade with which I can clean myself off for the execution."' She went on, 'So I gave a razor to a young man from the tribe and told him, "Take this to the man in the house." But no sooner had the youth left with it than I began asking myself what I had done. The man will take his revenge by killing this youth, making it one man for another, I thought. But when the youth handed Khubayb the blade, the latter commented, "Wasn't your mother afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this blade?" He then allowed the youth to leave.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is said that the youth was her own son."

Ibn Ishāq went on to quote 'Aṣim as saying, "They then took Khubayb out to al-Tan'im to crucify him.

"He spoke to them as follows, 'I'd appreciate you letting me alone to make two *rak'āt* in prayer.' They agreed and he did so very well. Then he went over to those present and said, 'I swear, if I had not been concerned that you would think I had taken a long time out of fear of dying, I would have prayed more!'

"It was Khubayb who was the first to begin the practice by Muslims of making two prayer prostrations before execution.

"They then raised him up to the scaffold and when they had bound him there he said, 'O God, we have announced your messenger's mission, so inform him tomorrow of what is being done to us.' He then said, 'O God, count them and kill them violently; let none of them escape.' They then killed him.

"Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān used to say, 'I was there along with others in the company of Abū Sufyān and had him throw me to the ground in fear of Khubayb's curse. People used to say, "A man who has an oath spoken against him can escape it by falling on his side.'"

In the *maghāzī*, military chronicle, collection of Mūsā b. 'Uqba, it states, "Khubayb and Zayd b. al-Dathina were killed on the same day and the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard of it that very day. He then said, 'May peace be upon you both' – or 'upon you', singular. 'Quraysh have killed Khubayb!'"

It is said that when they crucified Zayd b. al-Dathina, they cast arrows at him to subvert him away from his religion, but this only increased his faith and his acceptance of his fate.

Urwa and Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that when they raised Khubayb on to the wooden frame, those present called out to him, "Would you not prefer Muḥammad to be in your place?"

He replied, "No, by God Almighty, I'd not have him ransom me by having a thorn pierce his foot!" But they laughed at him. This is reported by Ibn Ishāq in his account relating to Zayd b. al-Dathina. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "They claim that it was 'Amr b. Umayya who buried Khubayb."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yahyā b. 'Abbad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father 'Abbād, from 'Uqba b. al-Ḥārith, who said, 'I heard him say, "I swear by God, it was not I who killed Khubayb; I was too young for that. It was Abū Maysara, brother of Banū 'Abd al-Dār, who took the spear and placed it in my hand. He then grasped my hand and the spear and pierced him with it until he had killed him."'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "One of our associates told me, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed Sa'īd b. 'Āmir b. Ḥidhyām al-Juḥamī over part of Syria. He would suffer from fainting spells when he was with people and this was reported to 'Umar. It was said that the man had some affliction. 'Umar asked him on a visit he made to him, "Sa'īd, what is it that ails you?" He replied, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, there's nothing the matter with me; it's just that I was among those present when Khubayb b. 'Adī was killed. And I heard his curse. And whenever I'm meeting people and recall this, I feel faint." 'Umar thought all the better of him thereafter.'"

Al-Umawī stated, "My father quoted Ibn Ishāq as having said, 'We have been told that 'Umar said, "Anyone who wants to see a man who is unique should look at Sa'īd b. 'Āmir."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "Khubayb remained in their captivity until the sacred months had expired and then they killed him."

Al-Bayhaqī related, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl, as follows, "Ja'far b. 'Amr b. Umayya related to me, from his father, from his grandfather 'Amr b. Umayya, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent him forth alone to get information. He said, 'I made my way to the wooden frame where Khubayb was and climbed up, fearing I might be seen. I released him and he fell to the ground. I then drew away a little, then turned but could not see anything there; it was as if the earth had swallowed him. And not a trace of Khubayb has appeared up to this time.'"

Ibn Ishāq then quoted Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from Sa'īd or 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When the men were killed at al-Rajī', some hypocrites said, 'How sad for those misguided people who died that way. They neither stayed with their families, nor did they carry out their master's mission.'"

It was about them that God revealed the words, "There may be a person whose words about this life may please you, while he invokes God to witness what is in his heart. Yet he may be the most vehement of enemies" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.204).

And God revealed concerning those who went on this expedition, "There are those who sell themselves seeking God's favour, and God is compassionate to His servants" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.207).

Ibn Ishāq stated that the following verses were spoken about this expedition by Khubayb when people gathered to kill him. Ibn Hishām observed that some authorities deny that he was their author:

"The parties gathered around me, assembled their tribes and collected all the groups together;

All of them showed enmity towards me and antagonism, because I was in bonds, tightly held.

They had gathered their women and children and I was taken to a tall, stout tree-trunk;

I complain to God at my isolation and my torment and at the death the enemy planned for me.

O Lord of the Throne, give me patience to withstand what it is they intend; they have slashed my flesh and my hope despairs.

This is happening in God's cause, and if He wishes He will bless torn-off limbs.

They offered me the choice between disbelief and death, and my eyes were wet from something other than fear.

I have no fear of death – and am already dead; but what I dread is the consuming fire of hell.

By God, if I die a Muslim, I care not in what way my death in God's cause may occur.

I shall not express subservience to the enemy, nor any fear, for it is to God I am returning."

Two of these verses are given also²⁴ in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. These are the lines,

"I do not care, when I die as a Muslim, in what manner my death in God's cause may occur.

This is happening in God's cause; and if He wishes, He will bless torn-off limbs."

Ibn Ishāq quotes Ḥassān b. Thābit as having spoken the following elegy for Khubayb:

"What is wrong with your eyes, ceaselessly letting fall their teardrops on to your breast like pearls,

Over Khubayb, a hero of the brave, no coward when you challenge him and not frivolous, as is well known.

24. With slight variations in some wording and the transposition of one line.

Go forth, Khubayb, and may God reward you well, in eternal paradise with *houris*²⁵ for companions.

What will you respond when the Prophet asks you, while pure angels are there on the horizon,

Why it was you killed God's martyr for a tyrant who committed crimes throughout the land?"

Ibn Hishām commented that he had left out certain verses containing obscenities.

Ḥassān also, according to Ibn Ishāq, recited the following verses attacking those of Banū Liḥyān who had betrayed those who went to al-Rajī'. But God alone, in Whom is all trust, confidence and protection, knows best.

"If pure, unadulterated treachery delights you, then go to al-Rajī' and ask where Liḥyān live;

They are a people who advise one another to eat the neighbours who come among them, dogs, monkeys and men being all alike!

If a billy-goat could talk and arose one day to address them, they would consider him someone of honour and importance!"

Ḥassān b. Thābit also said, satirizing Hudhayl and Banū Liḥyān for their treachery towards those who had gone to al-Rajī', may God be pleased with them all:

"By my life, the stories told of Khubayb and 'Āṣim have disgraced Hudhayl b. Mudrik,

Tales told of Liḥyān have brought them ignominy,
For Liḥyān have committed the most evil of crimes.

Their men, those from the very best of their tribe, those like the very hairs behind the fetlock of a horse's front legs.

They betrayed at al-Rajī' and surrendered their charges, men of decency and fine qualities.

They betrayed the apostle's messenger; Hudhayl gave no protection against horrendous crimes.

They will one day see victory go against them for killing one protected against evil actions,

By swarms of wasps guarding his flesh, protecting the flesh of one who witnessed mighty battles.

Hudhayl may well see the bodies of those killed laid out or at funerals.

We will engage them in fierce battles that riders will relate to fairgoers.

At the orders of the Messenger of God; His messenger has made his decision against Liḥyān, forcefully and with knowledge.

A despicable tribe that cares nothing for fidelity and does not repel the tyrant's hand when wronged.

When (some) people live in the open desert, then you find at the very rivers, amidst the streams.

25. In Islam, the handmaidens of paradise whose company is a reward for exemplary behaviour on earth.

Their abode is that of death; their response when harmed is like that of dumb beasts."

Ḥassān, may God be pleased with him, also spoke the following in praise of the men at al-Rajīʿ, naming them in his verses. Ibn Ishāq, God be pleased with him, recorded the following:

"May God bless those who went forth together at al-Rajīʿ and who were honoured and rewarded.

The party's leader and commander was Marthad, and Ibn al-Bukayr was their Imām, along with Khubayb.

And there was a son of Ṭāriq and Ibn Dathina was of them; it was there he met his pre-determined fate.

And there was al-ʿĀṣim, slain at al-Rajīʿ, who reached the very heights (of heaven); how much he gained!

He prevented the panderers from striking his back by fighting fiercely; he was splendid."

Ibn Hishām commented that most authorities deny that these are verses of Ḥassān.

*THE EXPEDITION OF ʿAMR B. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, FOLLOWING
THE EXECUTION OF KHUBAYB.*

Al-Wāqidi stated, Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar related to me, from his father, and (as did) ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿUbayda, from Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, and (as did) ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from ʿAbd al-Wāhid b. Abū ʿAwf, some of these giving longer accounts than others. They stated, "Abū Sufyān had asked a number of Quraysh men in Mecca, 'Won't someone assassinate Muḥammad? He goes walking in the markets. We would then have our revenge.' A bedouin came to him, went inside his house and told him, 'If you will hire me, I'll go out and assassinate him. I'm a skilled tracker and I have a dagger that is (concealed) like the under-wing feathers of an eagle.' 'Then you're our man!' he replied, and gave him a camel and expense money. He told him, 'Keep this secret; I don't want anyone to hear of this and report it to Muḥammad.' The bedouin assured him that no one would know of it.

"He then left by night on his mount, travelling on for five days, arriving in the quarter on the morning of the sixth. He then went about enquiring after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); when he reached the place for prayer someone told him, 'He has gone off to see Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal.'

"The bedouin then left, leading his mount. When he arrived where Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal were, he hobbled his camel and went to seek the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He found him amidst a group of his Companions, addressing them in his mosque. When the bedouin entered and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw

him, he told his men, 'This man intends some treachery, but God will foil his plan.' The bedouin stood there and asked, 'Which one of you is 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I'm 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son.' The bedouin approached and leaned down over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as though confiding a secret to him. But Usayd b. Ḥudayr pulled him away, saying, 'Keep away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' Usayd then felt down in his loin cloth and there found the dagger. He then announced, 'Messenger of God, this man is a traitor!'

"The bedouin stood there aghast and said, 'Take my blood! Take my blood, Muḥammad!'

"Usayd b. Ḥudayr seized him and was about to slit his throat when the Prophet (ṢAAS), said, 'Tell me the truth about yourself and why you have come. And if you tell the truth your honesty will serve you well; but if you lie to me, I'll proceed as I intended.'

"Then I'll be free?' the bedouin asked.

"Yes, you'll be free,' he replied.

"The bedouin then told him about Abū Sufyān and what he told him to do, and he was then given over to the charge of Usayd b. Ḥudayr. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned him and told him, 'I will either set you free to go wherever you want, or would you prefer something better than that?' 'What would that be?' the bedouin asked. 'That you give testimony that there is no god but God, and that I am God's messenger.'

"The bedouin then said, 'I do testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God. I swear by God, Muḥammad, that I was never afraid of any man. But as soon as I saw you all my strength left me. Then you perceived what I had intended, though no rider had reached you before myself with any information and no one had any information. So I realized that you were inviolate, that you were truth and that the party of Abū Sufyān was that of the devil.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) began to smile at this. He (the bedouin) remained there for some days then asked permission of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to leave and, having done so, nothing more was heard of him.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamri and to Salama b. Aslam b. Ḥāris, 'Go to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and if you should catch him unawares, then kill him.'

"Amr related, 'I and my companion then left, travelling on until we reached the Ya'jij valley. We tied up our mounts and my companion asked me, "'Amr, would you like for us to go on into Mecca and circumambulate the *ka'ba* seven times and make two *rak'as* in prayer?' I replied, "I'm better informed about the people of Mecca than you are and after dark they dampen down their courtyards and sit down there. I know Mecca better than a piebald mare!" But he disagreed with me and so we went on into Mecca. We made seven circumambulations and did make two *rak'as*. When I went outside (the sanctuary) I was met by

Muḥāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, who recognized me. "It's 'Amr b. Umayya! What a pity," he said. He then drew the attention of the Meccans to us, who said, "'Amr has not come here for anything good!" – 'Amr had been renowned before Islam as an assassin.

"The Meccans then gathered men together and 'Amr and Salama left, being pursued, and all hurried up into the mountains.

"'Amr went on, 'I entered a cave and hid from them till next morning. They had spent the night searching for us, but God blinded their sight from finding their way to the road to Medina. The morning of the next day, 'Uthmān b. Mālik b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī approached, looking for grass for his horse. I commented to Salama b. Aslam, "If he sees us, he'll tell the Meccans where we are, and they will discover us." He kept on approaching until he was right over us. I then went out to him and thrust my dagger once beneath a nipple. He fell down, screaming. So the Meccans gathered and advanced together, having previously been separated. I went back inside and told my companion, "Don't move!" The Meccans approached until they were right there and then they asked ('Uthmān b. Mālik) who had killed him. "It was 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī," they replied. Abū Sufyān then said, "We knew he had not come for any good reason!" But ('Uthmān) was not able to tell them where we were; he was at his last gasp and died. They were distracted from seeking us by their (dead) comrade and carried him away.

"We remained in our place for two nights until the search for us had died down; we then left for al-Tan'īm. My companion asked me, "'Amr b. Umayya, would you like us to go for Khubayb b. 'Adī, to bring him down?" "Where is he?" I asked. "Over there, crucified," he replied, "with a guard around him." I answered, "Leave me here awhile, and you go on. If something frightens you, then move over to your camel and sit on it. Then proceed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and tell him the news. Leave me here; I know the town." I then searched for him (Khubayb's body) until I found him and carried him away on my back. I had not walked more than 20 arms' lengths before they all woke up and set off after me. I threw down the wooden scaffold, and I'll never forget the sound it made. Then I piled earth up over it with my feet and took off on the Ṣafrā' road. Eventually they tired (of following) and went back, leaving me much relieved. My companion hurried over and mounted his camel, which he rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him what had happened. I then travelled on until I was overlooking al-Ghalīl, al-Ghalīl Ḍajnān; there I went into a cave carrying my bow, arrows and dagger. While I was there a man of Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr arrived; he was tall, one-eyed and herding sheep and goats. He came inside the cave and asked, "What man is here?" I replied, "A man of Banū Bakr." "I too am of Banū Bakr," he said. He then made himself comfortable, and raised his voice in a song,

"I'll be not Muslim so long as I live; I'll never
profess the Muslims' faith."

"I said to myself, "By God, I hope I get to kill you!" When he was asleep, I went over to him and killed him more brutally than I ever have anyone.

"I then left there and proceeded on down. When I got to the road, there were two men who had been sent by Quraysh to gather news. I told them, "Consider yourselves prisoners!" One of them refused, so I shot and killed him. When the other saw this, he gave himself up and I bound him and took him on in to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

"When I reached Medina, *anṣār* children gathered around me, playing, and they heard their elders say, "This is 'Amr." The children raced off to tell the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I took the prisoner in to him, having bound his thumbs together with my bow string. I noticed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was laughing. He then said a prayer for me."

The arrival of Salama was three days before that of 'Amr.

Al-Bayḥaqi related this.

It is stated above that after 'Umar cut Khubayb down, he saw no cadaver or body. Perhaps he was buried where he fell; God knows best.

Ibn Hishām merely added this expedition to the text of Ibn Ishāq, his being similar to that of al-Wāqidī. However, his account gives the companion of 'Amr b. Umayya on this expedition as Jabbār b. Ṣakhr. But God knows best; and all praise be to God.

THE EXPEDITION TO BPR MA'UNA.

It took place in Ṣafar of that year, 4 AH. The late Makḥūl, may God have mercy on him, is unique in stating that it occurred after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch".

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Ma'mar related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, quoting 'Abd al-'Aziz, from Anas b. Mālik who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out 70 men, known as *al-qurrā'*, on a mission. Their way was blocked by two tribes of Banū Sulaym, Ri'l and Dhakwān, at a well called Ma'una. The Muslims told them, 'We have not come out to fight you; we're sent on a mission for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' But the tribesmen killed them.

"Consequently, the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke against them for a month at each morning prayer. This began the practice of saying the *qunūt*;²⁶ previously we had not done so."

26. The word, used in the Qur'an, has associations of being humble and submissive to God, and also to stand up, or to remain standing. The term *du'ā al-qunūt*, the prayer of supplication or of standing, is given in Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* in Arabic and with an English translation, as follows, "O God, verily we beg for Thy aid to be obedient and to forsake disobedience, and we beg of Thee forgiveness of sins (and we believe in Thee, and we rely upon Thee) and we laud Thee well, and we will not be unthankful to Thee for Thy favour, and we cast off and forsake him who disobeys Thee: (O God Thee we worship. And to Thee we perform the divinely appointed act of prayer, and prostrate ourselves); and we are quick in working for Thee and in serving Thee; we hope for Thy mercy, and we dread Thy punishment; verily, Thy punishment overtakes the unbelievers."

Muslim related it from a *ḥadith* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, “‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Yazīd b. Zuray‘, quoting Sa‘īd, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālīk, that Ri‘l, Dhakwān, ‘Uṣayya and Banū Liḥyān asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for assistance against an enemy and so he provided them the help of 70 of the *anṣār*. We used at that time to name them the *al-qurrā’*; they would collect wood by day and pray by night. Eventually, when they were at Bīr Ma‘ūna the tribesmen killed them, having betrayed them. After this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said the *qunūt* prayers for a month, each morning saying prayers against these bedouin tribes of Ri‘l, Dhakwān, ‘Uṣayya and Banū Liḥyān.” Anas stated, “And we would recite Qur’ān verses too, but these were later rescinded. These words were, ‘Inform our people about us – that we have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.’”

Al-Bukhārī went on, “Mūsā b. Ismā‘īl related to us, quoting Hamām, from Ishāq b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, quoting Anas b. Mālīk, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out Ḥarām, the brother of Umm Sulaym, in charge of a party of 70 mounted men. The pagan chief ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl had proposed three choices to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He had told him, ‘You can have control over the bedouin, while I will control the townspeople. Or I could be appointed as your successor. Otherwise, I will do battle with you at the head of 2,000 men of Banū Ghaṭafān.’

“But ‘Āmir contracted typhoid at the home of Umm So-and-So. He then said, ‘Shall I suffer from a swelling like that of a she-camel in the home of a woman from the So-and-So family? Bring me my horse.’ And subsequently he died on the back of his horse.

“Ḥarām, Umm Sulaym’s brother, along with one man who was lame and another man of Banū So-and-So then went further on. Ḥarām told his companions, ‘Stay close by me until I get near them; if they are peaceful, you’ll be right there, but if they kill me, then you can go back to your comrades.’

“Ḥarām then went out to them and asked them, ‘Will you let me deliver in peace a message to you from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?’

“He then began addressing them, but they signalled to a man who came up to him from behind and stabbed him. Ḥarām cried out, ‘God is very great! I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *ka‘ba*!’

“The tribesmen then attacked and killed all Ḥarām’s companions except for the man who was lame, and escaped up into the mountain. It was then that God revealed to us the verses, later rescinded, ‘We have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.’

“Each morning for the following 30 days the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke prayers against Ri‘l, Dhakwān, Banū Liḥyān and ‘Uṣayya, who had disobeyed God and His messenger.”

Al-Bukhārī also said that Ḥibbān related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh, who said that Ma'mar informed him as follows, "Thumāma b. 'Abd Allāh b. Anas related to me that he heard Anas b. Mālik say, 'When Ḥarām b. Milḥān – who was Anas's uncle – was stabbed at al-Ma'ūna, he said, "Thus I do with my blood!" And he began wiping it all over his face and head. Then he said, "I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *ka'ba*!"'"

Al-Bukhārī also recounted, from 'Ubayd b. Ismā'il, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, who said, "My father told me as follows, 'When the men were killed at Bīr Ma'ūna and 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī was taken prisoner, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl asked the father, pointing to a corpse, "Who is this?" 'Amr replied, "This was 'Āmir b. Fuḥayra. And after he was killed, I saw him raised up into the sky until I could actually see sky between him and the earth. He was then brought back down." When news of them reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), he announced their death, saying, "Your comrades have been killed; they asked their Lord, 'O God, inform our brothers about us, and of how we are pleased with You and You are pleased with us.'" And so it was that He had informed them (the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions) about them. On that day 'Urwa b. Asmā' b. al-Salt, who was among them, was killed. And 'Urwa (b. al-Zubayr) was named after him, while Mundhir (b. al-Zubayr) was named after Mundhir b. 'Amr (also killed that day)."

These, then are the accounts related by al-Bukhārī on a line of transmission back to 'Urwa.

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha. That account proceeds from the Hijra and relates at its conclusion what is told here by al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidī recounted it from Muṣ'ab b. Thābit, Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa. He related the story of 'Āmir b. Fuḥayra, and how 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl reported how he was raised up to heaven. His account tells that the person who killed him was Jabbār b. Salmā al-Kilābi.

He stated, "And when the man pierced him with the spear, he exclaimed, 'I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *ka'ba*!'"

"Then Jabbār asked, 'What did he mean when he said, "I have succeeded?"' People replied, 'He meant with paradise.' And so he then said, 'He was right, by God!' Thereafter Jabbār accepted Islam, for that reason."

In the *Maghāzī*, the military chronicle, of Mūsā b. 'Uqba, 'Urwa is quoted as saying, "The body of 'Āmir b. Fuḥayra was not found; it is said that the angels hid it."

Yūnus (b. Bukayr) stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there – following Uḥud, that is – for the rest of Shawwāl, through Dhū al-Qa'da, Dhū al-Ḥijja and Muḥarram. Then, in Ṣafar, he sent out the men who died at Bīr Ma'ūna, four months following Uḥud."

He went on, "Ibn Ishāq b. Yasār related to me, from al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, along with scholars other than these two men, as follows, 'Abū Barā' 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Ja'far, (known as) *mulaṣib al-asinna*, "He who Toys with Spears", came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, who explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. But Abū Barā' neither did so nor refused, but said, "O Muḥammad, if you were to despatch some of your Companions to the people of Najd, inviting them to join you, I would hope they would respond positively to you."

"But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "But I would fear for them from the people of Najd."

"Abū Barā' replied that he would give them protection.

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) despatched al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, brother of Banū Sā'ida, (known as) *al-mu'niq li yamūt*, "Eager for Death", with a party of 40 of his companions, some of the best of the Muslims. They included al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma, Ḥarām b. Miḥān, brother of Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, 'Urwa b. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamī, Nāfi' b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'i, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, along with other warriors of the Muslim elite.

"They travelled as far as the well at Ma'ūna, between the territory of Banū 'Āmir and the *ḥarra*, "the lava field", of Banū Sulaym, where they halted. Having made camp, they sent out Ḥarām b. Miḥān with a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), addressed to 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl. When Ḥarām reached him, 'Āmir did not look at the document but attacked and killed the man. He then invited Banū 'Āmir to attack, but they refused to do as he wanted, responding, "We'll not betray Abū Barā'; he has given them a pledge and his protection."

"'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl then invited the tribes of Banū Sulaym, Uṣayya, Riḳ, Dhakwān and al-Qāra, and they agreed to attack the Muslims. They came out against them by surprising and surrounding them while the Muslims were with their baggage. When they saw the enemy attacking, they drew their swords and fought them until all the Muslims were killed, except for Ka'b b. Zayd, brother of Banū Dīnār b. al-Najjār. The left him there barely alive; he was picked up from among the dead and lived on until he was killed at the battle of al-khandaq.

"'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamri and another Muslim, one of the *anṣār*, of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, were out grazing the camels and did not know of the death of their comrades until they saw vultures circling over their camp. They assumed something was wrong when they saw the birds and when they came in to see, they found them lying in their blood while the horsemen who had killed them were still there. The man of the *anṣār* asked 'Amr b. Umayya what they should do; 'Amr suggested they return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to give him the news. But the *anṣārī* could not bring himself to leave the place where al-Mundhir b. 'Amr had been killed, and he also did not want to be the one to inform the others of the bad news. He therefore fought the enemy until he was

killed. 'Amr was taken prisoner, but when he told them he was of Banū Muḍar, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl released him, after cutting off his forelock. It is claimed that he let him go because of a pledge his mother had made.

"'Amr then left, travelling on till he reached al-Qarqara, before Qanāt; there he was met by two men of Banū 'Āmir, who made a halt at the shady place where he had stopped. The two 'Āmir men had made a pact of peace and protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which 'Amr b. Umayya was unaware. When the two men dismounted, 'Amr asked them who they were and they replied that they were of Banū 'Āmir. He left them alone until they were asleep and then he attacked and killed them, believing that by doing so he was taking revenge against their tribe for the attack they had made against the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When 'Amr b. Umayya reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), however, and told him the news, the latter told him, "You have killed two men for whom I must pay the bloodwit." He then went on to comment, "This must be the work of Abū Barā'; I was reluctant and apprehensive about this."

"When news of it reached Abū Barā', he was very upset at how 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl had betrayed him, and at what had befallen the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because of him and while under his own protection.

"Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about 'Āmir's betrayal of Abū Barā' and to incite the latter's tribe against 'Āmir,

"O tribe of Umm al-Banīn, does it not distress you,
fine men of Najd,

That 'Āmir has treated Abū Barā' with scorn in
betraying him?

And making a mistake is not the same as acting
deliberately.

Won't you ask Rabī'a, a man of deeds, 'What things have
you accomplished after I left you?

Your father, Abū Barā', is a man of war, while your
uncle Ḥakam b. Sa'd is a nobleman."'''

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Umm al-Banīn referred to was Abū Barā's mother; she was the daughter of 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣ'a'a.

"Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Mālik attacked 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl and pierced him in the thigh, but not fatally, though he did fall from his horse. 'Āmir then said, "This is the work of Abū Barā'. If I die, I award my blood to my uncle, and he is not to be pursued for it (in revenge). If I live, I will later decide what to do."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba recounted from al-Zuhri in approximately the same words as those of Muḥammad b. Ishāq. He also stated that the leader of the Muslim party was al-Mundhir b. 'Amr; he is also said to have been Marthad b. Abū Marthad.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing those killed at Bīr Ma'ūna; at least, that is what Ibn Ishāq stated, may God be pleased with him. However, God knows best:

"For those killed at Maʿūna weep endless, copious tears.

For the Prophet's cavalry who met their death, (God's) fate.

Annihilation struck them because of men who broke their pledge in treachery.

Alas for Mundhir who passed away, who accepted his death with willing stoicism!

What a lot of fine men of 'Amr's people died then!"

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ AL-NAḌĪR.

It was about this expedition that God Almighty revealed *sūrat al-Ḥaṣhr* (LIX). In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a quotation from Ibn 'Abbās that he used to refer to it as the (*sūrat*) *Banū al-Naḍīr*.

Al-Bukhārī related from al-Zuhri, who quoted 'Urwa as saying, "The expedition against Banū al-Naḍīr came six months after (the battle of) Badr, and before (the battle of) Uḥud."

Ibn Abū Ḥatīm, in his *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*, traced this from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, from al-Layth, from 'Uqayl, back to al-Zuhri.

Ḥanbal b. Ishāq related similarly, from Hilāl b. 'Alā', from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Raqī, from Muṭrif b. Māzin al-Yamānī, from Mu'ammār, from al-Zuhri; he gave the date for the battle of Badr as the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH.

He went on, "He attacked Banū al-Naḍīr, then fought the battle of Uḥud, in Shawwāl, 3 AH. In Shawwāl of 4 AH he fought the battle of al-khandaq."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Zuhri used to say that it took place before the battle of Uḥud."

He went on, "Others maintained that it occurred thereafter, and after the expedition to Bīr Maʿūna as well."

I would comment that this was what Ibn Ishāq related, as stated above. He referred to it following his account of Bīr Maʿūna and after the return of 'Amr b. Umayya and his killing of those two men of Banū 'Āmir. (This occurred because) he was not aware of the pact they had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), this leading to the latter's statement, "You have killed two men for whom I must pay the bloodwit."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went to Banū al-Naḍīr to ask their help in paying for the bloodwit for the two men of Banū 'Āmir who had been killed by 'Amr b. Umayya; this was because of the pact of protection he had given the two men. There was, moreover, a pact and a treaty between Banū al-Naḍīr and Banū 'Āmir. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to them, they replied, 'Yes, Abū al-Qāsim, we'll help you as you wish.'

"But then some of them met secretly and concluded that they would never have a better opportunity to attack the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since he was

seated at the wall of one of their houses. They asked for a volunteer to climb up on to the house to drop a rock down on him so that they would be rid of him.

"Amr b. Jaḥāsh b. Ka'b volunteered to do this and climbed up to drop the rock as suggested. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been accompanied by his Companions, who included Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī. He received information from heaven about what the enemy intended, so he got up and set off back to Medina. When his Companions tired of waiting for him, they set about looking for him and met a man arriving from Medina. When they asked him about the Prophet (ṢAAS), he replied, 'I saw him entering Medina.' The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went to him and told him of the treachery Banū al-Naḍīr had planned against him."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Muḥammad b. Maslama to tell them (Banū al-Naḍīr) to leave his territory and protection. But the hypocrites sent messages to them giving them their support, urging them to stay and promising them aid. This encouraged Banū al-Naḍīr, and Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab became adamant. They then sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they would not leave and warned him against breaking the agreements.

"It was then that the Prophet (ṢAAS) sent his forces out against them."

Al-Wāqidi continued, "They kept them besieged for 15 days."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that preparations be made to go forth to war against them."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina; this took place in Rabī' al-Awwal."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He journeyed forth and besieged them for six days. It was then that the prohibition of wine came down. The enemy set up defences in their forts and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that their date-palms be cut down and burned. They appealed to him, saying, 'Muḥammad, you used to forbid causing destruction and criticized those who did so. Why are you cutting down and burning our date-palms?'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "A group of Banū 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, including 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, Wadī'a, Mālik, Suwayd and Dā'is, had advised Banū al-Naḍīr as follows: 'If you stay firm and resist, we will not give up on you. If you fight, we'll fight along with you, and if you are expelled, we will leave with you.' And so Banū al-Naḍīr waited for their help, but they did nothing. And so God cast fear into Banū al-Naḍīr, and they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to evacuate them and to spare their blood, allowing them to depart with whatever of their belongings they could transport, except for their armour."

Al-'Awfi quoted Ibn 'Abbās as saying, "He gave one camel to each three persons, along with a baggage carrier."

Al-Bayhaqī related this, quoting Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad, from al-Zuhri, from Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maslama, from his father and his

grandfather, from Muḥammad b. Maslama, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had dispatched him to Banū al-Naḍīr with instructions to delay their withdrawal for three days.

Al-Bayhaqī also related, as did others, that they had debts outstanding to them that were due. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, "Hurry up and pay them!"

There is dispute over the veracity of this. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "They therefore loaded their belongings on their camels to the extent they could bear. Some of their men tore down their houses and removed the door lintels which they mounted on the backs of their camels and took away. Some of them left for Khaybar, while some went to Syria. Among their leaders who went to Khaybar were Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Kināna b. al-Rabi' b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, and Huyayy b. Akḥṭab. When they arrived there the people of Khaybar accepted their control.

"Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him that they were received by women and young men and gifts, with tambourines, flutes and girls walking behind them singing boldly and with pride; nothing similar is related of any tribe of people in their era.

"They left their properties for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); these consisted of their palm trees and their farms. These became his personal property to dispose of as he wished. He divided them up among those who first migrated with him, to the exclusion of the *anṣār*, except for Sahl b. Ḥanīf and Abū Dujāna. These both complained of poverty and so he gave to them."

Some authorities add al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma to these two men. Al-Suhaylī related this.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Only two men of Banū al-Naḍīr accepted Islam: Yāmīn b. 'Umayr b. Ka'b, the cousin of 'Amr b. Jaḥāsh, and Abū Sa'd b. Wahb; these men retained their properties.

"A member of Yāmīn's family related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Yāmīn, 'Did you see how your cousin treated me, and what he intended to do to me?' Yāmīn therefore gave a fee to a man to kill 'Amr b. Jaḥāsh, God damn him, and he did so."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "God revealed *sūrat al-Ḥaṣhr* in its entirety about them, telling in it of the vengeance he took on them, how He empowered His messenger over them and what He did to them."

Ibn Ishāq then detailed this. We have spoken of this at length and in clarity in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*; and to God be all praise.

God Almighty stated, "All in the heavens and all on earth declare God's glory; He is the Almighty and All-wise. He it is who drew forth from their homes for the first deportation those people of the scriptures who disbelieved. You did not think they would leave; and they thought that their forts would protect them from God. But God came at them from where they did not expect, casting fear

into them. They demolished their houses with their own hands and with those of the believers. Consider this, you who have eyes! Had God not decreed for them that they should leave, He would have punished them severely on earth; and in the hereafter, they shall have the torture of hellfire. That is because they opposed God and His messenger. And for those who oppose God, God shall be severe in His punishment. Whatever palm trees you might cut down or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission, so that He may humiliate the evil-doers" (*sūrat al-Hashr*, LIX, v.1-5).

God Almighty, may He be praised, declared His own glory and related how all creatures, high and low, glorify Him. He stated that He is All-Powerful, and unassailable, His greatness and majesty insurmountable, and that He is All-Wise in all He has created and in all He has planned and purposed. It is from all this that stem the empowerment, management and effectiveness (He gave) to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and to the believers who serve Him, in their victory over their enemies the Jews who disobeyed God and His messenger and opposed His messenger and His law, all of which was the cause leading to conflict with them, as told above, until he with (God's) support encompassed them with fear and dread for a month. In addition, he imprisoned them by besieging them with his forces and his own noble self for six days. Their terror put them to total confusion, so that they ultimately co-operated and made peace to spare their blood, removing of their property what their mounts would carry. This was conditional upon their not bearing away any of their weapons, a shameful and humiliating circumstance. They proceeded, moreover, to demolish their homes, by their own hands and by those of the believers. Consider this, you who have eyes to see!

The Almighty then stated that if they had not suffered withdrawal and the remove into exile from the protection of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and from Medina, then He would have afflicted them with far worse punishment, here on earth, namely execution, along with what He had in store for them in the after-life, namely the painful punishment He has decreed for them.

The Almighty went on to refer to the wisdom that was evident in the burning of their palm trees and their abandonment of the rest of their property, all of this being palatable. He stated, "Whatever palm trees you might cut down ..." The word used here, *lina*, "palm trees", refers to palms giving much fruit. And He went on, "... or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission." (This implies) the following, that all of this was permitted by law and by authority, and that they should not object to it but (recognize) that it was all for their own good, not some iniquity, as some evil-minded men have said. It was, on the contrary, an expression of power, and purposed the disgrace of the shameless unbelievers.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) burned and cut down the date-palms of Banū al-Naḍir, this being at al-Buwayra, and so God

revealed, "Whatever palm trees you might cut down or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission, and so that He may humiliate the evil-doers" (*sūrat al-Hashr*; LIX, v.5).

Al-Bukhārī quotes from Juwayriyya b. Asmā', from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cut down and burned the date-palms of Banū al-Naḍir at al-Buwayra and that on that occasion Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the verses,

"It left unmoved the nobles of Banū Lu'ayy that there was a terrible fire at al-Buwayra."

In response to this Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith composed the following,

"May God bless that action and set aflame all its (Medina's) parts.

You will learn which of us it is who gains thereby, and which of our lands it will harm."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ka'b b. Mālik recited, in reference to the withdrawal of Banū al-Naḍir and the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, (though) God knows best (whether the verses are authentic),

"The rabbis were dishonoured by their treachery; thus it is that the vicissitudes of fate revolve.

This was because they disbelieved in a great Lord whose orders are of great import.

They were brought understanding and knowledge combined, and the warner came to them from God.

A truthful warner, who brought a book and verses that were plain and illuminating.

But they said, "You did not bring truth, and you are more worthy of being denied than are we."

He said, "Not so; I tell the truth. Those who are understanding and knowledgeable believe me."

Those who follow him will be guided to all that is true; those who disbelieve in him will be shamed for disbelief.

When they were made to drink of deceit and disbelief, and rejection of him turned them from the truth

God made the Prophet see accurately, and God deals wisely and does not deceive.

He aided him and empowered him over them; He was his helper, a fine helper.

Of them, Ka'b was left there prostrate, and al-Naḍir were humbled after his downfall,

There on his two hands; flashing swords in our hands overwhelmed him

By God's command, when he sent Ka'b's brother secretly to go by night to Ka'b.

He tricked him, defeating him by guile; and Maḥmūd is brave and trustworthy.

Those of Banū al-Naḍīr were in a state of evil; the Destroyer ruined them for the crimes they committed.

That morning when the Messenger of God came slowly towards them, he being well aware of them.

Ghassān, the defenders, were helping him against his enemies, as he would aid them.

He told them, "Peace – or woe to you!" But they rejected him; and deceit and corruption allied with them.

So they tasted the outcome of their actions in distress, each three of them having one camel.

They were expelled and headed for Qaynuqā', abandoning their homes and date-palms."

Ibn Ishāq also gives the response made by the Jew Sammāl; we have intentionally omitted it.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The following verses of Ibn Luqaym al-ʿAbsī were also spoken about Banū al-Naḍīr. It is also said that they were spoken by Qays b. Bahr b. Ṭarīf al-Ashjaʿī,

'May my people be a ransom for that man who will never die who resettled the Jews in territories not their own.

They siesta in embers of thorn trees, having exchanged uplands where young date-palms sprouted.

If my view about Muḥammad is correct, you will see his cavalry between al-Ṣallā and Mt. Yaramyam,

Directing them towards ʿAmr b. Buḥtha. They are an enemy; and an honest tribe is unlike one that is evil.

On the horses are heroes as they race on to battle, waving their straight wooden lances.

And each of their fine thin-bladed swords inherited from the eras of ʿĀd and Jurhum.

Who will deliver to Quraysh a message from me? Shall anyone succeed them in being so honoured,

For the fact – know this well – that their brother Muḥammad, is of the line of those between al-Ḥajūn and Zamzam?

If you serve him in truth, you will prosper and you will rise from below to the very heights.

He is a prophet, with mercy ordained him by God; do not ask of him anything undisclosed (by God) or improper.

By my life, there was a lesson for you, Quraysh, in
what happened at Badr, and at the crowded well.

That morning he came among the Khazrajis, heading for
you in obedience to God, the Powerful and Much-Honoured.

Being helped by the holy spirit, striking his enemies,
a true messenger with knowledge from the All-Merciful.

A messenger from the All-Merciful reciting His Book,
not having hesitated.

I see his authority rising everywhere, in accord with a
command decreed by God.”

Ibn Ishāq went on to quote the following verses from ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalib. Ibn Hishām, however, stated, “These were spoken by a Muslim man, but I do not know anyone who attributes them to ‘Alī,

‘I know, and whoever judges well does know, and I am
truly sure and do not waver from

The specific words that came from God, the Kind and the
Kindest of all,

In messages that are studied by the believers and in
which he selected Aḥmad, the One Chosen.

And so Aḥmad was honoured among us, honoured in status
and role.

You who threaten him foolishly, though he has done no
wrong or violence,

Are you not fearful of imminent punishment? And those
who are secure with God are not like those afraid!

And afraid of falling beneath his swords, felled like
Kaʿb Abū al-Ashraf

That day when God saw his tyranny as he disobeyed like
a refractory camel?

And Gabriel kindly brought down revelation about his
death to His servant.

And so the Messenger secretly sent an envoy to him with
a sharp blade.

Eyes then began flowing in lament for him, when news of
Kaʿb’s death was announced.

They asked, “Aḥmad, leave us awhile, for we have not
yet recovered from our mourning.”

He did leave them, then said, “Go away, in banishment,
despite your wishes.”

He despatched al-Naḍir into exile, though they had
enjoyed comfortable homes,

Away to Adhriʿāt, riding double on their mounts, any
emaciated old camels they could find.”

We have intentionally also omitted the response to these verses from the Jew Sammāl.

God Almighty then went on to refer to the awarding of *al-fay'*²⁷ and to the fact that God had judged that the property of Banū al-Naḍir should go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He therefore gave him possession of it and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disposed of it as God Almighty wished.

It is similarly established in both *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from the Commander of the Believers, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, "The properties of Banū al-Naḍir were awarded by God to His messenger from whatever the Muslim forces, mounted on horse or camel, had not themselves taken." These were specifically for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He would set aside his family's expenses for a year and then whatever riding beast or weapons remained he would treat as military supplies to be used in the cause of God, the Almighty and Glorious.

The Almighty then made clear His judgement about the *al-fay'*, to the effect that it was for the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* as well as for their dependants in whatever ways and manner was customary to them. (God stated) "... and for those close in kin, orphans, the needy, wayfarers, so that it not be something taken in turns by those of you who are wealthy. Whatever the Messenger gives you, you should take. And from whatever he forbids you, keep away. And fear God; God is severe in punishing" (*sūrat al-Hashr*; LIX, v.7).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "'Ārim and 'Affān quoted Muṭamir as having related to them both, 'I heard my father say, "Anas b. Mālik related to us, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), that a man might donate to him his palms, or whatever else God might wish, up to when Qurayẓa and al-Naḍir were conquered for him; thereafter he began giving it back."'"

Muṭamir's father went on, "My family told me to go to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and to ask him back for all or part of what they had given. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) had given some of the trees to Umm Ayman – or he had done whatever it was that God had wanted."

He went on, "So I asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he gave me some of them."²⁸ Then Umm Ayman came up angrily, pulled my clothing up around my neck and began saying, 'No! By the One and Only God, I won't give them to you! He gave them to me!' – or some such comments. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'But you can have so-and-such.' She responded, 'No! By God!' He repeated, 'Then I'll give you so-and-such.' 'No! By God!' she replied. 'Then I'll give you so-and-such!' he offered until he had given her in full. I think he must have given her ten times as much as she had formerly owned."

27. The word comes from a verb meaning "to restore", "to give back". It refers here to a category of property acquired from an enemy who has not engaged in actual warfare but has acknowledged Muslim supremacy.

28. Presumably some of the date-palms referred to above.

This is derived in similar terms in various lines of transmission from Muṭamir.

God Almighty then stated that blame was due the hypocrites who were secretly sympathetic towards Banū al-Naḍīr, as we have mentioned above, promising them victory, though none came. In fact they abandoned them completely, having misled them about themselves. And so God stated, "(Have you not) seen those who were hypocritical, telling their disbelieving brethren from among the people of the scriptures, 'If you are driven out, we will go forth with you. We will never obey anyone concerning you. If you are attacked, we will certainly assist you.' But God bears witness that they are liars. If they were expelled, these people would not leave with them. If they were attacked, these would not help them. Even if they did help them, they would then turn their backs. Then they will not be helped."

The Almighty condemned them for their cowardice, ignorance and foolishness. He then drew an ugly and awful comparison regarding them and Satan, "... who says to mankind, 'Disbelieve!' But when they disbelieve, he (Satan) tells them, 'I am innocent of (responsibility for) you! I fear God, the Lord of the worlds.' And the outcome for them both is to enter hell-fire, to live therein forever. That is the reward of the unjust" (*sūrat al-Ḥaṣhr*, LIX, v.16, 17).

The Story of 'Amr b. Suḍā al-Quraẓī.

He passed by the homes of Banū al-Naḍīr and found them laid to waste and completely abandoned. The fact that Banū al-Naḍīr had been of higher status than (his own) Banū Qurayẓa stimulated his interest in Islam and he brought forth a description of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the Old Testament.

Al-Wāqidi quoted Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far as stating that his father said, "When Banū al-Naḍīr left Medina, 'Amr b. Suḍā arrived and when he viewed their houses and saw their destruction, he went into deep thought. When he returned to Banū Qurayẓa, he found them assembled in the temple. He blew on their horn and when they had gathered together, al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā asked him, 'Abū Sa'īd, where were you? You've never been away before this.' 'Amr used never to leave the temple and absolutely worshipped Judaism.

"He replied, 'Today, I have seen things that should be a lesson for us. I have seen our brothers' houses empty that before were places of honour, comfort, great virtue, prestige and intellectuality. They have abandoned their possessions, given them away to others, and gone into humiliating exile. By the Torah, the fact is that God never before gave such power to a people with whom He was dissatisfied. Previously, he had been in dispute with Ibn al-Ashraf, their respected leader, and then had kept him secure in his house. He was also at odds with their chief, Ibn Sunayna, and with Banū Qaynuqā'. These people, of the greatest prestige among the Jews, he expelled, even though they were possessed of much arms and equipment and support. Then he besieged them, taking prisoner any one of

them who emerged. He then addressed them, telling them he would leave them alone if they moved out of Medina. 'My people, you have seen what you have seen! Obey me! Come, let us follow Muḥammad! You well know, by God, that he is a prophet; Ibn al-Hayyibān Abū 'Umayr and Ibn Hīrāsh foretold us of him, these being the most learned of Jews. They expected him to come and told us to follow him. They came to us from Jerusalem and ordered us to deliver him their greetings. They then died in their faith, and we buried them in this piece of land of ours.'

"His people were silent at this, not one of them speaking. He then repeated something similar and warned them of warfare, capture and exile. Al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā then said, 'By the Torah, I have read the description of him in Bāṭā's book, the Torah that was revealed to Moses, though it is not in the works we instituted.'

"Ka'b b. Asad then asked him, 'Well, what's preventing you, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from following him?' 'You, Ka'b, are preventing me,' he replied. 'Why so?' Ka'b asked. 'I have never, I swear by the Torah, come between you and him.'

"Al-Zubayr insisted, 'On the contrary, you are the custodian of our pacts and pledges; if you followed him, so would we. If you refused, so will we.'

"At this 'Amr b. Su'dā approached Ka'b and referred to discussion between them on that. Eventually, 'Amr stated, 'I've said all I'm going to about him; I would not feel comfortable being his follower.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ LIḤYĀN DURING WHICH HE PERFORMED, AT 'USFĀN, THE ṢALĀT AL-KHAWF, THE "PRAYER OF FEAR".

Al-Bayhaqī related this in his *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*). Ibn Ishāq, so far as I have seen, related it through Hishām, from Ziyād, to the effect that it happened in Jumādā al-Uwla of the year 2 AH, after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch", and after the expedition against Banū Qurayza. This is similar to the account given by al-Bayhaqī. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh, the *ḥāfiẓ*, related to us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār and others, as follows: 'After Khubayb and his companions had been struck down, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to revenge them by making a surprise attack against Banū Liḥyān. He took the route to Syria to give the impression that he was not attacking them, then headed for their territory. But he found that they had taken the precaution of moving into defensive positions in the mountain heights. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "If we go on down to 'Uṣfān, Quraysh will think we're going on to Mecca." And so he proceeded on with 200 men and encamped at 'Uṣfān. He then sent on two horsemen to Kurā' al-Ghamīm; they then left there.'"

Abū ‘Ayyāsh al-Zurqī narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*²⁹ at ‘Uṣfān.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “‘Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting al-Thawrī, from Maṣṣūr, from Mujaḥid, from Ibn ‘Ayyāsh, who said, ‘We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at ‘Uṣfān. The unbelievers met us, under the command of Khālīd b. al-Walīd. They were positioned between us and the *qibla*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) led the noon prayer and the enemy told themselves, ‘In the position they were in we could have taken them unawares.’ They then observed, ‘They have a prayer approaching that is more dear to them than their children or themselves.’”

“‘But between the noon and the early evening prayer Gabriel brought down the verse, ‘When you are among them and lead the prayer for them’ (*sūrat al-Nisā’*); IV, v.102).

“‘Then time for prayer arrived and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his men to take up their weapons. We lined up in two rows behind him. He then performed a *rak‘a*, and we all did the same. After that he stood upright and we all did the same. He then made the prostration with the line next to him, while the others stood guarding them. When these had made their prostrations and stood up again, the others prostrated in their place. Then those others occupied the lines of the former who exchanged places with them. Thereafter, he performed one *rūkū‘* and they all did so too, after which he stood up, as did all of them. Following that, the next row prostrated while the others remained standing guarding them. When they sat, the others did so too, then they prostrated. He then delivered the *salām* greeting to them, after which he left.

“‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer this way twice – once at ‘Uṣfān and again in the territory of Banū Sulaym.’”

Aḥmad related this from Ghundar, from Shu‘ba, from Maṣṣūr in similar terms.

Abū Dā‘ūd related it from Sa‘īd b. Maṣṣūr, from Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd; al-Nasā‘ī related it from al-Fallās, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and Bundār, from Ghundar, from Shu‘ba, all three deriving it from Maṣṣūr.

This chain of authorities is in accord with the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; (yet) neither of them included it.

However, Muslim related through Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Mu‘āwiya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, “We went forth on an expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), against a tribe from Juhaynam. They engaged in a fierce battle. When he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) led the noon prayer, the unbelievers said, ‘If we had attacked them (then) we would have decimated them!’

29. A prayer performed in turn by various contingents of Muslim forces who are about to do battle with an enemy confronting them; those not praying protect those engaging in prayer against the possibility of a surprise attack.

"Gabriel then informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this and he said, 'They said, "A prayer is coming for them that is dearer to them than their children."'" The *ḥadīth* is then recounted in similar words as above.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated, "Hishām related to us, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the noon prayers among his Companions at Nakhl. The polytheists observed this, then said, "Leave them alone; they have a prayer coming after this one that is dearer to them than their children."'"

"Gabriel then made a revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), informing him of this comment. When, therefore, he led the evening prayer he lined up his men in two rows with himself standing in front of them and the enemy out in front of him. He spoke the words *Allāhu Akbar!* "God is most Great", and all his men said the same. Then they all performed a *rak'a*. After that those in front performed the prostration, while the rest remained standing. When they brought their heads up, the others made their prostration. Then that group went forward, while the next group stayed back. They all then proclaimed the *takbir* and performed their bows. Thereafter the ones next to him made their prostrations while the others stood, and when they raised their heads the others prostrated."

Al-Bukhārī testified to this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, giving this account of Hishām from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Ṣamad related to us, from Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd al-Hunā'ī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq, quoting Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt between Ḍajnān and 'Uṣfān and that the polytheists commented, 'They have a prayer to come that is dearer to them than their sons and daughters – the evening prayer, that is. Prepare to have everyone attack them all together (then).'"

"But Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him to divide up his men into two groups; some would perform the prayer while the others would stand at the ready behind them. He told them to be careful and to have their weapons prepared. The troops would perform a single *rak'a* each, in groups in sequence with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he would perform two."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this from an account of 'Abd al-Ṣamad. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the tradition as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

I comment that for Abū Hurayra to have witnessed this, it must have happened after Khaybar. Otherwise it would have to be considered of the *mursalāt al-ṣaḥāba*.³⁰ This categorization does not diminish the authority of such a *ḥadīth* in the view of most. But God knows best.

30. That is, accounts attributed to Companions that, because of possible gaps in the lines of transmission or the reputation of the transmitters, do not meet the full criteria of *aḥadīth* that can be viewed as *ṣaḥīḥ*.

In the text of the *ḥadīth* of Jābir in the works of either Muslim or Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī there is no reference to ʿUṣfān, nor to Khālīd b. al-Walīd. However, it is apparent that they are one and the same.

The question remains as to whether the expedition to ʿUṣfān was before or after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch". Some scholars, including al-Shāfiʿī, claim that the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was instituted only following that battle, on the basis that they deferred holding the prayer that day because of the fighting. But if practice of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* had been in force at that time, they would have performed it and not postponed it. Some scholars of the military engagements therefore maintain that the expedition against Banū Liḥyān, during which the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was said at ʿUṣfān, took place after the expedition against Banū Qurayẓa.

Al-Wāqidi has a line of transmission back to Khālīd b. al-Walīd, whom he quotes as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya, I met him at ʿUṣfān. I formed (my forces) before him and blocked his way. He performed the *al-ẓuhr* prayer with his men there in front of us. We were about to attack him, but could not make up our minds to do so. God then made him aware of what we had been contemplating. And so he said the *ṣalāt al-khawf* with his Companions at the *al-ʿaṣr* prayers."

The *ʿumra* of al-Ḥudaybiyya took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda of 6 AH, after the battle of al-khandaq and the expedition against Banū Qurayẓa, as will be related hereafter.

The text of the account of Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zarqī requires that the verse relating to the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was revealed during this expedition, at the fighting at ʿUṣfān. This in turn necessitates that it was the first time he prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*. But God knows best.

We will, if God Almighty wills it, relate the manner in which the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was prayed and the various accounts about it in our work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*, and it is in God we trust and have confidence.

THE EXPEDITION TO DHĀT AL-RIQĀʿ.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Medina following the expedition against Banū al-Naḍīr for the two months of Rabiʿ al-Awwal and Rabiʿ al-Thānī, and also for part of Jumādā. He then sent forces into Najd against Banū Muḥārīb and Banū Thaʿlaba of Ghaṭafān. He placed Abū Dharr in command of Medina."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that he appointed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in command there."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He then went forth as far as Nakhl, this being on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ."³¹

31. The word *riqāʿ*, pl. *riqāʿ*, means a piece of land, paper or cloth.

Ibn Hishām commented, "(It is so named) because they patched up their banners there. Others say it is so named because there was a tree there known as *Dhāt al-Riqā'*."

Al-Wāqidi stated that it was named after a mountain there that had patches of red, black and white.

In the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā it is said that it was so named because of the rags they tied to their feet on account of the excessive heat.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "There he encountered a force of Ghatafān. The forces came close together without engaging in battle, each side being wary of the other; then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf* prayer."

For his account here of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* prayer, Ibn Hishām relies upon one line of transmission from 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd al-Tannūri, from Yūnus b. 'Ubayd, from al-Ḥasan, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, and on another from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, and on a third from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar. However, in these three lines he makes no reference to either the expedition to Najd or to that to *Dhāt al-Riqā'*. Nor did he turn attention to any (particular) time or place.

There is, moreover, dispute over whether or not the expedition to *Dhāt al-Riqā'*, which was in Najd and against Banū Muḥarib and Banū Tha'labā b. Ghatafān, came before the battle of al-khandaq.

Al-Bukhārī took the position that that took place after the expedition against Khaybar. As evidence for that, he refers to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari's presence there, as will be shown. His arrival occurred only during the nights of the Khaybar campaign, in the company of Ja'far and his men. The same is true of Abū Hurayra. He stated, "I prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the expedition to Najd."

Evidence that it occurred after the battle of al-khandaq is that Ibn 'Umar was first authorized by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to participate in the fighting at that battle. It is established of him (Ibn 'Umar) in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that he stated, "I participated in a military expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before that to Najd during which he prayed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*."

Also there is al-Wāqidi's statement, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to *Dhāt al-Riqā'* with a force of 400 (it is also said 700) of his Companions on Saturday, ten days before the end of al-Muḥarram, 5 AH." But there is dispute over this.

Moreover, there is no escaping the fact that the *ṣalāt al-khawf* was only instituted after the battle of al-khandaq because that battle took place in Shawwāl of 5 AH, as is widely known (though some date it as in Shawwāl of 4 AH), this being substantiated by the gist of the *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Umar. However, the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā and that of Abū Hurayra do not (suggest this).

The Story of Ghawrath b. al-Ḥārith.

Regarding this expedition, Ibn Ishāq stated, "Amr b. 'Ubayd related to me, from al-Ḥasan, from Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh, that a man of Banū Muḥārib named Ghawrath said to his tribe of Ghaṭafān and Muḥārib, 'Shall I kill Muḥammad for you?' 'Yes indeed! And how will you kill him?' 'I'll assassinate him,' he replied.

"So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was seated with his sword in his lap. Ghawrath asked him, 'Muḥammad, could I see that sword of yours?' 'Yes.' He took it and began to raise it to strike, but God prevented him. He asked, 'Muḥammad, don't you fear me?' 'No,' he replied. 'What should I fear from you?' 'You're not afraid of me even though I have a sword in my hands?' 'No; God is protecting me from you.'

"Ghawrath then returned the sword to him. Thereafter, God, Great and Glorious is He, revealed the verse, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people intended to lay hands on you but He turned their hands away from you. Fear God; let believers place their reliance upon God!'" (*sūrat al-Mā'idā*; V, v.11).

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, however, that this verse was revealed about 'Amr b. Jaḥḥāsh, brother of Banū al-Naḍir, and what he had intended."

It is thus that Ibn Ishāq related the story of this Ghawrath, from 'Amr b. 'Ubayd al-Qadārī, the leader of the misled. He, although not deliberately engaging in falsehood in his *ḥadīth* accounts is one of those who should not be quoted as a source because of his innovations and support for them.

This *ḥadīth* is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from other sources than him, thanks be to God!

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted here a variety of lines of transmission for this *ḥadīth* from a number of places. It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from Sinān b. Abū Sinān, and Abū Salama from Jābir, that he accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Najd. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the way home, the time for the afternoon rest came when they were in a valley with many thorn trees. The force divided up as the men sought the shade of the trees. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped in the shade of a tree on which he hung up his sword.

Jābir said, "And so we slept. Then suddenly, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out to us; we responded and found that there was a bedouin seated near him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This fellow unsheathed my sword while I was asleep. I awoke to find him brandishing it in his hand. He then asked me, "Who is there to protect you from me?" I replied, "God." He then sheathed the sword and sat down.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not punish the man for having done this."

Muslim also related this, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from 'Affān, from Abān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Jābir, who said, "We advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and reached Dhāt al-Riqā'. Whenever we came across a shade-giving tree we would reserve it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (We did so now) and one of the polytheists came over to him while his sword was hanging on a tree. The man took the sword, unsheathed it, then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Do you fear me?' 'No,' he replied. 'Who is to protect you from me?' 'God protects me from you,' he answered. Then the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intimidated the man and he sheathed the sword and hung it up again."

He went on, "Then the call for prayer was made. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) prayed two *rak'as* with one group, and they went aside while he prayed two *rak'as* with the next group. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed four *rak'as*, while the rest prayed two."

Al-Bukhārī also derived this report with absolute certainty from Abān.

Al-Bukhārī stated, quoting Musaddad, from Abū 'Awāna, from Abū Bishr, that the name of the man was Ghawrath b. al-Ḥārith

Al-Bayhaqī drew his account through Abū 'Awāna, from Abū Bishr, from Sulaymān b. Qays, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) engaged Muḥārīb and Ghatafān in battle at Nakhl. The enemy detected a deficiency in the Muslim defences, and sent through one of their men, Ghawrath b. al-Ḥārith, who went and stood with his sword right over the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ghawrath asked him, 'Who is there to defend you from me?' 'God,' he replied. And the sword fell from the man's grasp. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up the sword and asked him, 'And who protects you from me?' 'Be compassionate!' 'Do you testify that there is no god but God?' he asked. 'No', Ghawrath replied, 'but I will give you my word that I'll not oppose you nor assist any others who do.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released him, and when Ghawrath returned to his men, he commented, 'I come to you from the very best of men!'"

Al-Bayhaqī then went on to tell of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* and that four *rak'as* were performed, two with each group.

Al-Bayhaqī related the methods of performing the *ṣalāt al-khawf* at Dhāt al-Riqā' on lines of transmission from Ṣāliḥ b. Khawwāt b. Jubayr, from Sahl b. Abū Hathma, along with a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from Salīm, from his father, concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in Najd. This is given in my *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. But God knows best.

The Story of the man whose wife was killed on this Expedition.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "My uncle Ṣadaqa b. Yasār related to me, from 'Uqayl b. Jābir, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqā' near Nakhl and

one of our men killed the wife of a polytheist. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left to return home, her husband, who had been away, came back. When told the news, he swore he would never rest till he had taken blood revenge against Muḥammad's men.

"So he followed the tracks of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who when he had made camp had asked, "Who will stand guard for us tonight?" A *muhājiri* and an *anṣārī* each volunteered and he told them to take up position at the entrance to the mouth of the valley. The two men were 'Ammār b. Yāsir and 'Abbād b. Bishr. When they reached the mouth of the valley, the *anṣārī* asked the *muhājiri*, "Which part of the watch do you want me to take care of, the first or the last?" "You take the first watch," the *muhājiri* told him and settled down to sleep, while the *anṣārī* prayed.

"When the polytheist arrived and saw the watchman's form, he realized that he was on guard and shot an arrow at him which stuck in him. The *anṣārī* pulled out the arrow, laid it down and stood his guard, standing there in prayer. The polytheist then shot again and struck him, but the guard again removed it, laid it down and went on praying. A third time the polytheist struck him, and once more he withdrew it and put it down, continuing his prayer with a bow and a prostration. He then aroused his companion, saying, "Remain seated; I've been hit."

"At this, his companion arose and when the polytheist saw both, he knew that they were on guard against him, and so he fled.

"When the *muhājiri* saw that the *anṣārī* was bleeding, he exclaimed, "For God's sake, why did you not awaken me when he first struck you?"

"The *anṣārī* replied, "I was reciting a *sūra* (of the Qur'ān) and did not want to break it off before I had completed it. When he continued shooting, I finished the prostration, then awoke you. I swear by God, that unless it meant losing a position the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered me to hold, he could have killed me before I would have interrupted a recitation before completing it!"

Ibn Ishāq related it thus in reference to the military expeditions. Abū Dā'ūd recounted it from Abū Tawba, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mubārak, from Ibn Ishāq.

Al-Wāqidi related the account of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* in full from 'Abd Allāh al-'Umari, from his brother 'Ubayd Allāh, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from Ṣālih b. al-Khawwāt, from his father, as follows: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had attacked some women in their (the enemy's) homes; among the prisoners taken was an attractive woman whose husband loved her. He swore an oath that he would pursue Muḥammad and not return until he had either taken blood revenge for her or had rescued her."

Al-Wāqidi then proceeds to recount the incident much as had Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh used to say, 'I was once with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when one of his Companions brought in a chick. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was looking at it when in came the chick's

parents (or one of them) and threw themselves down before the man who had taken it. I saw that everyone present was amazed at this. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'So you're surprised that this bird, whose chick you took, is bowing to offer itself to gain mercy for its chick? I swear by God, your god is more compassionate for you than this bird is for its chick!'

The Story of Jābir's camel on this Expedition.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "Wahb b. Kaysān related to me, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqā' at Nakhī, riding a feeble camel. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was returning home, I began falling behind my comrades who went on ahead. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came up to me and asked, "What's wrong, Jābir?" I replied, "O Messenger of God, this camel of mine is slowing me down." "Make it kneel," he told me. I did so and he also made his camel kneel. He then said, "Give me that stick in your hand, or cut one from a tree." I did so and he took it and prodded my camel with it several times. He then said, "Mount up!" I did so. And, I swear by Him who sent him with the truth, my weak male camel competed with his female camel!

"When I was talking with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked me, "Would you sell me this camel of yours, Jābir?" "I'll give it to you," I told him. "No; just sell it to me." "Make me an offer," I asked. "I'll take it for one dirham," he suggested. "No way!" I replied. "Then you would be cheating me, Messenger of God!" "Two dirhams then?" he offered. "No," I refused. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then set about raising the offer until he reached one ounce of gold. I asked him, "Would that be agreeable to you?" "Yes," he replied. "Then he's yours!" I told him. And he accepted it.

"He then asked, "Jābir, are you married yet?" "Yes, I am," I told him. "To a woman previously married, or to a virgin?" "Previously married," I replied. "Why not a young girl with whom you could have much fun?" he asked. "My father", I explained to him, "was killed at the battle of Uhūd and left seven daughters. So I married a mature woman to look after them and bring them up well." "You did well, let's hope to God," he commented. "And when we get to Sirār we'll slaughter a camel and stay there the day with her and she'll hear about us and dust off her cushions for us." I replied, "I swear, Messenger of God, we don't have cushions." "You will have," he said. "When we get there behave wisely."

"When we reached Sirār, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered camels be slaughtered; this was done. We remained there that day and in the evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went home, as did we all. I reported to my wife what he had said and she advised me to hurry up and do as I was told.

"Next morning I led my camel up to the door of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then sat down close to him in the mosque. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came outside and, when he saw the camel, he asked to whom it

belonged. He was told that Jābir had brought it, and he asked where I was. Then they called for me to go to him, and he said, "Cousin, lead your camel away; it is yours." Then he called Bilāl over and told him, "Take Jābir away and give him an ounce of gold." So I went off with Bilāl and he did give me an ounce, and a little more as well. And, by God, my financial affairs improved constantly thereafter until they suffered recently in what befell us.'"

By this he was referring to the *yawm al-ḥarra*.³² The author of the *ṣaḥiḥ* collection derived this story from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar al-'Umari, from Wahb b. Kaysān, from Jābir, in similar terms.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "There is in this *ḥadīth* reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) telling Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh that God had given new life to his father, had spoken to him and told him, 'Ask a request of me!' That was because he died a martyr. For Almighty God had said, 'God buys from believers their souls and their property.' He awarded them more in His statement, 'To those who do good there shall come good, and more too.' He then combined for them compensation and indemnity and restored to them their souls that He had purchased from them. He stated, 'Do not consider dead those who are killed in God's cause; no, they are alive, with their Lord, and will be provided for' (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.169).

"For human beings, the soul has the same role as a riding animal", as 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz said. He stated, "That is why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased from Jābir his camel, his riding beast, that is, first giving him the value of it and then returning it to him, with an additional amount as well."

He commented, "And in this there is fulfilment of what he related to him about his father."

Al-Suhaylī's observation here is a strange and imaginative departure. But God Almighty, praised be He, knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave an explanation relating to this *ḥadīth* about this expedition in his work *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*. He has a section entitled "Chapter: On the blessings and signs of God evident in this expedition of his relating to the camel of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, God be pleased with him."

This *ḥadīth* has a number of lines of transmission from Jābir and many differences in phraseology. Also there is great variety in the value placed on the camel and the manner in which the sale provisions were made. The recording and interpretation of this is most appropriate in the section on sale in the works on law. But God knows best. This story is given pertaining to this expedition and elsewhere as well, as will follow. That this happened many times is unlikely; but God knows best.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION TO BADR.

This is the Badr engagement of which promise was made at Uḥud, as is told above.

32. The reference is to the rebellion in Medina during the reign of Yazīd, the son of Mu'awiya.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina from the Dhāt al-Riqā' expedition, he remained there for the rest of Jumādā al-Ūlā, Jumādā al-Ākhira and Rajab. In Sha'bān he left for Badr and his appointment with Abū Sufyān."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl in charge of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Badr and remained there for eight days waiting for Abū Sufyān."

"Abū Sufyān set out with his Meccan force and encamped at Majanna, near al-Zahrān. Some authorities state that he reached 'Uṣfān then decided to go back. He announced, 'Men of Quraysh, it is right for you to make such an expedition only in a fruitful year when you can pasture on trees and drink milk; this year it is barren. I am going back; you do the same.'

"So they all returned. The Meccans referred to them as the *sawīq*³³ army, saying to them, 'So you only went forth to drink *sawīq* then!'

"Makhshī b. 'Amr al-Damrī, who had made a contract with the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning Banū Damra at the Waddān expedition, now arrived and said, 'Muḥammad, have you come here to this well to meet with Quraysh?' He replied, 'Yes, brother from Banū Damra; but if you want, we'll release you from your agreement with us and we'll battle you until God decides between us.' 'No, by God, Muḥammad, there's no need for that!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina without incident."

Ibn Ishāq quoted 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as having delivered the following verses as they waited for Abū Sufyān to arrive on his return that year to Badr. However, Ibn Hishām stated that this poetry was delivered to him by Abū Zayd who attributed it to Ka'b b. Mālik:

"We agreed on Badr with Abū Sufyān, but found him untruthful and untrustworthy in his appointment.

I swear that had you and we met you would have returned home humiliated and with your supporters gone.

There we previously left limbs of 'Uṭba and of his son, along with 'Amr Abū Jahl whom we left prostrate.

You disobeyed the Messenger of God! How vile your faith and your evil and misguided conduct!

If you were to belabour me, I'd still say, 'My wealth and family be a ransom for the Messenger of God!'

We obey him, treating none other of us as his equal; he is a flame guiding us in the dark of night!"

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on that occasion:

"Forget the streams of Syria! For intervening are swords (blood-stained) like the mouths of pregnant camels fed on (thorny) *arāk* trees.

33. A beverage, perhaps alcoholic, made of parched wheat or barley.

In the hands of men who have gone out to their Lord, to
His true helpers, and to the hands of angels.

If they pass on to the lowlands from the sandy valleys,
tell them that is not the route.

We remained eight days at the shallow well with a fully
equipped force and many camels tethered

And round-bellied horses, sleek sided stallions high of
withers,

The yearly *arfaj* plants being uprooted by tall,
speeding mounts.

If we should meet Farāt b. Ḥayyān in our journeyings,
he will be as good as dead.

If, after him, Qays b. Imr al-Qays, the pallor of
death will blacken his face even more!

Deliver to Abū Sufyān this message from me; for you
are the best of those beggar-like men!"

Ibn Ishāq then quoted Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who later
accepted Islam, as answering him with the following verses:

"Ḥassān, you son of a woman who eats offal, I swear we
devour great deserts like that!

When we go forth, young gazelles can't escape between
us, though seeking defence in full-speed flight.

When we leave after a halt you'd think it had been
trashed by crowds at a fair!

You remained at the shallow well, wanting us to come,
but leaving us in the date groves near by.

Our horses and mounts trample the vegetation underfoot,
levelling all into the sand.

We halted for three days between Sal^c and Fārī^c, our
horses fine and our camels swift-paced.

You would have thought that attacking people near their
homes would be as easy as buying white lead with cash!

Don't vaunt your fine horses when you talk to them as
one who protects them and holds them back.

You express joy in them, but others should, such as the
knights with descent from Fīhr b. Mālik.

You are not engaged in a migration, though you speak
thereof, nor do you respect the prohibitions of its
faith."

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted from this certain verses since they did
not match in rhyme."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted from al-Zuhri and Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad,
from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for
men to go forth to meet Abū Sufyān, the hypocrites sent agents out to dissuade

them. But God kept His supporters from harm, and the Muslims did proceed in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Badr. They took various goods with them for sale, saying they would fight if they met Abū Sufyān, and that otherwise they would sell these at the Badr fair.

His account then proceeds as did the text of Ibn Ishāq to describe Abū Sufyān's movement to Majanna, his return from there, the negotiation with al-Ḍamrī, the offer made by the Prophet (ṢAAS), and the repudiation which he refused.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) headed for it (Badr) with a force of 1,500 of his Companions. He placed 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa in command of Medina. His departure for there occurred early in Dhū al-Qa'da." He means of 4 AH.

But Ibn Ishāq's statement is what is authentic, namely that it took place in Sha'bān of that year, 4 AH, and it is in agreement with the statement of Mūsā b. 'Uqba that it occurred in Sha'bān, though he gives the year as 3 AH. This date is incorrect. For the agreement to meet at Badr had been made at Uḥud, which took place in Shawwāl of 3 AH, as is told above. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "They remained at Badr for the duration of the fair that lasted eight days. Then they returned home, having profited with two dirhams for each one invested."

Others say that they returned just as God, Almighty and Glorious is He, had said, "And so they returned with favour from God and His grace. No harm came to them. For they followed the pleasure of God, and God is He of mighty grace" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.173).

Section: A Review of the events that occurred in 4 AH.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "In Jumādā al-Uwlā of that year 'Abd Allāh, son of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, God be pleased with him, by Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died. He was six years of age. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the funeral prayer over him, and his father, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, God be pleased with him, accompanied him down into the grave."

I would add that the same year Abū Salama 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī died; his mother was Barra, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was the foster-brother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since both were suckled by Thuwayba, freed-woman of Abū Lahab.

Abū Salama, Abū 'Ubayda, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam had accepted Islam long before, on the same day.

Abū Salama and his wife had emigrated to Abyssinia and then returned to Mecca. They had had children in Abyssinia. He then migrated from Mecca to Medina and Umm Salama followed him there, as is related above. He was

present at the battles of Badr and Uhud and died following wounds he suffered at Uhud. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. There is one *ḥadith*, on the subject of *istirjā*³⁴ that is attributed to him. This will be related shortly in the text dealing with the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Umm Salama.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "Some days before the end of Shaʿbān that year, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was born to Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); may God be pleased with them all.

"In Ramaḍān of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Hilāl b. ʿAmir b. Ṣaṣaʿa, a woman of Hilāl."

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr quoted ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī as saying that she was the sister of Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith. Then he (Abū ʿUmar) stated that he had not been told this by anyone else.

She was known as Umm al-Masākīn, "mother of the poor", for the many donations she made to them and for her kindness and compassion towards them. The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave her a dowry of 12 and a half ounces of gold and consummated his marriage with her in Ramaḍān. She had previously been married to al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith who had divorced her.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr quoted ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jurjānī as saying, "Thereafter his brother ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf had married her."

Ibn al-Athīr stated, in his work *Al-Ghāba*, "It is said she was also the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh who was killed at Uhud while still married to her."

Abū ʿUmar stated, "There is no dispute over the fact that she died during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It is said that she remained living with him only for two or three months before she died; may God be pleased with her."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "In Shawwāl of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya."

I comment that previously she had been the wife of her children's father, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad. He had been present at Uhud, as is told above. He was wounded at that battle and nursed his wounds for a month until he was restored. He then went forth on a *sariya*, a raid, at which he earned considerable booty. He then stayed home for seventeen days, but his wounds erupted again and he died, three days before the end of Jumādā al-Uwla of that year.

When in Shawwāl it was permissible for her to remarry, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to her, sending ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to her several times to arrange this. She told him that she was a very jealous woman and

34. A supplication, derived from the Qurʾān, that one invokes during times of calamity.

that she had children; that is, that she had children who would divert her attention from him and for whose food and support she had to work. He responded, "Regarding the children, God and His messenger will care for them; that is, you won't be responsible for their expenses. As for the jealousy, I will pray to God and He will remove it."

She then gave her consent in the matter, finally telling 'Umar, "Off you go; arrange the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS)." By this she meant that she had agreed and had given her permission.

Some scholars imagine her to have said this to her son 'Umar b. Abū Salama who was too young at that time to be involved with contracts. I have combined all that is correct into one specific account, all praise and trust being in God. (There is also an account that states) that the person who arranged her marriage with him was her oldest son Salama b. Abū Salama. This account is widely known because his father was her cousin and the son is eligible to be the guardian of his mother because he happens to be her means of subsistence and not because of filiation.

According to al-Shāfi' alone, the mere fact of being a son does not entitle him to act for his mother in a marriage contract. The three (other chief authorities on Islamic law) Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik (b. Anas) and Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), God have mercy upon them all, disagree with him. This issue will, if God wills it, be examined further elsewhere in the *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* (Chapter on Marriage) in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yūnus related to us, quoting al-Layth – that is, Ibn Sa'd – from Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Hād, from 'Amr b. Abū 'Amr, from al-Muṭṭalib, from Umm Salama, who said, 'Abū Salama came to me one day from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, "I heard something from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that greatly pleased me. He said, 'Any Muslim who suffers a loss should repeat, "To God we belong, and to Him we return," and then should pray, "O God, compensate me for my loss and give me better in exchange."'" She went on, 'And I learned this from him by heart.

"When Abū Salama died, I spoke the words, "To God we belong, and to Him we return", then said, "O God, compensate me for my loss and give me better in exchange." But then I realized what I had said and wondered how I could ever have better than Abū Salama.

"When my 'idda, my waiting period, was over, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked to come to see me while I was tanning a hide I had. I washed my hands clean of the tanning solution, asked him to come in and set out a leather cushion stuffed with palm fronds for him to sit upon. He sat down on it and made me an offer of marriage. When he had finished speaking, I replied, "O Messenger of God! It's not fit for me to question your wanting this, but I'm an extremely jealous woman and I'm afraid you may see in me something for which

God will punish me. And I'm a woman who is getting on in years, and I have children."

"He replied, "Regarding the jealousy, God will remove it from you. As for your reference to your age, I am afflicted just as you are. Regarding your children, they shall be as my own." So I consented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And God did give me better than Abū Salama – the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!"

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from 'Umar b. Abū Salama, from his mother Umm Salama, from Abū Salama. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as a tradition that was both *ḥasan gharīb*, "good" but "unilateral". It is also given in an account of al-Nasā'ī from Thābit, from Ibn 'Umar b. Abū Salama, from his father. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yazīd b. Hārūn, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Qadāma al-Jumāhī, from his father, from 'Umar b. Abū Salama.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left from Badr – where the appointment had been – to return to Medina. He remained there until the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja was over; the polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year, 4 AH."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "That year, 4 AH, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Zayd b. Thābit to learn Hebrew script."

I would comment that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that he said, "I learned it in 15 days." But God knows best.

THE YEAR 5 AH. THE EXPEDITION TO DUMAT AL-JANDAL IN RABĪ' AL-AWWAL, 5 AH.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal."

Ibn Hishām observed that it took place in Rabī' al-Awwal that year and that he appointed Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He then, however, returned to Medina before reaching it, and without engaging in battle. He remained in Medina for the remainder of that year."

That is the statement made by Ibn Ishāq.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī quoted lines of authority back to various early scholars who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had wanted to proceed to the closest areas in Syria but was told that this would alarm Caesar. He was also informed that there was a large force at Dūmat al-Jandal who maltreated passers-by and that it also had a substantial market; these people wanted him to approach the town.

He therefore organized his men and left with a force of 1,000 Muslims. They travelled by night, keeping under cover by day. He had a guide with him from Banū 'Udhra named Madhkūr, who was a skilled tracker.

When they neared Dūmat al-Jandal, his guide directed him to the pasturing cattle belonging to Banū Tamīm. He went on and attacked their sheep and goats; some people were killed, while others fled in disarray. When news of this reached people in Dūmat al-Jandal, those there dispersed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded to encamp on their square, finding no one there. He remained there for several days, sending out raiding parties. They returned, with Muḥammad b. Salama having taken one of the enemy prisoner. He was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him about his comrades. The man replied that they had fled the previous day. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then explained Islam to him, and he became a Muslim. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went back to Medina.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Dūmat al-Jandal in Rabi' al-Ākhir, 5 AH. And the same year Umm Sa'd b. 'Ubāda died while her son was away on this expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhi stated in his compendium, "Muhammad b. Bashshār related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba, from Qatāda, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, that Umm Sa'd died while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was absent. When he returned he prayed for her, a month having passed."

This *mursal ḥadīth* is excellent and requires the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to have been absent on this expedition for a month or more, according to what al-Wāqidi, God be pleased with him, reported.

THE BATTLE OF AL-KHANDAQ, 'THE DITCH', ALSO KNOWN AS THE GHAZWAT AL-AḤZĀB, 'THE BATTLE OF THE CLANS'.

It was about this event that the main part of *sūrat al-Aḥzāb* (XXXIII) was revealed. In it the Almighty stated, "O you who believe! Remember God's favour to you when enemy forces attacked you and We sent a wind against them, along with forces you could not see. God sees well what you are doing. (Remember) when they came at you from above and from below, and when your sight was blinded and hearts arose into your throats and you were confused in your thoughts about God. There believers were put to the test, and they were violently shaken. (Remember) when the hypocrites and those with disease in their hearts said, 'It was all misleading, what God and His messenger promised us!' And (remember) when one group of them said, 'O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back!' And a group of them did ask the Prophet, saying, 'Our homes lie exposed.' Yet they were not exposed; all they wanted was to flee. And if they (the enemy) had gained entry from outside and had asked them to revolt, they would have done so without great hesitation. Whereas they had earlier promised God that they would not retreat; and promises made to God are answerable. Say: 'It will not avail you to flee, whether from death or from battle; in such case you will be allowed enjoyment only briefly.' Say:

'Who is it can protect you from God if He wishes to do you harm, or be merciful to you?' They shall not find anyone to help or aid them apart from God. God knows which of you hinder and which of you say to your brethren, 'Come over to us!' Yet they rarely go to battle. They are ungenerous to you; and when fear arrives you see them looking at you with their eyes rolling, like those who faint at death. But when the fear is gone, they pursue you with sharp tongues, greedy for the good (booty). Those people did not believe and so God nullified their action; and this was an easy thing for God. They consider that the clans have not gone; and if the clans should again come, they would wish to be among the bedouin asking for news of you; yet if they were among you, they would only do in battle a little. In the Messenger of God there has been for you an excellent model for those who have hope in God and in the last Day and who make frequent mention of God. When the believers saw the clans, they said, 'This is what God and His messenger promised us. God and His messenger spoke the truth.' And this only increased their faith and submission. The believers include some men who are true to what they promised God. Of them are those who have already fulfilled their vows, while some of them still wait but have not changed at all. God will reward those who are true in their sincerity; and He will punish the hypocrites, if He wishes, or will turn aside from them. God is very forgiving and merciful. God turned back those who disbelieved; by their rage they gained nothing good. Yet God gave satisfaction to the believers in the fighting; and God is strong and powerful. He brought down from their forts those of the People of the Book who allied with them, and cast terror into their hearts; some you killed, others you took captive. He made you heir to their land, properties and belongings, as well as to lands you have not yet trod. And God is capable of all things' (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.9-13).

We have discussed all these noble verses in the *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*; and to God belong all praise and credit. Let us refer here to matters relating to the account – if God wills it and in Him we place reliance and trust.

The battle of al-khandaq took place in Shawwāl, 5 AH, according to Ibn Ishāq, 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, Qatāda and al-Bayhaqī, along with various scholars of the earlier and later periods.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba quoted al-Zuhri as stating, "Then the *waq'at al-aḥzāb*, the 'battle of the clans', took place, in Shawwāl of 4 AH."

Imām Mālik b. Anas stated the same, according to a quotation attributed to him by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, quoting Mūsā b. Dā'ūd.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "There is in fact no dispute between them in this; this is because their intent was that this occurred after the passage of four years, but before the completion of five."

There is no doubt that when the polytheists left Uḥud they made an arrangement to meet the Muslims at Badr in the following year. The Messenger of God (SAAS) therefore went forth with his force in Sha'bān of 4 AH, as told

above, while Abū Sufyān returned home with the Quraysh because of the drought that year. They would not have been likely to have gone to Medina two months later. And so it may be concluded that the battle of al-khandaq took place in 5 AH. But God knows best. Al-Zuhri declared that the battle of al-khandaq took place two years following that of Uḥud. And there is no dispute over the fact that Uḥud occurred in Shawwāl of 3 AH, except in so far as some maintain that the dating system began with Muḥarram of the second year after the hegira, and they do not count the remaining months of that year, from Rabi' al-Awwal to its end, as al-Bayhaqi related it. Ya'qūb b. Sufyān al-Fasāwī maintained this, declaring that Badr took place in the first year, Uḥud in the second, the "appointment at Badr" in Sha'ban of year 3 AH, and al-khandaq in Shawwāl of year 4 AH.

This view is contrary to that of the majority, for it is widely accepted that the Commander of the Believers, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, established the beginning of the era from Muḥarram of the year of the hegira, though Mālik states it to have been from Rabi' al-Awwal of that year. There are therefore the three views. And God knows best.

What seems true is what the majority hold – that Uḥud was in Shawwāl of 3 AH, while al-khandaq took place in Shawwāl of 5 AH. But God knows best.

(Also revelant) is the *ḥadīth* accepted in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections derived through 'Ubayd Allāh from Nāfi', who quoted Ibn 'Umar as saying, "I was presented to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the Battle of Uḥud when I was 14, but he would not give me permission to fight. I was also presented to him at al-khandaq when I was 15, and he then gave me permission." Some scholars, including al-Bayhaqi, respond to this by saying that he was presented at Uḥud at the beginning of his 14th year, and that al-Aḥzāb (al-khandaq) was at the end of his 15th year.

I would comment that it is probable that what he meant was that when he was presented at al-Aḥzāb he had already completed 15 years, an age at which youths are permitted to engage in battle; and so nothing more is to be added.

Therefore, when Nāfi' related this *ḥadīth* to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, he said, "This constitutes the difference between a youth and a man." He then wrote this to the provinces and the mass of scholars thereafter relied upon it. But God knows best.

The following text of the account is derived from Ibn Ishāq and others.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The battle of al-khandaq took place, in Shawwāl, 5 AH.

"Yazīd b. Rumān related to me, from 'Urwa and another trustworthy source, from 'Ubayd Allāh³⁵ b. Ka'b b. Mālik and Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī and al-Zuhri, and 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and other scholars, some of these giving information not included by others, as follows. What happened at al-khandaq was that a group of Jews had divided up the clans

35. Ibn Hishām gives his name as 'Abd Allah b. Ka'b.

against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). These included Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq al-Naḍri, Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab al-Naḍri, Kināna b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Hawdha b. Qays al-Wāʿilī, and Abū ʿAmmār al-Wāʿilī, along with groups from Banū al-Naḍir and Banū Wāʿil. These went to Quraysh in Mecca and suggested they engage in warfare against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told them that they would participate until they had completely destroyed him. Quraysh responded as follows, 'O Jews, you are the first people to receive scripture and knowledge in those matters in which we and Muḥammad differ. Which religion is better, ours or his?'

"They replied, 'Your religion is definitely better than his; you are closer the truth than he is.'

"It is of these people that God revealed the words, 'Have you not seen those who were brought a share of the Book? They believe in idols and evil powers, and say to those who disbelieve, "These are more rightly guided than those who believe!" Those are they whom God has cursed; and whomever God curses shall find none to help him' (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.51-2).

"This pleased Quraysh when they said it to them and they gladly accepted the suggestion of going to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They then assembled and made preparations.

"That group of Jews then visited Ghatafān of Qays ʿAylān and invited them to battle the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling them that they would themselves participate along with them, and that Quraysh would do so too. They therefore joined up with them.

"Quraysh then set out, their leader being Abū Sufyān. Ghatafān, under their leader ʿUyayna b. Ḥisn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, also went forth with Banū Fazāra, as did al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf b. Abū Ḥāritha al-Murri with Banū Murra, along with Miṣʿar b. Rukhayla b. Nuwayra b. Ṭarīf b. Suḥma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hilāl b. Khalāwa b. Ashjaʿ b. Rayth b. Ghatafān, along with those of his people from Ashjaʿ who followed him.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of all this and what they had agreed, he dug the ditch around Medina."

Ibn Hishām commented that it is said that it was Salmān who suggested this.

Al-Ṭabarī and al-Suhaylī stated that the first man to dig ditches was Manushehr b. Ayraj b. Afrīdūn and that that happened in the time of Moses, peace be upon him.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worked on this himself, inspiring the Muslims to seek reward in heaven, and they worked alongside him. Some hypocrites held back, complaining of their weakness. Some of these left surreptitiously and without his permission or knowledge.

"It was on this subject that Almighty God revealed, 'Believers are only those who believe in God and in His messenger. And if engaged with him in a joint effort they do not leave without seeking his permission. Those who do seek your permission are those who believe in God and in His messenger. If they do ask

your permission to attend to some affair, then permit it to whichever of them you wish. And ask God to forgive them; God is indeed Forgiving, Merciful. Do not consider the Messenger's appealing to you while among you the same as you making appeals to one another. God is well aware which of you steal away in hiding. Let those beware who oppose his orders, lest trouble or painful punishment afflict them. No indeed! All in the heavens and all on earth belong to God; He well knows what you do. On the day on which they will be returned to Him, He will inform them what it was they did. God is aware of all things!" (*sūrat al-Nūr*, XXIV, v.62-4).

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Muslims continued working on the trench until they had finished it. They made a rhyme about one of the Muslims, a man named Ju'ayl whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) referred to as 'Amr. They would repeat,

'To 'Amr from Ju'ayl he changed his name; and soon
'the weak are strong', he'll proclaim.'

"When they pronounced the name 'Amr', so would the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do so along with them. When they said the word 'proclaim', so would he."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr, quoting Abū Ishāq, from Ḥumayd, who said, 'I heard Anas say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to the trench and found that the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* were busy digging. It was a very cold morning and they had no slaves to do that work for them. When he saw what they were suffering from the hard labour and their hunger, he said, 'O God, their life is, indeed, that of the after-life; forgive the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*.' They responded in unison to this by chanting,

'We are those who gave allegiance to Muḥammad, for the
jihād, the holy work, forever, for as long as we live.'""

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is similar wording given, on the authority of Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, from Anas.

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit and Ḥumayd, from Anas, in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abū Ma'mar related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, from 'Abd al-'Aziz, from Anas, who said, 'The *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* set to work digging the trench around Medina carrying away the dirt on their backs, chanting,

"We are those who gave allegiance to Muḥammad, for
Islam, for ever, for as long as we live."

"In response, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, "O God, there is no good except that of the hereafter, so bless the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*."

“They would bring a handful of barley and some ill-smelling fat as a meal for them, hungry as they were; it stuck in their throats and smelled bad.”

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “Qutayba b. Sa‘īd related to us, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl b. Sa‘d, who said, ‘We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the trench while men were digging it. We would carry the dirt away on our shoulders. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “O God, there is no life but that of the hereafter; forgive the *muḥājirīn* and the *anṣār*.”’”

Muslim also related this, from al-Qa‘nabī, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “Muslim b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Shu‘ba, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā’ b. ‘Azīb, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was carrying away the dirt (before) the battle of al-khandaq till dust covered his stomach’ (or ‘his stomach became dust-covered’), ‘and reciting,

“O God, without God we would not have been well-guided,
nor would we have been charitable; nor would we have
prayed.

So do send down tranquillity upon us and make us stand
firm when we meet the foe.

They have wronged us; if they want trouble, we’ll
resist them!”

“And he raised his voice at the words “resist them”.’”

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān related to him, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā’, who related the following *ḥadīth*: “At the (time of) the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, ‘the clans’, and the trench of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I saw him carrying the dirt from the trench so much that it hid the skin of his stomach from me; and he had much body hair. I heard him reciting verses of ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as he moved the dirt,

‘O God, without you we would not have been well-guided;
nor would we have been charitable, nor would we have
prayed.

So do send tranquillity upon us and make us stand firm
when we meet the foe.

They have wronged us; if they want trouble, we’ll
resist them!”

“He would stretch out the final syllables.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalā’il (The Signs)*, “‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ismā‘īl b. al-Faḍl al-Bajalī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Balkhī, quoting al-Musayyab b. Shurayk, from Ziyād b. Abū Ziyād, from Abū ‘Uthmān, from Salmān, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chanted as he dug the trench,

'In God's name, and through Him we were guided, and if we had worshipped any but Him we would have suffered, What a fine Lord! What a fine religion!'"

This *ḥadīth*, from this line, is *gharīb*, "unique".

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from Mu'āwiya b. Qurra, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the following while they were digging the trench,

'O God, there is no good except that of the hereafter, so bless the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn*.'

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections derived this from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar from Shu'ba.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Various anecdotes to which the Muslims were witness, have reached me relating to the digging of the trench that provide example of the truth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that confirm his Prophethood. One such is that Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh would relate how they had great difficulty digging one patch of hard ground, and so they complained about this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He called for a pitcher of water, spat in it and spoke over it some prayer that God wished him to say. He then sprinkled the water on the hard ground. Those present swear that it crumbled so much that it could not withstand an axe or a shovel."

Ibn Ishāq related this thus, without a full chain of authorities, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, God be pleased with him.

Al-Bukhārī, God bless him, stated, "Khallād b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wahid b. Ayman, from his father, who said, 'I once went to Jābir and he told me, "At the Battle of the trench, when we were digging, a patch of extremely hard ground was in our way. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, when he was told of this, 'I'll come on down.' Then he arose; and there was a stone tied across his stomach – we had not tasted food for three days. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the spade and struck the ground with it and it turned into soft sand.

"So I said, 'Please, Messenger of God, allow me to go home now.' Then I told my wife, 'I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) to be in an intolerable state. Do you have something (to eat)?' She replied that she had some barley and a goat. So I slaughtered the goat, and she ground up the barley. Then we put the meat into a pot. I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the dough had risen and when the pot was on the stone trivet and almost cooked, and said, 'I have a little food; do come along, Messenger of God, with one or two of the men.' 'How much is there?' he asked, and I told him. He said, 'There's a great deal of good food. Let your wife not take off the pot nor remove the bread from the oven until I arrive.' Then he told the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* to get up, and they did so."

“When the man went in to his wife, he told her, “There is a problem! The Prophet is coming with *muhājirīn*, *anṣār* and others.” She asked, “Did he question you?” “Yes,” I replied.

“Then He told them all to come in, but not to push and shove, and he began to break up the bread and place meat on it. He covered over the pot and the oven when he took from them. He kept on serving the food to his Companions and taking it out. He did not stop breaking the bread and spooning the meat until they were satisfied; and some still remained. He then told her, “Eat yourself, and give to all; people are very hungry.””

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Wakiʿ, from ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from his father Ayman the Abyssinian, the freed-man of Banū Makhzūm, from Jābir in an account that combines reference to the hard ground with the stone being bound to the stomach of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Al-Bayhaqī related it in *Dalāʾil* (The Signs), from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from his father, from Jābir, in an account combining reference to the hard ground and the food. That narrative is longer and more extensive than that of al-Bukhārī. In it he stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had learned of the quantity of the food, he told all the Muslims, ‘Go along and see Jābir.’ They began to do so. (Jābir) said, ‘God only knows how embarrassed I felt! I told myself that he was coming with (many) people for a measure of barley and a she-kid! So I went in to my wife and told her, “You’re going to be put to shame; the Messenger of God (SAAS) is coming to you with everyone from the trench!” She replied, “Did he ask you how much food you have?” “Yes.” I replied. “Well then”, she commented, “God and His messenger know best!”

“And so she relieved my great concern. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) came in, he said to her, “You serve, but leave the meat to me.” And then he set about serving the stew and dishing out the meat, giving it to everyone in turn. He kept on doing so until all were satisfied, yet the oven and pot were still more full than before!

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, “Now you eat and serve more.” And she went on eating and serving all day.”

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related this similarly, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥārībī, from ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ayman, from his father, from Jābir’s account, and also at greater length. Finally, he stated, “He told me they were 800 in number. Or else the figure he stated was 300.”

According to the account from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. Saʿd, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, given only at length about the food, he stated that they were 300 in number.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, “Amr b. ‘Alī related to me, quoting Abū ‘Aṣim, quoting Hanzala b. Abū Sufyān, from Abū al-Zubayr, as follows, ‘Ibn Minā’ related to us that he heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “When the trench was dug, I could see that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering severe malnutrition, so I asked my wife what livestock she had, saying, ‘Do you have anything? I have noticed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is suffering serious malnutrition.’ She produced a bag containing a measure of barley, and we also did have a she-kid. I slaughtered it, while she ground the barley; we both finished at the same time. Then I cut it up and put it in the cooking pot and turned to go back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when she said, ‘Don’t disgrace me by having the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) come and bring others who are with him!’ I went up to him and, speaking confidentially, I told him, ‘Messenger of God, I’ve slaughtered a she-kid of ours and ground up a measure of barley we had. Please come, and bring another with you.’”

““At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, ‘Hey, everyone at the trench! Jābir has made a feast for us! Let’s go to it!’ He then told me, ‘Don’t take down the pot or bake the bread before I get there.’”

““So I went home and eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, leading his men. I went to my wife and she berated me, but I told her, ‘I did just as you asked.’ She then brought out the dough to us, and he spat on it and blessed it. After that he went over to our cooking pot and spat and blessed again. He told my wife, ‘Call over a bakeress to bake along with you and keep on ladling out from the pot, but don’t take it off the fire.’ A thousand people were present. And, I swear by God, they ate, then stopped and went away and our pot was still bubbling as before, and our dough was still there too, as it had been.””

Muslim related this from Ḥajjāj b. al-Shā‘ir, from Abū ‘Aṣim in much the same words.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related this *ḥadīth*, but his account has some unique aspects to it. He stated, “Sa‘īd b. Minā’ related to me, from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘We worked with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the trench. I had a young goat, not fully fattened. So I said how nice it would be to serve it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I told my wife to grind up some barley for us, and she made some bread with it. I slaughtered the goat and we roasted it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’”

“When evening came and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to leave the trench (we were working in it during the day, then going home to our families each night) I told him, “We’ve cooked a young goat we had and baked some barley bread. I do hope you will accompany me home.” I had only wanted him to come with me, but when I told him this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted, but then he had someone call out, “Everyone is to go with the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to the home of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh!" At this I said, "O dear! We belong to God, and to Him do we return!"

"Then along came the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accompanied by his men. He sat down and we brought out the food which he blessed, invoking the name of Almighty God over it. He then ate and the others set about it too. When one group was finished another came until all those working at the ditch had done."

It is strange that Imām Aḥmad only gave this *ḥadīth* through Sa'īd b. Minā', from Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, from his father, from Ibn Ishāq, from Jābir, in exactly similar form.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "Sa'īd b. Minā' related to me that it was related to him that a daughter of Bashir b. Sa'd, sister of al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr said, 'My mother, 'Amra, daughter of Rawāḥa, invited me over and gave me a handful of dates, putting it in my dress, saying, "Daughter, take this to your father and your uncle 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa for their lunch." So I passed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while I was looking for my father and my uncle. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said to me, "Come over here, girl! What are you carrying?" I replied, "This, Messenger of God, is some dates my mother sent me to deliver for lunch to my father Bashir b. Sa'd and my uncle 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa." He told me, "Bring it over here." So I poured out the dates into his hands and they did not fill them.

"He then asked for a cloth and it was laid out for him. He piled up the dates on it and they towered above it. He then told one of his men there to shout out to those working on the trench to come and have lunch. The men all gathered around and began eating from it. But it grew in quantity and when they went off again, it was spilling over the sides of the cloth."

Ibn Ishāq related it thus; there is a break in the line of transmission. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it thus through him and without addition.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was related to me that Salmān the Persian said, 'I was digging in the trench and one rock was too tough for me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was nearby, and when he saw me striking it and how difficult was all the trouble I was having, he came down, took the pickaxe from my hands and struck with it. A flash glowed from beneath the pickaxe. He then struck with it again and again it glowed beneath it. He struck it a third time and again it glowed. I said, "By my father and mother, Messenger of God! What is it I see glowing beneath your pickaxe when you strike with it?" He replied, "Did you see that, Salmān?" "Yes, I did," I replied. He explained, "The first glow was God opening up the gates to Yemen for me. The second was God opening up the gates of Syria and the *maghrib*, the west. The third was God opening up by it the gates of the East for me.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is what Ibn Ishāq related that Mūsā b. 'Uqba recounted in his work on the military expeditions; Abū al-Aswad recounted it from 'Urwa."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to relate a *ḥadīth* through Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kadīmī, a controversial source. However, Ibn Jarīr related it in his history from Muḥammad b. Bashshār and from Bandār, both giving a line of authorities from Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. 'Athma, from Kathīr b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Awf al-Muznī, from his father, from his grandfather. He recounts a *ḥadīth* which tells how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up work on the trench in such a way that every group of ten men were to dig for forty arms' lengths. The account also says that the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* quarrelled about Salmān and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore stated, "Salmān is one of us – one of the *ahl al-bayt*, 'a member (honorary) of the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

'Amr b. 'Awf stated, "I, Salmān, Ḥudhayfa, al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin and six of the *anṣār* were working on forty arms' lengths of the trench. We dug on until we reached al-Nadā, where we came across a huge, white rock. It broke our metal tools and gave us great difficulty. So Salmān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was then in a Turkish pavilion, and told him of it. He came and took the pickaxe from Salmān and struck the rock so hard it split. From it there came a flash of light so strong as to illuminate all the way between the two lava fields – (at both ends) of Medina, that is. It was like a great lantern on a very dark night. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) invoked God's greatness, saying *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is Most Great', as at a victory, and the Muslims did so as well. He then struck it again and the same thing happened, a third time with the same result. Salmān and the Muslims asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what the light meant. He replied, 'From the first, the castles of al-Ḥīra and cities of Chosroe were lit up to be seen like the fangs of dogs. Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. From the second, the red castles of Byzantium were illuminated, as though they were the fangs of dogs; Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. From the third, the castles of Ṣan'ā were lit up like the fangs of dogs; Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. So be joyful at this news!' The Muslims were delighted, and said, 'Praise be to God! A true omen!'

"When the enemy clans appeared for battle, the believers told one another that that was what God and His messenger had promised them and was true, and so their faith and determination were reinforced. The hypocrites said, 'He tells you he can see from Yathrib to the castles of al-Ḥīra and the cities of Chosroe, and that they will be rendered up to you, yet here you are digging the trench and can't even come out into the open!'

"And so it was that about them God revealed, '(Remember) when the hypocrites and those with sickness in their hearts say, "What God and His messenger promise us is mere fancy!"' (sūrat al-Aḥzāb; XXXIII, v. 12).

This *ḥadīth* is unilateral.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated, "Ḥārūn b. Malūl related to us, quoting Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād, from 'Abd

Allāh b. Yazīd, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered a trench be dug around Medina and the work was underway, some men told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they had come across a rock they could not dig up. He then went there, with us accompanying him, and when he reached the site, he took the pickaxe, struck a hard blow with it and spoke the words, *Allāhu Akbar!* “God is Most Great!” Then came a crashing sound the like of which I never heard before and he said, “Persia has been conquered!” He then struck again, and again invoked God’s greatness. Again came a crashing sound the like of which I had never heard, and he said, “Byzantium has been conquered!” He then struck and invoked once more and again I heard a crashing sound the like of which I had never heard, and he said, “God has delivered Ḥimyar as (our) allies and comrades!””

This too is unique from this line of transmission. There is weakness in ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. An‘am al-Ifriqī as a source. But God knows best.

Al-Ṭabrānī also stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to us, Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-Jurmī related to me, Abū Numayla related to us, quoting Nu‘aym b. Sa‘īd al-Gharri, that ‘Ikrima quoted Ibn ‘Abbās as saying, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dug the trench, his Companions had tied stones to their stomachs they were so hungry. When he saw this, he said, “Can’t you find someone who could give us a meal?” A man replied, “Yes.” The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, “Since you didn’t say no, then lead us to him.” So off they went to the man’s house, but he was doing his share of work in the ditch. His wife sent a message to him to come home because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had come to visit them. The man hurried home expressing his concern. He did have a goat with a kid, and the man sprang at the goat. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “No; there’s the kid behind her. Slaughter the kid.” The wife prepared some ground wheat she had and made it into dough and baked it. The pot was prepared and she crumbled the bread into the stew in her wooden bowl that served ten and offered it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed a finger in it, invoked God’s name and asked Him to bless it, then told them to eat. They did so until they were satisfied. Yet all they had eaten was one-third; two-thirds of it remained. He then told the ten men with him to go and bring back a like number. They left and the next ten arrived and ate till they were satisfied. He then arose and said a prayer for the mistress of the house, invoking God’s name over her and her family. They then returned to the trench. He asked them to accompany him to Salmān who had a rock in his way for which he had insufficient strength. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Let me be the first to strike it.” He said God’s name over it, struck it and one-third of it split away. He then said, “God is most great! It’s the castles of Syria, by the Lord of the *ka‘ba!*” He hit it again, and another section came away. He said, *Allāhu Akbar!* “God is most Great! It’s the castles of Syria, by the Lord of the *ka‘ba!*” He then hit it again and another section came away.

He said, *Allāhu Akbar!* "It's the castles of Persia, by the Lord of the *ka'ba*!" Thereupon the hypocrites commented, "So we dig a trench for ourselves while he promises us the castles of Persia and Byzantium!"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated further, "Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, that Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Hawdhā, that 'Awf related to us, from Maymūn b. Ustādh al-Zuhri, and al-Barā' b. 'Azib al-Anṣārī related to us, as follows, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered us to dig the ditch, a large, tough rock was in our way but the pickaxes made no impression on it. The problem was brought to the attention of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when he saw it, he took the pickaxe and spoke God's name. Then he struck it hard and a third of it broke off. He then exclaimed, "*Allāhu Akbar!* I have been given the keys to Syria! I swear by God I can see its red castles, by God's grace!" He then struck it a second blow and cut off another third. Again he exclaimed, "I have been given the keys to Persia! I swear by God, I can see the castles of the white cities!" He then struck a third time, speaking God's name and broke the rest of the rock. He exclaimed, "*Allāhu Akbar!* I have been given the keys to Yemen! I swear by God, I can see the gates of Ṣan'ā from where I am now!"

This *ḥadīth* is also unique, one related only by this Maymūn b. Ustādh. He was of Baṣra, and related material from al-Barā' and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, and from him Ḥamid al-Ṭawīl, al-Jurayri and 'Awf al-A'rābi. Abū Ḥatīm stated, on the authority of Ishāq b. Maṣṣūr and Ibn Mu'īn, that he was a *thiqa*, "a reliable source". Alī b. al-Madīnī stated, "Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān would not relate traditions from him."

Al-Nasā'ī stated, "Qasā b. Yūnus related to us, quoting Ḍamra, from Abū Zar'ā al-Saybānī, from Abū Sakina, a man from Baḥrayn, from one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the digging of the trench, a large rock got in the way of their work. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went and took the pickaxe and placed his cloak down in the direction of the trench. Then he said the words, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows" (*sūrat al-An'ām*; VI, v.115). At this a third of the rock split off. Salmān al-Fārisī was standing watching. At the blow struck by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), there had been a flash of light. Then he hit it a second time and repeated, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows." Another third broke off, and a light again flashed that Salmān saw. He then struck a third time, saying, "The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows." At that the remaining third split up.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, picked up his cloak and sat down. Salmān asked him, "Messenger of God, I noticed that each blow you struck was accompanied by a flash of light." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded,

"So, Salmān, you saw that?" "Yes, I did, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, Messenger of God." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "When I struck the first blow the cities of Chosroe and their surroundings, along with many other towns were raised up before me so that I saw them with my own eyes." One of his Companions present there then asked, "Messenger of God, please pray to God to grant us victory, give us their progeny as booty and to let us destroy their lands with our own hands." And he did speak that prayer.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "Then I struck the second blow and Caesar's cities and their surroundings were raised before me so that I saw them with my own eyes." Those present said, "Please, Messenger of God, pray to God to grant us victory, to give us their progeny as booty and to let us destroy their lands with our own hands." And he did so pray.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "When I struck the third blow, the cities of Abyssinia were raised before me, along with the villages there about, so that I saw them with my own eyes." Then he said, "Allow Abyssinia what they allowed you, and leave the Turks undisturbed for as long as they so leave you.""

Al-Nasā'ī related it thus at length, whereas Abū Dā'ūd quoted from it the words, "Allow Abyssinia what they allowed you, and leave the Turks undisturbed for as long as they so leave you." His line of transmission was from 'Īsā b. Muḥammad al-Ramlī, from Ḍamra b. Rabī'a, from Abū Zur'a Yaḥyā b. Abū 'Amr al-Saybānī.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A trustworthy source related to me from Abū Hurayra that when these territories were conquered in the eras of 'Umar and of 'Uthmān and thereafter, he would say, 'You should conquer what seems appropriate to you; for, I swear by Him who holds Abū Hurayra's soul, you have not conquered any town, and you never will right on up to Judgement Day, the keys to which were not given beforehand to Muḥammad (ṢAAS).'"

This line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* is broken; but it is given in complete form from another line, thanks be to God. For Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, that 'Uqayl b. Khālīd related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sa'd b. al-Musayyab, that Abū Hurayra said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'I was provided for my mission with words that united and I was made victorious through awe. And while I slept I was brought the keys of all the treasures on earth and they were placed in my hand.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in a *ḥadīth* unique to himself from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr and Sa'd b. 'Afīr, both of them quoting al-Layth. According to him, Abū Hurayra said, "... and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to say, '... and you are advancing to them.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yazīd related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, 'I was made victorious through awe and was provided with words that united. The earth was made for me a mosque and a purification; and while I was

asleep, I was brought the keys to the treasures of the world, and they piled up in my hand.”

This chain of transmission is considered strong and excellent according to the criteria of Muslim, (yet) the chief authorities (on the traditions) did not include it. In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections are the words (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), “And when Caesar expires there will be no other Caesar after him; when Chosroe expires there will be no Chosroe after him. And by Him in whose hand is my soul, the treasures of both these shall be used in God’s cause.”

In the authentic *ḥadīth* it is stated, “God gathered up for me the earth, all its parts to the east and to the west; all of that He gathered up for me shall be the domain of my people.”

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed the trench, Quraysh advanced at the confluence of the streams from Rūma, between al-Jurf and Zaghāba. They were accompanied by 10,000 of their Abyssinian mercenaries and their allies of Banū Kināna and people from Tihāma. Ghatafān advanced as well, along with their allies from Najd. They came to a halt at Dhanab Naqamā, over by the side of Mt. Uḥud.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims, 3,000 strong, came forth until they had Mt. Sal^c behind them. There he encamped, with the trench between his forces and the enemy. The women and children were taken above into the forts.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.”

I would comment that this makes reference to the Almighty’s words, “(And remember) when they came at you from above you and from below you, and when eyes turned dim and hearts rose into throats, and you were having doubts about God” (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.10).

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to us, quoting ‘Ubayd, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, ‘The words, “when they came at you from above you and from below you” refer to the battle of al-khandaq.’”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, “When al-Aḥzāb, the clans, positioned themselves around Medina, Banū Qurayza locked their fortresses against them.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab al-Naḍrī went to see Kaʿb b. Asad al-Qurazī, who was their designated contractor and trustee. When Kaʿb heard of his coming he locked the gate of his fortress against Ḥuyayy. When the latter asked permission to enter, Kaʿb refused to open up for him. Ḥuyayy called up to him, ‘Kaʿb, open up for me, damn you!’ ‘Damn you, Ḥuyayy,’ he replied. ‘You’re an evil man! I’ve made a pact with Muḥammad and I’m not going

to break my agreement with him. I've never found him to be anything but trustworthy and truthful.'

"Ḥuyayy insisted, 'Damn you, open up so I can talk to you!' 'I will not,' Kaʿb replied. Ḥuyayy then said, 'I swear, the only reason you're locking me out is that you're scared at losing your *jashisha*, your cornbread, of having me eat it with you!'

"This so embarrassed Kaʿb that he did open up. Then Ḥuyayy told him, 'Kaʿb, I bring you fame forever, and a huge mass.' 'And what is that?' he asked. 'I bring you Quraysh with their chieftains and nobles whom I have left encamped at the confluence of the streams at Rūma, along with Ghatafān, with their chiefs and nobles whom I have positioned at Dhanb Naqmā, near Uḥud. They have made a treaty that they will not leave until we completely destroy Muḥammad and those with him.'

"Kaʿb responded, 'What you bring me, I swear by God, is shame forever and a cloud that has lost its water; it thunders and there is lightning, but there is nothing in it. Damn you, Ḥuyayy, leave me to maintain my pact with him; I have never found Muḥammad to be anything but trustworthy and honest.'

"Amr b. Saʿd al-Quraẓī spoke too, and did so well, according to the account given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba. He reminded them of the pact with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of the treaty made by Kaʿb and them to aid him. He said, 'If you won't actually help him, then just leave him to his enemy.'

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Ḥuyayy continued badgering Kaʿb to the extreme until he gave way in agreeing to break his pact with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fighting him alongside the *aḥzāb*, the clans. This was on the understanding that Ḥuyayy would guarantee him that if Quraysh and Ghatafān were to withdraw without destroying Muḥammad that he would join Kaʿb in his fort and they would share the same fate.

"And so Kaʿb b. Asad abrogated and dissolved the pact he had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "Kaʿb b. Asad and Banū Qurayẓa required of Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab that he take from Quraysh and Ghatafān hostages who would remain in custody so that no harm would come to themselves if his enemies were forced to retreat after failing to destroy Muḥammad. The hostages were to number 90 of their leading men, and Ḥuyayy agreed to this. Thereupon Kaʿb b. Asad and Qurayẓa did break their pact and tore up the document on which it was recorded; the tribes Banū Saʿna, Asad, Usayd and Thaʿlaba, however, went forth to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims, he sent out Saʿd b. Muʿadh, he being at that time the leader of al-Aws, along with Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, leader of Khazraj, accompanied by ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Khawāt b. Jubayr, telling them, 'Go to those people and determine whether what we have heard is true, then inform me by

some unintelligible remark I will understand but that will not weaken the resolve of the Muslims. If they are keeping to their pact, then you can report this openly to our men.' The emissaries then left and reached Ka'b and his men."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba went on, "And so they went with them into their fortress and called upon them to make friends and to renew the pact. However, the Qurayza men replied, 'What now? When he has broken our wing and deported them' – meaning Banū al-Naḍir. They criticized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Sa'd b. 'Ubāda began reviling them. This made them angry, so Sa'd b. Mu'adh told him, 'I swear, we did not come here for this! Our issue with them is too serious to settle with bad language.'

"Sa'd b. Mu'adh then spoke to them as follows, 'You know of the relationship between us, Banū Qurayza, and I'm afraid you might have happen to you the same as befell Banū al-Naḍir, or even worse.' But they replied, 'You must have eaten your father's penis!' Sa'd b. Mu'adh responded, 'It would have been much more appropriate and much better if you had responded differently.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "They criticized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Who is this "Messenger of God"? We have no pact with Muḥammad.' At this Sa'd b. Mu'adh, who was an excitable man, reviled them and they insulted him. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda told him, 'Don't insult them any more; our issue with them is too serious for name-calling.'

"Thereupon both Sa'ds and those with them returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and, after greeting him, said, 'Uḍl and al-Qāra!' By this they were referring to their treachery towards those who had gone to al-Raji', Khubayb and his companions.

"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced, '*Allāhu Akbar!* Rejoice, Muslims!'"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) covered himself in his cloak, after receiving the news of Banū Qurayza, and went to lie down. He was absent a long time; and his men had become extremely concerned and fearful when they saw him lie down, for they realized no good news had come from Banū Qurayza. But eventually he raised his head and said, 'Rejoice at God's victory and for His help!'

"Next morning the two opposing sides closed and they exchanged fire with arrows and stones. Sa'd b. al-Musayyad said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the words, 'O God, I beseech You to fulfil Your pact and promise! O God, if it pleases You, You will (no longer) be worshipped!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Thereupon the anxiety and fear increased. Their enemy came at them from above and below, so that the Muslims were very confused. Dissension arose, to the point where Mu'attib b. Qushayr, a brother of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, commented, 'Muḥammad used to promise us that we would eat the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar, yet now we don't feel safe going to the

toilet.' Similarly, Aws b. Qayzī said, while in the presence of others of his people, 'O Messenger of God, our homes are open to the enemy. Give us leave to return to our homes; they are outside Medina.'

"It is these persons and those like them who are referred to in the words of the Almighty, '(Remember) when the hypocrites and those with disease in their hearts said, "it was all misleading, what God and His messenger promised us!" And (remember) when one group of them said, "O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back!" And a group of them did ask the Prophet (ṢAAS), saying, "Our homes are undefended!" Yet they were not exposed; all they wanted was to flee.'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.12, 13).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in his forward position with the polytheists besieging him there for some 20 days, almost a month, but there was no actual warfare between them, apart from some discharge of arrows.

"It has been related to me by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, and from another source I do not doubt, from al-Zuhri, that when conditions there became worse, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf al-Murri – these men being leaders of Ghatafān – offering them a third of the dates of Medina if they were to go home and leave him and his men alone. And so peace talks were held between him and them, to the extent that they did sign a document. However, it was not properly witnessed with true intent for peace, but merely to reduce tension.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to do this, he sent for Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Sa'd b. ʿUmāra, informed them and sought their counsel. They responded, 'Messenger of God, is this something that you wish to do, something God has ordered you to do and which we must put into effect, or is it something you are doing for us?'

"He replied, 'It is something I am doing for you. I swear by God, I am only doing this because I see the Arabs shooting at you as if from one bow, and because they are attacking you from all sides. I want to break up their coalition against you.'

"Sa'd b. Mu'adh then told him, 'Messenger of God, we used to be disbelievers in God, and worshipped idols along with those people, not worshipping nor knowing God. At that time, they would never have dreamed of eating a single date of ours except as our guests or after purchase. Should we give them our property now, after God has honoured us with Islam, led us to Him and given us esteem through you and through Him? We'll have none of this! By God, all we'll give them is the sword, until God decides between us and them!'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'As you wish.' Thereupon Sa'd b. Mu'adh took the document and erased the writing from it, saying, 'Now let them fight us!'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there with his men under siege but without warfare underway between them and their enemy, except that some

of the Quraysh cavalry, consisting of 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd b. Abū Qays, of Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl, Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb, both of Banū Makhzūm, Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, of Banū Muḥārīb b. Fīhr, donned their armour and then went forth on horseback to the positions held by Banū Kināna. There they called out, 'Banū Kināna, prepare for battle! You're going to discover who are the true knights today!'

"They charged forward on their mounts, but stopped at the trench saying, when they saw it, 'By God, this is a trick no Arab used before!' They then headed for a narrow part of the trench and beat their horses, which charged over it and carried them to swampy ground between the trench and a fissure. Thereupon 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and a group of Muslims came out and blocked the opening through which they had forced their horses. The enemy horsemen then charged at them.

"'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd had fought at Badr but been badly wounded and consequently had not been present at Uḥud. At al-khandaq he had come out to battle wearing his insignia so that his rank would be evident. Now there on his horse, he cried out, 'Who will accept my challenge to combat?' 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, came forward and said, 'Amr, you used to swear by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two choices, you would accept one of them.' 'That is so,' 'Amr replied. 'Alī then said, 'Well then, I invite you to God and to His messenger and to Islam!' 'I don't need that,' replied 'Amr. 'Then', 'Alī continued, 'I invite you to combat!' 'Amr responded, 'Why this, nephew? I swear, I don't want to kill you.' 'Alī replied, 'But, by God, I want to kill you!'

"This enraged 'Amr and he leaped off his horse and hobbled it and beat its head. He then advanced at 'Alī and they fought, circling around one another until 'Alī, God be pleased with him, eventually killed him. Their horsemen left in defeat, charging back across the trench in flight."

According to Ibn Ishāq, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses on that:

"He sought aid from the stone (idol) in his stupidity,
while I rightly sought support from the Lord of
Muḥammad.

I felt proud when I left him prostrate like a tree
stump amid the fine sand and rocks.

And refrained from taking his armour, though if I had
been defeated he would have had mine.

Do not think that God would abandon His faith and His
prophet, you clansmen!"

Ibn Hishām stated that most authorities on poetry doubt that this poetry was by 'Alī.

Ibn Hishām also said that 'Ikrima tossed his spear away that day when he was defeated by 'Amr, and that Hassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on that subject:

"He fled and threw his spear to us; perhaps, 'Ikrim,
you should not have done this.

You turned and ran like a male ostrich, looking only
straight ahead.

You did not turn your back like a man would; the nape
of your neck was like that of a *fur'al*."

Ibn Hishām explained that the word *fur'al* means a young hyena.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted in his *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, quoting Ibn Ishāq in another place in the *sīra*, the life of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as follows, "'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd went forth in full armour and called out, 'Who will meet me in combat?' 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib arose and said, 'I'll do it, Prophet of God.' 'But that is 'Amr,' he replied. 'Sit down!' 'Amr called out again, 'Will no man accept combat?' He then began teasing them, saying, 'What about that paradise of yours? Don't you claim that any of you who are killed will enter there? So will not any man of you accept combat with me?' 'Alī again arose and asked, 'May I, Messenger of God?' 'Sit down!' he replied. Then 'Amr called out a third time, speaking the verses,

'I'm hoarse from calling out to them. Won't
someone come forth?

While those thought brave are too cowardly, I've stood
here like an accomplished champion.

That is why I have always hastened forth before the
fighting begins.

In a warrior, it is bravery and generosity that are the
best qualities.'

"Alī again arose and went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'May I go, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'But it is 'Amr.' 'Even though it is 'Amr!' he insisted. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him permission and he walked out towards him, reciting the verses,

'Do not hurry away, for someone who is not weak is
responding to your challenge.

He is a man of determination and wisdom, and truth is
the resort of all who succeed.

I hope that I will make mourning women stand over you

From the thrust of a spear that will always be
mentioned in talk of warfare.'

"Amr asked him, 'Who are you?' 'I am 'Alī,' he replied.

"You mean 'Abd Manāf's son,' 'Amr enquired. 'No; I'm 'Alī son of Abū Ṭālib,' he responded. 'Nephew,' 'Amr told him, 'you have uncles who are more mature than you; I am reluctant to shed your blood.' 'Alī replied, 'But, by God, I'm not reluctant to shed your blood.' This angered 'Amr and he dismounted and drew his sword like fire flashing. He then advanced furiously towards 'Alī.

‘Alī met him with his leather shield. ‘Amr struck it and pierced it, his sword remaining stuck in it while it also struck ‘Alī’s head. Then ‘Alī struck him in his neck vein and he fell down. The dust had risen and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard someone saying, ‘*Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great!’ And so we knew that ‘Alī had killed him. ‘Alī then spoke the lines,

‘Is it against me that the horsemen thus charge; my
companions held me back from them.

My zeal today and a resolve in my mind, not just in my
(mouth) tooth.’

“He then went on to speak the line,

‘He worshipped the stone (idol) in his stupidity, while
I wisely sought aid from Muḥammad’s Lord.’

“Then ‘Alī went on towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his face beaming, and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked him, ‘Did you strip off his armour? It’s the best armour among the Arabs.’ ‘Alī responded, ‘As I struck him, he shielded his private parts from me, and I felt embarrassed to despoil my own cousin.’

“‘Amr’s cavalry then left in defeat, charging back across the trench.”

Ibn Ishāq further stated, as quoted by al-Bayhaqī, that ‘Alī struck him at the collarbone, his weapon going on down to emerge from his belly, and that ‘Amr died in the trench. The polytheists then sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), seeking to purchase his corpse for 10,000 (dirhams). But he responded, “He’s yours. We don’t profit from the dead.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Naṣr b. Bāb related to us, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The Muslims killed at the trench a polytheist and were given money for his corpse. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said “Give them back the money for his corpse; his corpse is evil, and so would be the blood-money.” He would not accept anything from them.”

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥajjāj, he being Ibn Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ‘Abbās, whom he quoted as saying that a polytheist was killed at the battle of al-Aḥzāb and that a message was then sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offering payment of 12,000 (dirhams) for his body. He responded, “There’s no good in his body, nor in the price for it.”

Al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ‘Abbās. He categorized this *ḥadīth* as *gharīb*, “unilateral”.

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba recounted that it was actually the body of Nawfal b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Makhzūmī they requested after he was killed, and that it was for him that they offered blood-money. But he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) responded, “He is evil, and so would be the blood-money; God has cursed him and his blood-money. We

have no intent to take blood-money for him. And we will not prevent you from burying him.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, “Nawfal b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī came forth and made a challenge for combat. Al-Zubayr accepted and went out to battle him, striking him so hard that he split him in two and badly dented his sword. He then left, reciting the line,

‘I’m a man who protects and defends the Prophet, the
chosen one, *al-ummi*³⁶, the untutored.’”

Ibn Jarīr stated that when Nawfal became trapped in the trench, the Muslims began hurling rocks at him. So he said, “A death better than this, I pray you, fellow Arabs!” At that ‘Alī went down and killed him. The polytheists then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for his body, offering a price for it. But he refused to take anything from them and allowed them to remove it.

This *ḥadīth* is to be categorized as *gharīb*, “unilateral”, from two sources.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Ḥammād b. Yazīd, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who said, “At the battle of al-khandaq, I was put in the fortress with the women and children. With me was ‘Umar b. Abū Salama, who would bend over so that I could get on his back and observe. I saw my father charging first here, then there, attacking everything that came before him. That evening he joined us in the fortress, and I commented to him, ‘Father, I watched what you did today!’ He responded, ‘So you saw me, son!’ ‘Yes,’ I affirmed. ‘Well, may my father and mother be your ransom!’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Abū Laylā, that is ‘Abd Allāh b. Sahl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sahl al-Anṣārī, brother of Banū Ḥāritha, related to me that ‘Ā’isha, mother of the faithful, was in the fort of Banū Ḥāritha, one of the most secure of the Medina forts, during the battle of al-khandaq. Umm Sa’d b. Mu’adh was with her there. ‘Ā’isha said, That was before the veil was imposed on us. Sa’d passed by wearing armour so small that his whole arm was exposed. He was carrying a spear and as he brandished it, he would call out,

“Stay awhile and let Ḥamal watch the fight
There’s no harm in death when the time is right!”

‘His mother called out to him, “‘Hurry along, son! By God, you’re late already!” I commented to her, “Umm Sa’d, I just wish Sa’d’s armour was larger.” I was afraid he would be struck in those very places; and indeed an arrow was shot at Sa’d b. Mu’adh that severed the artery of his arm.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda told me, ‘It was Ḥibbān b. Qays b. al-‘Ariqa of Banū ‘Āmir b. Lu’ayy who shot at him and when the arrow struck,

36. This adjective has been the subject of much study. Some consider it to refer to someone coming from Mecca, known as the Umm al-Qurā, “the mother of all cities”. Others interpret it to mean unlettered, untutored and therefore a reference to the miraculous nature of the Qur’ān and the impossibility of its having been composed by someone who lacked education.

he called out, 'Take that from me; I'm Ibn al-'Ariqa!' Sa'd responded, 'May God make your face sweat³⁷ in hell! O God, if You will prolong this battle with Quraysh, preserve me for it! For there is no people I would rather fight than those who have harmed Your messenger, disbelieved in him and expelled him. But if You decree (continued) war between us and them, then make me a witness to it, and do not make me die before letting me engage in battle with Banū Qurayza!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "A reliable source related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, that the latter would say, 'Actually, it was Abū Usāma al-Jushamī, an ally of Banū Makhzūm, who struck Sa'd that day.' And Abū Usāma composed the following verse on the subject that he recited to 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl:

'Ikrim, were you not blaming me when you said, "May
Khālid be your ransom at the forts of Medina?"

Was it not I who struck Sa'd with an arrow in his
elbow, causing a wound that would not congeal?

It caused Sa'd's death and made old women and well-
breasted virgins mourn.

It was you who defended him when 'Ubayda called in his
distress to a group of them,

Those times when they avoided his path, while at other
times they were too scared to act."

Ibn Ishāq commented, "God knows which account is correct."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that it was Khafāja b. 'Āsim b. Ḥibbān who struck Sa'd."

I would comment that God did respond to the plea of His servant Sa'd b. Mu'adh concerning Banū Qurayza. God did please him, and He thus ruled regarding them with strength and ease; and He made it be they who requested that, as will be explained hereafter. He decreed that their warriors be slain and their children be taken captive. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to him, "You issued judgement concerning them, by the decision of God above the seven heavens."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, quoting his father 'Abbād as having said, 'Ṣafiyya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was in Fārī', the castle of Ḥassān b. Thābit and she said, "Ḥassān was there with us along with the women and children. A Jew passed by and began circling around the castle. Banū Qurayza had begun fighting and had cut off its relations with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). There was no one there to protect us while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were so engaged with the enemy that there was no one who could leave them and come to us if someone should attack us. So I said, 'Ḥassān, as you can see, that Jew is circling the castle

37. The word *'ariqa* in the name of the Quraysh archer means to sweat; hence Sa'd's response.

and I am concerned that he might inform the Jews over behind us of where our weakness lies, now that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men are so busy. Go down to him and kill him!' He replied, 'God forgive you, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib! You must know I could never do such a thing as that.'"

"She went on, "When he said this to me and I saw I could expect nothing from him, I put on a waist-wrapper then took a cudgel and went down from the fort towards him. Then I struck him with the cudgel till I had killed him. When I had finished with him, I returned to the fort and said, 'Hassān, now you go down and plunder him; the only thing that prevented me doing it was his being a man.' He replied, I don't need to plunder him, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib!'"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "The polytheists surrounded the Muslims, so rendering them with their squadrons inside a kind of fortress. They besieged them for some 20 nights, coming at them from every side, so that they never knew whether or not (the attack) was over."

He went on, "They sent one large detachment towards where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was stationed, and they did battle all day until night came. When it was time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, the enemy force was still at hand and so neither the Prophet (ṢAAS) nor any of the men with him could perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer in the manner they wished. When, at night, the enemy force turned away, people claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'They kept us from the *ʿaṣr* prayer; may God fill their bellies and their hearts ('and their graves,' according to one report) with fire!'

"When conditions worsened, so did the attitude of many people and they began saying ugly things. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the state of his men and their ill mood, he tried to encourage them, saying, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hand, He will give you relief from the distress you are suffering. I certainly hope to circumambulate in safety around the Ancient House and that God will present me with the keys to the *kaʿba*, and that God will destroy Caesar and Chosroe and that we will expend their wealth in God's cause!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ishāq related to us, quoting Rawḥ, quoting Hishām, from Muḥammad, from 'Abīda, from 'Alī, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said at the battle of al-khandaq, 'May God fill with fire their houses above them and their graves, for them having kept us from the middle prayer until the sun set.'"

The rest of the narrators, except for Ibn Mājah, related it similarly from various lines back to Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from 'Ubayda, from 'Alī. Muslim and al-Tirmidhī related it through Saʿīd b. Abū 'Urūba, from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān al-A'raj, from 'Ubayda, from 'Alī. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Then al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Makki b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Hishām, from Yahyā, from Abū Salama, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

came along, at the battle of al-khandaq, after the sun had set, and began cursing the Quraysh unbelievers. He said, 'Messenger of God, I could scarcely perform my prayers before the sun had almost set.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'By God, I didn't perform it!' We then went on down with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Buṭhān, and he performed the prayer ablutions, as did we too. He then performed the *ʿaṣr* prayer after the sun had set and thereafter went on to perform the *maghrib*, after sunset, prayer."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, and al-Nasā'ī, from various lines, back to Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Ṣamad related to us, quoting Thābit, quoting Hilāl, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) engaged the enemy in battle and had not finished doing so when it became too late to perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer. When he realized this, he said, "O God, may you fill with fire the homes and graves of those who kept us from performing the *ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā*" ("the medial prayer").'"

Only Aḥmad gives wording like this; it comes to us from an account of Hilāl b. Khabbāb al-ʿAbdī al-Kūfī, a trustworthy source, vouched for by al-Tirmidhī and others.

Some scholars point to these *aḥādīth* as evidence for the prayer *ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā* being that of *al-ʿaṣr*, as is implied in them. The *qāḍī* al-Māwardī³⁸ accepted this for the "school" of al-Shāfiʿī because of the authenticity of this *ḥadīth*.

I have examined this carefully with quotations and evidences with reference to the words of the Almighty, "Attend well to the prayers, and to the *ṣalāt al-wuṣṭā*, and stand up before God, in humility" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.238).

Some authorities make reference to this action to justify delaying the prayer because of battle; this is the view of Makhūl and al-Awzāʿī.

Al-Bukhārī devoted a section to this and used this *ḥadīth* and the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he ordered his men into action against Banū Qurayza, as will be shown. He quotes the statement, "None of you should perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer unless it be at where the Banū Qurayza are." Some of the men actually performed the *ʿaṣr* prayer on the way, while others of them only did so after reaching there, following the sunset. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) did not deal harshly with either of the two groups. He (al-Bukhārī) also quoted as his authorities the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and those others present with them at the siege of Tastur in 20 AH, in the time of ʿUmar, where they performed the morning prayer after sunrise. This was due to the fighting and to the approaching defeat of the fortress.

Other scholars, in fact the majority of them, including al-Shāfiʿī, stated that this procedure at the battle of al-khandaq was abrogated by the legalization of

38. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī, known as al-Māwardī (974–1058 AD) of Basra was a scholar of the Shāfiʿī school. His work *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya*, for which he is best known, examines theories and practices of government from the perspectives of Islamic law.

the *ṣalāt al-khawf* thereafter; at that time this had not been made legal and that was why they postponed it that day. But this is an undecided issue.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A group of scholars maintain that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-khawf* prayer at 'Uṣfān."

Ibn Ishāq, who is certainly the authority on the *maghāzī*, the military engagements, mentions this incident before al-khandaq, as he had with Dhāt al-Riqā', to which he also referred before al-khandaq. But God knows best.

The statement that the postponement of the prayer at the battle of al-khandaq came about inadvertently, as the commentators on (the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection) of Muslim related from certain others, is problematical; for it is unlikely that this would have occurred for such a large group, bearing in mind their strong determination to observe the prayers. How could this be when it is related that on that day they put off the prayers of the *al-zuhr*, noon, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the late afternoon, and the *al-maghrib*, the sunset, until the whole group prayed at the time of the *al-ʿishāʾ*, the evening, according to the account of Abū Hurayra and Abū Saʿīd?

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Both Yazīd and Ḥajjāj related to us as follows, 'Ibn Abū Dhīʿb related to us, from al-Maqburī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who quoted his father as saying, "We were pinned down at al-khandaq until part of the night had gone by and eventually we were relieved." That relates to the statement, "God saved the believers in battle; and God is mighty, powerful"'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25). So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Bilāl, gave him his orders, and set about performing the *al-zuhr* prayer as he would do at its normal time. Then he performed in turn the prayers for *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib* and *al-ʿishāʾ*. He did this before he dismounted. Ḥajjāj stated, "This is in keeping with the instruction concerning the *ṣalāt al-khawf*: 'If you are afraid, it can be performed on foot or while mounted'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.239).

Al-Nasāʾī related this from al-Fallās, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Ibn Abū Dhīʿb. He said, "At al-khandaq the polytheists kept us from the *al-zuhr* prayer until the sun had set." He then related the *ḥadīth* as above.

Aḥmad stated, "Hushaym related to us, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from Nāfi' b. Jubayr, from Abū 'Ubayda b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, from his father, to the effect that at al-khandaq the polytheists kept the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from performing four prayers until such part of the night had passed that God had determined. And so he gave orders to Bilāl, who gave the call to prayer. He then set about praying the *al-zuhr*, followed by the *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib* and then *al-ʿishāʾ*."

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "Muḥammad b. Ma'mar related to us, quoting Mu'ammil – meaning Ibn Ismā'īl – quoting Ḥammād – meaning Ibn Salama, from 'Abd al-Karīm – meaning Ibn Abū al-Mukhāriq – from Mujāhid, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was kept at al-khandaq from performing the prayers of *al-zuhr*, *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib*, and *al-ʿishāʾ*. Eventually

he gave orders to Bilāl who made the call for prayer, and then he performed the *al-zuhr*. Thereafter, he ordered Bilāl to again make the call and then performed the *al-ʿaṣr*. Again he ordered Bilāl to make the call and then performed the *al-maghrib*, after which he once more ordered him to make the call and then performed the *al-ʿishāʾ*. He then stated, 'There is not upon the face of the earth any people but you making mention of God's name at this hour.'

Al-Bazzār was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And he stated, "We know of this only through this line of authorities; however, some others relate it from 'Abd al-Karīm, from Mujāhid, from Abū 'Ubayda, from 'Abd Allāh."

CONCERNING THE PRAYERS SPOKEN BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD
(ṢAAS) AGAINST THE AḤZĀB, THE CLANS.

And how God used His might and power to deal with them in response to His messenger (ṢAAS), and to guard his noble person. He therefore sent their minds into turmoil and thereafter turned a fierce wind upon them and shook their bodies.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū 'Āmir related to us, quoting al-Zubayr – meaning Ibn 'Abd Allāh – quoting Rabiḥ b. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudari, from his father, who said, 'At al-khandaq, we asked, "Messenger of God, is there something we should speak? For the hearts have reached the throats!" He replied, "Yes: 'O God protect our weaknesses and pacify our fears.'" And then God smote with wind the faces of His enemies."

Ibn Abū Ḥatīm related this in his *Tafsīr* (Exegesis), from his father, from Abū 'Āmir – meaning al-ʿAqadī – from al-Zubayr b. 'Abd Allāh, freed-man of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, from Rabiḥ b. 'Abd Al-Raḥmān b. Abū Sa'īd, from his father, from Abū Sa'īd, who related it, and this is the correct (line).

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Iḥṣayn related to us, from Ibn Abū Dhīḥb, from a man of Banū Salama, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to the place of prayer at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, took off his cloak, and stood with his hands raised and outstretched invoking God against them; and he did not pray." He (Jābir) then said, "After that he again came and invoked God against them, then prayed."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from *aḥādīth* of Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) invoked God against the clans, saying, 'O God, Revealer of the Book, Quick to take account, defeat the clans! O God, defeat them, and shake them!'"

In one account the wording is, "O God, defeat them and give us victory over them!"

Al-Bukhārī related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Sa'īd al-Maqburi, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, "There is no god but God alone; He gave power to His forces, gave victory to His slave and overcame the clans by Himself. There is nothing after Him."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men remained in that state of fear and difficulty as God described at the attacks of their enemy who came at them from above and from below. Eventually Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir b. Unayf b. Tha'labā b. Qunfudh b. Hilāl b. Khalāwa b. Ashja' b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I have accepted Islam, but my people do not know of this. Give me whatever orders you wish.' He replied, 'You are only one man; use trickery to relieve us of them, if you can. War is deception.'

"Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd then left and went out to Banū Qurayẓa whose close companion he had been before Islam. He reminded them of his friendship and association with them. They accepted this and expressed their confidence in him. He then told them that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān were not in the same situation as themselves. The battle area, he reminded them, was their territory and the site of their property, wives and children. He observed that they had nowhere else to go, whereas Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had come in to do battle against Muḥammad and his men from elsewhere. Banū Qurayẓa, he observed, had joined in battling him even though territory, women and property of the other tribes were elsewhere. This meant that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān would take any opportunity they could, but if they were unsuccessful, they would return home, leaving the lands of Banū Qurayẓa between themselves and their enemy. And then Banū Qurayẓa would have insufficient power to withstand him if they were left alone. He advised them, therefore, not to participate with Quraysh and Ghaṭafān in the fighting without taking some of the leaders of the two tribes as hostages to guarantee that they would fight on against Muḥammad until they defeated him. Banū Qurayẓa agreed to this.

"Nu'aym then went to Quraysh and reminded Abū Sufyān and those with him of his friendship for them and alienation from Muḥammad. He then told them he had some information he thought he should impart to them and he asked them to keep it confidential. They said they would.

"He told them that the Jews had regretted the way they had behaved towards Muḥammad and had sent him a message telling him of this. They had asked him if he would like them to take hostage some of the leaders of Quraysh and Ghaṭafān and then hand them over to him for execution. After that, the Jews promised him their support in annihilating them and the Prophet (SAAS) had agreed to this. 'Now therefore,' he went on, 'if the Jews should send asking for some of their men as hostages you should not agree to hand over a single one.'

"Nu'aym then went to Ghaṭafān, reminded them of his close ties and friendship and of their trust he enjoyed. They agreed that they trusted him, and he asked them to keep his remarks confidential. They accepted this, and he then told them what he had told Quraysh and advised them to be cautious.

"When the night of the sabbath of Shawwāl in 5 AH arrived, God so arranged it for His messenger (SAAS) that Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and the leaders of Ghaṭafān sent 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl and some other Quraysh and Ghaṭafān men

to Banū Qurayẓa and told them that they were not in permanent quarters and that their horses and camels were dying. They asked them to prepare for battle that would destroy and rid them of Muḥammad. Banū Qurayẓa replied that it was a day when they could do nothing; they referred to the fate of some of them who had acted previously on that day (the sabbath). They also refused to participate in fighting Muḥammad until they received hostages who would guarantee continued action until he was defeated. They expressed their fear that if their allies suffered severe losses in the fighting, they would retreat home, leaving themselves alone with the enemy on their territory and that they would not have the power to defeat him.

"When their messengers returned with news of the response made by Banū Qurayẓa, Quraysh and Ghatafān believed in what Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd had told them. And so they sent the message back that they would not deliver a single man over to Banū Qurayẓa, and that it was up to them whether or not to come out to engage in battle. When the messengers brought them this response, Banū Qurayẓa believed that what Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd had told them was true. They were sure that Quraysh and Ghatafān would seize any opportunities they had, but otherwise would disperse into their own territories, thus leaving them alone to cope with the Muslims. They therefore sent back to Quraysh and Ghatafān that they would only do battle along with them if they were to hand over hostages to them.

"Quraysh and Ghatafān refused this; God thus created dissension between them and then that night He sent a fierce wind against them, on an extremely cold winter's night that overturned their cooking pots and vessels."

This account related about Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd by Ibn Ishāq is better than that related by Mūsā b. 'Uqba.

Al-Bayhaqī gave it in his *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*). The gist of his narration was that what had reached him was that Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd would spread abroad whatever news he learned. And it so happened that one evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beckoned to him to come over as he passed by and asked him what he had heard. Nu'aym replied that Quraysh and Ghatafān had sent to Banū Qurayẓa asking them to come forth in battle to finish off the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Banū Qurayẓa had agreed to this on condition that hostages be given over to them. It had previously been related that they had only abrogated the pact at the hands of Huyayy b. Akhtab on condition that hostages would be brought to them as security.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Nu'aym, "I wish to tell you something in confidence; do not repeat it. They sent to me seeking peace if I would restore Banū al-Nadīr to their homes and property."

Following this, Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd left for Ghatafān and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Warfare is deception; perhaps God will act on our behalf."

Nuʿaym went to Quraysh and Ghatafān and told them this news and they hastily despatched ʿIkrima and a group of men to Banū Qurayza asking them to join in the fighting alongside them. It happened to be a sabbath, however, that the Jews held sacred; moreover, they asked for hostages as security. And so God came between them and they disagreed with one another.

I would comment that it is likely that when Banū Qurayza gave up hope of settling their difficulties with Quraysh and Ghatafān, they did send to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), requesting peace on condition that he restore Banū al-Naḍir to Medina. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned of their dispute and how God had broken their unity, he despatched Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān over to them to see what the enemy was doing that night."

He went on, "Yazīd b. Ziyād related to me, from Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī, who said, 'A man from Kūfa asked Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh, have you actually seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and were you really a Companion of his?' 'Oh yes, nephew,' he replied. 'And how did you get by?' he asked. Ḥudhayfa replied, 'It was difficult for us, I swear by God.' 'I swear', commented the Kūfan, 'if we'd lived at his time, we'd never have let his foot so much as touch the ground; we'd have carried him on our shoulders.' Ḥudhayfa responded, 'Nephew, I swear I see us now with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-khandaq, and after he had prayed for part of the night, he turned to us and asked, 'Who will volunteer to go and see what the enemy is doing, and then come back?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stipulated that if the volunteer would come back, he would ask God that the man be his Companion in paradise. But so severe was the fear, cold and hunger, that not one person volunteered. Since no one had risen, he called upon me, and once he had done so, I had no alternative but to do so. He then told me, 'Ḥudhayfa, go and infiltrate the enemy. Go and see what they are doing, but don't cause any trouble; then return to us.'"

"So I did so. The gale and God's soldiers were greatly damaging them, leaving them no fire nor pots, nor tents upright. Abū Sufyān arose and said, "Quraysh, every man check out the person sitting next to him."

"At this I took the hand of the man next to me and asked him his name. He told me who he was. Abū Sufyān then said, "We're not in a permanent camp, our horses and camels are dying, and Banū Qurayza are at odds with us, and we've heard things about them that we don't like. You can see what we've lost due to the gale, how our cooking pots won't stay upright, and we can't keep fires burning and our tents standing. You should leave, as I am about to do." He then went to his camel which was hobbled, mounted it, struck it so that it arose on three legs since he only unhobbled it when it was standing. If it had not been for the promise the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made me make not to cause trouble, I could have shot him with an arrow.'"

Ḥudhayfa went on, "So I returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and found him standing in prayer shrouded in a wrap belonging to one of his wives. When he saw me, he asked me to come in (to sit) at his feet and threw an end of the wrap over me. He then bowed and prostrated, while I was under it. When he was finished, I related the news to him. When Ghāṭafān heard what Quraysh had done, they hurried off home."

This *ḥadīth* is *munqatīʿ*, incomplete in its line, in this version.

Muslim b. Ḥajjāj related this *ḥadīth* in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from an account of al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Taymī, from his father, who said, "We were with Ḥudhayfa when a man told him, 'If I had been alive with the Messenger of God (SAAS) I would have fought alongside him heroically.' 'Would you, indeed?' Ḥudhayfa asked him and went on, 'Once we were there at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb* with the Messenger of God (SAAS). It was night time and there was a fierce, cold gale blowing. He asked us, 'Is there no man who will bring me news of the enemy and be with me at Judgement Day?'" When none of us responded, he asked the same question a second and a third time. Then he said, "Ḥudhayfa, you go and bring us news of the enemy." Since he had called upon me by name, I had no alternative but to get up. He then said, "Bring me news of them without giving them any cause for alarm about me." So I left and made my way to them, feeling as if I was walking through a public bath! I found Abū Sufyān there warming his back to the fire. I placed an arrow in the centre of my bow and was about to release it when I remembered how the Messenger of God (SAAS) had told me not to give them any alarm about him. If I had shot it, I would have hit him. I then left to return to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and again the feeling of walking in a public bath overcame me. When I arrived back, I felt very cold and chilled once again. I told this to him and he put over me part of the cloak he was wearing as he prayed. I slept right on through till morning, when he spoke to me, saying, "Up you get, sleepy-head!"

Al-Ḥākim related this *ḥadīth*, as did the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī in his *Dalāʾil*, in an extended form from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Duʿālī, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the nephew of Ḥudhayfa, who said, "Ḥudhayfa related the events in which they had participated with the Messenger of God (SAAS). Those sitting listening to him commented how they would have behaved in various ways if they had been present. Ḥudhayfa then said, 'You shouldn't wish for that. There we were, drawn up in battle array, keeping down, while Abū Sufyān and his forces were above us, while the Jews of Banū Qurayza were down below us, making us fear for our families. We never experienced any night so black and violent as that; the winds blew fiercely with great explosions like thunderbolts. It was so dark we couldn't even see our fingers.'

"The backsliders began asking the Prophet (SAAS) permission to withdraw, saying that their homes were exposed – though they were not exposed. He gave

his permission to leave to each person who asked and so they would slip away. We were some 300 men in number. The Messenger of God (SAAS) received us one by one until eventually my turn came; I had nothing on to protect me from the enemy and the cold except a woollen coat of my wife that came down no further than my knees. When he came to me I was kneeling down. He asked, "And who is this?" "Hudhayfa," I replied, "Hudhayfa, eh?" "Yes, Messenger of God," I responded, keeping down close to the ground and unwilling to get up. But I did rise and he said, "There's activity among the enemy; bring me news of them." Actually, I was the most terrified of our men and certainly the coldest.

"When I left, the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke the words, "O God, protect him from danger from his front and rear, from his left and his right, from above him and from below him." And, I swear, I felt from then on entirely empty of the fear and cold God had previously created inside me! As I was turning to leave, he called out, "Hudhayfa, don't cause any disturbance in the enemy before you come back to me."

"As I approached the enemy camp, I saw the light of a fire they had burning. There I saw a dark-skinned, heavy-set man holding his hands out above the fire and then wiping them on his waist, saying, "Get the mounts ready!" I had not known Abū Sufyān before that; I took out an arrow with white feathered flights from my quiver and positioned it in my bow to shoot it in the light of the fire, but then remembered how the Messenger of God (SAAS) had told me not to cause any disturbance before I returned to him. So I stopped and returned the arrow to my quiver. Then I mustered up my courage and entered their camp. Those men closest to me were of Banū 'Āmir, and they were saying that they should mount up and leave, since they had no permanent quarters there and that the wind was blowing straight through their camp. I could hear the sounds of the stones raised by the wind striking their mounts and their equipment. I left and went on my way back to the Messenger of God (SAAS). Half way or thereabouts, I came across 20 or so horsemen, fully shrouded, who told me, "Tell your master that God has saved him!"

"So I returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and found him wrapped up in a blanket, praying. No sooner was I back than I felt terribly cold again and began shivering. As he prayed, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gestured to me and when I drew near him, he spread his blanket out over me. When something troubled the Messenger of God (SAAS), he would pray. I made my report about the enemy and how they had been moving out when I left the camp. Then Almighty God revealed, "O you who believe, remember God's favour to you, when troops came to you and We sent down against them a wind and (Our) troops you could not see. God is fully aware of what you do ..." up to and including, "And God was sufficient for the believers in battle. God is Almighty, Powerful"" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.9-25).

That is, God removed their enemy from them by the wind He sent against them and the troops of angels and others He sent to them. And so, "God saved

the believers from battle.” That is, they did not need to face them in fighting and in combat because the Almighty and All-Powerful drew them away through His power and strength.

This is why it is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, ‘There is no god but God alone; He was sincere in His promise and aided His servant, gave power to His troops and defeated the *Aḥzāb* all by Himself. After Him there is nothing.’”

Regarding His words, “God saved the believers from battle”, this is a reference to the cessation of war between the two sides. That is what occurred; thereafter, Quraysh never again instituted warfare against the Muslims. As Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God be pleased with him, stated, “When the troops at al-khandaq left there, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, so it has been related to me, ‘After this year, Quraysh will not go to war against you, but you will against them.’”

He went on, “And Quraysh did not attack thereafter, whereas they (the Muslims) did attack them, until God gave him victory over Mecca.” This report comes from Ibn Ishāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Yaḥyā related to us, from Sufyān, that Abū Ishāq related to him, ‘I heard Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, God be pleased with him, say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Now we will attack them, but not they us.’””

Al-Bukhārī related this thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ismā'īl and Sufyān al-Thawrī, both of whom quoted Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, from Sulaymān b. Ṣard.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Three Muslims of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal were martyred at the battle of al-khandaq; they were Sa'd b. Mu'adh” – extensive information about his death will follow – “Anas b. Aws b. 'Atik b. 'Amr, and 'Abd Allāh b. Sahl. Also killed were al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nu'mān, Tha'labā b. Ghanama, both of Jashm and of Sulaym, and Ka'b b. Zayd al-Najāri, who was killed by a stray arrow.

“Three of the polytheists were killed. These were Munabih b. 'Uthmān b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbāq b. 'Abd al-Dār, who was struck by an arrow and later died from his wound in Mecca, Nawfal b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīra who charged across the trench on his horse and became bogged down and killed there; the polytheists offered a large sum for his body, as is related above. And there was 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd al-Āmiri, who was killed by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “A trustworthy authority related to me that al-Zuhri said, ‘Alī that day killed 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd, whose son was Ḥasīl b. 'Amr.”

Ibn Hishām also stated, “He is known both as 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd and 'Amr b. 'Abd.”

Section: On the Expedition against Banū Qurayza.

On the severe violence God Almighty brought down upon them, along with the painful punishment He had prepared for them in the hereafter.

All that was due to their disbelief, their breaking of the pacts between themselves and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and their allying themselves with the *aḥzāb*, the clans, against him. None of that did them any good and brought the wrath of God and His messenger down upon them, a bad bargain for them in this world and the next.

God Almighty had stated, "And God turned back in their rage those who disbelieved, and they obtained no good advantage. God saved the believers from battle; and God is mighty, powerful. And He brought down those of the people of the Book who supported them from their fortresses, and He cast terror into their hearts; you killed one group (of them) and took prisoner another. And He made you inherit their lands, homes and property, along with a land you had not yet trodden. And God has power over all things" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.25-27).

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh, quoting Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Sālim, and Nāfi', from 'Abd Allāh, who said that whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition, the pilgrimages of the *ḥajj* or the *al-ʿumra*, he would first affirm the greatness of God, and then he would say, 'There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. All dominion is His. All praise is due to Him. He has power over all things; we (return) repenting, seeking forgiveness, praying, prostrating and praising our Lord. God is true to His promise; He gave aid to His servant and defeated the *aḥzāb* by Himself.'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God be pleased with him, stated, "Next morning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left the trench accompanied by the Muslims and returned to Medina, there laying down their arms.

"At the noon prayer, Gabriel, so al-Zuhri told me, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wearing a turban embroidered in silk and gold, riding a mule with a saddle adorned with a brocade cloth, and asked, 'Have you put down your weapons then, Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Well,' Gabriel informed him, 'the angels have not yet put down theirs; I've come to you now from pursuing the enemy. God commands you, Muḥammad, to go against Banū Qurayza. I myself am heading for them and am going to shake them up!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned a muezzin and an announcement was made: 'All those who hear and obey should perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer only among Banū Qurayza.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that he placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command over Medina.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "It was related to me by 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Shayba, quoting Ibn Numayr, from Hishām, from his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) returned from the trench and he had put down his arms and taken a bath, Gabriel came to him and said, "So you have put down your arms! We've not done so, I swear by God! Go forth to them!" "Where to?"

he asked. "Over here." Gabriel said, gesturing towards Banū Qurayza. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) did go forth."

Aḥmad stated, "Ḥasan related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had disposed of the *aḥzāb*, he entered the bathhouse to bathe. Then Gabriel came and I could see, across the house, that his head was reddened with dust. He said, "Muḥammad, you've laid down your arms then!" "We have laid down our arms," he replied. Gabriel said, "Well, we've not laid down ours yet. Get up after Banū Qurayza!"'"

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "Mūsā related to us, quoting Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, from Hūmayd b. Hilāl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'It was as though I could see the dust rising in the street of Banū Ghanm (in Medina) due to the marching of Gabriel's troops when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out against Banū Qurayza.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmā' related to us, quoting Juwayriyya b. Asmā', from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated at the battle of *al-Aḥzāb*, "Let no one perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer unless it be among Banū Qurayza!" Time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer came for some, while they were still travelling. And some of these decided not to perform the prayer before arriving, while others decided to pray then and that they had not been required to wait. This was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he was not severe with any one of them.'"

Muslim related it thus from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmā'.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qādī both stated, 'Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. 'Alī, from Bishr b. Ḥarb, from his father, (who said) "Al-Zuhri related to us that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik informed him that his uncle 'Ubayd Allāh told him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from fighting the *al-aḥzāb*, he took off his breast-plate, washed and bathed. then Gabriel, upon whom be peace, appeared before him and said, 'Some warrior you are! It seems you have taken off your breast-plate! Well, we haven't done that yet!'"

"At this, the Prophet (ṢAAS) got up in a fright and insisted that everyone should refrain from performing the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer unless it be among Banū Qurayza.

"And so the Muslims dressed in their armour. However, they arrived at Banū Qurayza only after the sun had set. At sunset, disputes arose. Some maintained that since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them not to pray the *al-ʿaṣr* unless it be at Banū Qurayza, there could be no sin in them complying. One group did pray out of their caution, while others refrained from praying until the sun had set, after which they prayed among Banū Qurayza; they too acted out of caution. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate either one of the groups."

Also, al-Bayhaqī related, through ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umārī, from his brother ‘Ubayd Allāh, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from ‘Ā’isha, (who stated) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with her, “... and while we were there inside the house, in came a man who greeted us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) got up in a fright, and I arose too; suddenly, there was Diḥya al-Kalbī. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), said, ‘This is Gabriel! He has ordered me to attack Banū Qurayṣa. He said to me, “You have put down your arms, but we have not.”’ We had pursued the polytheists until we reached Ḥamrā’ al-Asad, following the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-khandaq. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose in great concern and said to his Companions, ‘I require you not to perform the *al-‘aṣr* prayer until you arrive at Banū Qurayṣa.’ The sun set before they reached them and one group of the Muslims thought that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not wanted them to wait to say the prayer and so they prayed. Another group maintained that they were acting in accord with the requirement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that they would not be considered guilty of a sin for not praying. And so one group did pray, in their faith and as a precaution, while another group did not, for the same reasons. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate any person from either group. He then went forth and as he passed by any group of people, on his way to Banū Qurayṣa, he would ask them, ‘Did anyone pass by you?’ They responded, ‘Diḥya al-Kalbī passed by on his grey mule, mounted on a piece of brocade cloth.’ He responded, ‘That was Gabriel; he has been sent to Banū Qurayṣa to shake them up, and to cast terror into them.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then besieged them, telling his Companions to protect him with their shields so that he could hear their response. He called out to them, ‘Hey, you, you brothers of monkeys and pigs!’ They replied, ‘Abū al-Qāsim, you used not to employ bad language!’

“And so he besieged them until they came down, following the judgement of Sa’d b. Mu’adh, whose allies they were. He decreed for them that their warriors should be killed and that their children and women should become captive.”

This *ḥadīth* has excellent lines of transmission from ‘Ā’isha and others.

The scholars differ over which of the two groups was correct that day. In fact the consensus is that each of them was worthy and justified in their actions and not to be severely criticized.

One group of scholars, however, maintains that those who postponed the prayer from its predetermined time until they could perform it among Banū Qurayṣa were correct, because their order to postpone it that day was specific and special and therefore should have been given precedence over the normal time for which it was determined under the law.

Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm al-Zāhiri stated in his biography (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), “God knows that had we been there we would not have performed the

al-ʿaṣr prayer unless it had been among Banū Qurayza, even if it would have had to be several days thereafter!”

This statement of his accords with the principle he holds fundamental, to act in accord with what is apparent.

Another group of scholars considered, on the contrary, that those who performed the prayer at its regular time while they were travelling were the ones who were correct because they had understood that the intent was to hasten their journey to Banū Qurayza and not to postpone the prayer. They acted in accord with the precepts suggesting the superiority of prayer being performed at its proper time, even though they understood what the legislator had wanted. Because of this, he did not berate them or order them to repeat the prayer at the time to which it had been changed that day, as the others claimed. Those who did postpone it were forgiven, since they acted in accord with their understanding; most things they were ordered to do they did in fact accomplish.

As for those who maintain that it is permissible to postpone prayer because of warfare – as al-Bukhārī understood and justified from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUmar referred to previously – (in this case) neither those who performed the prayer earlier nor those who did so later ought to be considered suspect. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq then stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereafter sent forward ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib bearing his banner and the men hurried towards it.”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated in his work on the *maghāzī*, the military expeditions, quoting al-Zuhri, “While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in his bathroom, so they claim, having combed out one side of his hair, Gabriel came to him riding a horse and dressed in his breast-plate. He halted at the door of the mosque where the funeral biers are placed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to him, whereupon Gabriel said, ‘May God forgive you, have you put down your arms?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. Gabriel commented, ‘Well, we’ve not put ours down ever since your enemy came at you; and I’m continuing to pursue them until God defeats them.’ And they say that there was actually dust present upon Gabriel’s face. He then went on to say, ‘God commanded you to fight Banū Qurayza, and I will pursue them along with the angels accompanying me; we will make their fortresses shake around them. Go forth you too, with your men!’

“And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did follow after Gabriel. He passed by a seated group of Banū Ghanam who were awaiting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he asked them whether a horseman had recently passed them. They replied that Dihya al-Kalbī had passed them on a white horse, seated on a saddle cloth or a piece of velvet brocade, and wearing his breast-plate. They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘That was Gabriel!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to liken Dihya al-Kalbī to Gabriel. He then said, ‘Join me at where Banū Qurayza are, and perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer among them.’

"And so they arose, along with those other Muslims God wished, and they set off for Banū Qurayza. The time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer came while they were *en route*, and they remembered the prayer. Some of them asked others, 'Don't you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered you to perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer among Banū Qurayza?' Others said, 'It's the prayer (time).' And so some did pray while others postponed it until they could perform it among Banū Qurayza, after the sun had set. They informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) which of them had performed it earlier and those who had postponed it, and people say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate either of the two groups.

"When 'Alī saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approaching, he met him and said to him, 'Go back, Messenger of God, God will take care of the Jews for you.' 'Alī had heard from them some ugly talk with reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his wives, may God be pleased with them, and he disliked for him to hear this. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him why he was advising him to go back, but 'Alī concealed from him what he had heard of them. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'I think you have heard them say something harmful about me; I will go on, for if the enemies of God saw me they would not say any of what you heard.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) alighted at their fortresses, they being high above him, he addressed a group of their nobles at the top of his voice so that they could hear him saying, 'Respond, you tribe of Jews, you brothers of apes, for disgrace from God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has come down upon you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then besieged them with legions of the Muslims for some ten nights. God had brought back Huyayy b. Akḥṭab and he had entered the forts of Banū Qurayza. God cast terror into them, and the siege was very hard on them. They eventually shouted for Abū Lubāba b. 'Abd al-Mundhir – they had been allied to the *anṣār* – but Abū Lubāba stated, 'I will not go to them until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gives me permission.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him permission.

"And so Abū Lubāba went to them and they complained to him and asked him what he thought they should do since they did not have the power to engage in warfare. Abū Lubāba gestured at his throat across which he brought his fingers, showing them that it was their execution that was wanted.

"When Abū Lubāba left them, he was suddenly aghast, realizing that some urge had overcome him. He told himself that he could not look the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the face until he did some loyal act as repentance that God would appreciate.

"And so he went back to Medina and tied his hands to one of the tree trunks (supporting the roof) of the mosque. It is said that he remained tied there for some 20 days.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, when Abū Lubāba absented himself, 'Hasn't Abū Lubāba yet finished dealing with his allies?' When it was related to him what Abū Lubāba had done, he said, 'After (he left) me some urge overcame

him; if he had come to me, I would have sought forgiveness for him. Since he has now done what he has, I will not move him from where he is until God decrees His will upon him.”

Ibn Lahi'a related this thus, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa. Muḥammad b. Ishāq recounted this in this way in his work on the *maghāzī*, in the same line of authorities as Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhri, and (it appears) similarly in the account given by Abū al-Aswad from 'Urwa.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made camp at one of the wells of Banū Qurayṣa; called the Annā well; it was among properties they owned. He besieged them for 25 days, by which time the siege was causing them great hardship and much anxiety.

“Ḥuyayy b. Akṭab had joined them in their fortress when Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had withdrawn, thus fulfilling the pact he had made with Ka'b b. Asad. When they were sure that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had no intention of departing before he had utterly defeated them, Ka'b b. Asad addressed Banū Qurayṣa. He told them, ‘You well know the crisis you face. I suggest three alternatives; choose the one you like best.’ ‘What are they?’ they asked. He replied, ‘First, that we follow and believe this man. I swear, it is clear to you now that he is a prophet who has been sent, and that it is he whom you find mentioned in your scripture. You should give him control over your lives, properties, children and women.’ They replied, ‘We will never abandon the law of the Torah, nor exchange it for another!’

“He then said, ‘If you refuse me this, let us kill our children and our women and then go forth to Muḥammad and his companions with our swords drawn; that way we will not leave any responsibilities behind us, and God will decide between us and Muḥammad. If we perish, we perish; but we won't be leaving behind any children to worry about. And if we are victorious, we'll certainly acquire other women and children.’

“They replied, ‘Shall we kill these unfortunates? What good would there be in living on after them?’

“He continued, ‘If you refuse this, then tonight it is the sabbath. It may well be that Muḥammad and his men feel secure now. Let's go forth and seek to take Muḥammad and his men by surprise.’

“They replied, ‘Should we desecrate our sabbath; if we do, there will befall that metamorphosis³⁹ you well know has always befallen those who have done so.’

“He commented, ‘Not one of you men has ever, since the day you were born, acted decisively.’

“They then sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to dispatch to them for consultations Abū Lubāba b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, a brother of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf who were allies of al-Aws.

39. An allusion to the references in several places in the Qur'ān to those who profaned the sabbath. See, for example, *sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.63.

"He did dispatch Abū Lubāba and when they saw him, the men arose to meet him. The women and children broke into sobs before him. He felt very sorry for them; they asked him whether they should submit to Muḥammad's judgement. He said that they should. He then gestured with his hand across his neck, indicating that execution was coming.

"Abū Lubāba (later) commented, 'I swear by God, my feet had not left that place before I knew I had betrayed God and His messenger.

"Abū Lubāba then left hurriedly. He did not, however, return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but tied himself to one of the supports of the mosque, saying, 'I will not leave here until God forgives me for what I have done. I swear to God that I will never again go to Banū Qurayṣa, nor ever be seen again in any place where I have betrayed God and His messenger!'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "According to Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālīd and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Qatāda, God revealed concerning this, 'O you who believe, do not betray God and His messenger; (and do not) knowingly break your trust'" (*sūrat al-Anfāl*; VIII, v.27).

Ibn Hishām also stated, "He remained tied there for six days. His wife would come to him at each prayer time and untied him so that he could perform the ablutions and pray. He would then be tied up again. Eventually forgiveness did come down for him, in the Almighty's words, 'And others confessed their sins, having mixed good deeds with bad; God may well forgive them. God is indeed forgiving, merciful'" (*sūrat al-Tawba* or *al-Barāʾa*; IX, v.102).

According to Mūsā b. ʿUqba he remained bound for 20 days. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq related that God revealed His forgiveness to His messenger at the very end of the night, while he was in the home of Umm Salama. He began to smile and when Umm Salama asked him why, he told her that God had forgiven Abū Lubāba. She asked his permission to leave to inform him. He agreed, and she went and told him the good news. People crowded around him joyfully, wishing to untie him from his bonds. But he said, "No one but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shall untie me." When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to perform the dawn prayer, he did untie him, may God be pleased with him.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Thereafter Thaʿlaba b. Saʿya, Usayd b. Saʿya and Asad b. ʿUbayd, all of Banū Hadal and not from either Qurayṣa or al-Naḍīr, their own pedigree being superior to that, they being Banū ʿAmm al-Qawm, accepted Islam that night during which Qurayṣa had come under the control of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Also that night ʿAmr b. Suʿdā al-Qurazī came out and passed by the guard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Muḥammad b. Maslama was in charge of them that night and when he saw ʿAmr, he called out and asked him his name, which he gave. ʿAmr had refused to participate in Banū Qurayṣa treachery towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having said, 'I will never betray Muḥammad!' When

he recognized him, Muḥammad b. Maslama said, 'O God, do not forbid me to set aside the minor sins of noble men!' He then let him pass. 'Amr then hurriedly left and spent that night in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in Medina. Thereafter he departed for some still unknown destination. When what had happened to him was mentioned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he commented, 'That is a man whom God saved because of his trustworthiness.'"

He went on, "Some people claim that he was tied up with rope along with others of Banū Qurayṣa. The rope to which he had been tied was later found thrown away, and it was not known where he had gone. And it was then that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the above statement about him. But God knows best which of the accounts is correct."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Next morning they came under the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Banū Aws promptly claimed that Banū Qurayṣa had been allied with them rather than with Khazraj. They also referred to how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given control over Banū Qurayṣa to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy when he had requested this, as is related above.

"When Aws had spoken to him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to them, 'O Aws, will you be content to have one of your men decide about them?' When they agreed to this, he placed them under the charge of Sa'd b. Mu'adh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had placed Sa'd b. Mu'adh inside his mosque in a tent belonging to an Aslam woman named Rufayda; she was caring for the wounded. When he placed Sa'd in charge of Banū Qurayṣa, his people approached him and mounted him on a donkey bearing a leather cushion; he was a handsome, large man. They then brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him to treat his charges kindly, since it was with that expectation that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had appointed him over them. When they insisted upon this, he responded, 'It is now time for Sa'd to take no account of anyone's criticism for what he does in God's cause!' One of those of his people who was accompanying him returned to Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal and told them of the death of the men of Banū Qurayṣa even before Sa'd reached them, because of what he had heard him say.

"When Sa'd arrived at where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Arise to greet your master.' The Quraysh *muhājirīn*, said he was referring to the *anṣār*, while the latter thought that his order had been directed towards all the Muslims, and so they stood up. They told him, 'Abū 'Amr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has delegated to you the question of deciding what to do with your charges.' Sa'd replied, 'Is it your duty to swear by a pact with God that whatever decision I reach about them will be enforced?' 'Yes,' they agreed. Sa'd then asked, 'And does that apply to him who is over here?' He was referring to the direction where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, while looking away from him out of his respect for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) answered, 'Yes.' Sa'd then said, 'I therefore decree that the men among them shall be executed,

while their properties shall be liquidated and their offspring and women shall be taken captive.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Āṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Muʿadh, from ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Saʿd, ‘You have judged them with the decision of God, from seven heavens above.’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “A reliable scholar related to me that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib exclaimed as they were besieging Banū Qurayṣa, ‘O Army of the Faith!’ He and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām then advanced and ʿAlī said, ‘I will taste what Ḥamza tasted, or I will storm their fortress!’ But they replied, ‘Muḥammad! We will submit to the judgement of Saʿd b. Muʿadh.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Abū Umāma b. Sahl, who said, “I heard Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī say, ‘Banū Qurayṣa agreed to submit to the authority of Saʿd b. Muʿadh. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for Saʿd who came to him on a donkey. When he drew near the mosque, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Stand up for your master” (or “your better”). He then said, “These people have submitted to your authority.” He (Saʿd) stated, “We shall execute their warriors and take their children prisoner.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “You have given judgement with God’s decree.” He may have said, “You have given judgement with the *mālik*’s (‘the ruler’s’) decree.” According to another account, the word used was *malak*, “angel”.’”

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is derived by various lines of authority from Shuʿba.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Ḥujayn and Yūnus related to us, saying, ‘Al-Layth b. Saʿd related to us, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “At the battle of *al-Aḥzāb* an arrow was shot at Saʿd b. Muʿadh and the medial vein in his arm was severed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cauterized it with fire. Saʿd’s hand then swelled up and he bled it. Seeing this, Saʿd said, ‘O God, do not extract my soul before you settle Banū Qurayṣa for me.’ At this the flow ceased, with not another drop falling, until Banū Qurayṣa submitted to Saʿd’s authority. A message was sent to him to this effect and he decreed that their men should be executed and that their women and children should be made captive and should serve the Muslims. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘You have correctly given God’s judgement regarding them.’ They were 400 in number. When their execution was over, Saʿd’s artery burst and he died.’”

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this from Qutayba, back to al-Layth. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, “good and authentic”.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Ibn Numayr related to us, from Hishām, saying, ‘My father quoted ʿĀʾisha to me as having said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back from the Battle of *al-Aḥzāb* and had put down his arms and bathed, Gabriel, his face dust-covered, came to him and said, ‘So, you’ve put

down your arms! I swear by God, we have not! Go out and battle them!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Where to?' 'Over here,' Gabriel responded, gesturing towards Banū Qurayṣa. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth against them." Hishām stated, 'My father informed me that they accepted the authority of the Prophet (ṢAAS) over them and that he then delegated that authority to Sa'd. He then stated, "I judge that the warriors be executed, that their women and offspring be taken captive and that their properties be divided up."'"

Hishām went on, "My father stated further, 'I was told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "You have judged them by God's judgement."'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Zakariyyā b. Yahyā related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr, quoting Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, 'At al-khandaq Sa'd was wounded. One of Quraysh, a man named Ḥibbān b. 'Ariqa, shot an arrow at him and hit him in the main vein in his arm. The Prophet (ṢAAS) set up a tent for him in the mosque so that he could visit him from nearby. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had returned from al-khandaq and had put down his weapons and had bathed, Gabriel, shaking dust off his head, came to him and said, "So, you have put down your weapons? I swear by God, I've not done that! Go forth against them!" The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked, "Where to?" Gabriel then gestured towards Banū Qurayṣa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then did go out against them and they accepted his authority; he then delegated this authority to Sa'd. The latter decreed, "I judge that their warriors be executed, that their women and offspring be taken captive and that their properties be divided up."'"

Hishām went on, "My father quoted 'Ā'isha as saying that Sa'd stated, 'O God, You well know that there is no one I would rather fight on your behalf than a people who have called Your messenger a liar and have exiled him. O God, I believe You have put an end to warfare between us and them. Give me life for so long as there is any warfare against Quraysh, so that I may fight against them for You. And if You have brought the war to an end, recommence it and place my death therein.' Then there was an explosive emission from his upper chest, but this did not alarm anyone. But there was a tent (for the wounded) belonging to Banū Ghifār in the mosque. And, when the blood began streaming down towards them, they shouted, 'Hey, you in the tent, what is this coming down to us from you?' It was from Sa'd; his wound was streaming blood and he died of it."

This was related by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr.

I would comment that Sa'd first spoke this prayer before he passed judgement on Banū Qurayṣa. This is why he prayed that his death not occur before he had settled with Banū Qurayṣa. And God did answer his prayer. After issuing his judgement on them, and God had pleased him greatly thereby, he prayed a second time in this way and God then gave him martyrdom, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. Reference to his death will come shortly, if God so wills it.

Imām Aḥmad related it also from another line at great length; in that account there are other interesting aspects. He stated that Yazīd related to him that Muḥammad b. ‘Amr narrated to him, from his father, from his father ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ, who said, “‘Ā’isha stated to me as follows, ‘I was leaving on the day of the battle of al-khandaq, following after our forces, when I heard the sound of movement behind me. Then I saw it was Sa’d b. Mu’adh, accompanied by his brother al-Ḥārith b. Aws, carrying his child. I sat down on the ground and Sa’d passed by, wearing an iron coat of mail from which his arms and legs protruded. I was concerned about injury to these limbs of Sa’d; Sa’d was one of the greatest and tallest of men. As he passed, he was speaking the verse,

“Remain awhile; let Hamal see the battle. How fine is death when its time has come!””

She continued, “I got up and ran into a garden. There I found a group of Muslims; among them were ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. One of the men had on a *subgha*” (by which she meant a *mighfar*, a “helmet”). “‘Umar asked, ‘Why are you here? I swear, you’re bold! What’s to protect you if some disaster should happen or you got cut off?’ He went on criticizing me until I wished the earth would open to swallow me on the spot! Then the man lifted the helmet off his face and I saw that it was Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. He commented, ‘Hey, ‘Umar, shame on you! You’re overdoing it! From today on, whatever aligning or taking refuge there is will be to God, Almighty and Glorious is He!’”

‘Ā’isha went on, “Then a Quraysh man named Ibn al-‘Ariqa shot at Sa’d, saying, ‘Take that! I’m Ibn al-‘Ariqa!’ It struck and severed the main artery in his arm. Sa’d then prayed, ‘O God, do not make me die before you give me satisfaction over Banū Qurayza!’ These people had been his allies and colleagues before Islam. Then his wound stopped bleeding and God sent the gale against the polytheists and spared the believers engaging in battle; God is indeed powerful, strong. Abū Sufyān and his force then went to Tihāma, while ‘Uyayna b. Badr and his force withdrew to Najd.

“Banū Qurayza then returned home and sought protection in their fortresses. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina where he ordered a leather tent be set up in the mosque for Sa’d. Then Gabriel came, the folds of his clothing covered with dust, and he said, ‘Have you put down your weapons, then? By God, the angels haven’t put down their weapons yet. Go forth and do battle with Banū Qurayza!’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then put on his breast-plate and had it announced that the men should prepare to depart for battle. He passed by Banū Ghanam who were his neighbours close by the mosque. He asked them, ‘Who was it passed by you?’ They replied, ‘Dihya al-Kalbī went by.’ Now Dihya al-Kalbī was similar in beard, age and face to Gabriel, upon whom be peace.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on to Banū Qurayza and besieged them for 25 days. When their suffering from the siege grew intense, a message

was sent telling them to accept the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They sought advice from Abū Lubāba b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, and he made a sign to them indicating execution. Banū Qurayza then said they would accept the authority of Sa'd b. Mu'adh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Then do accept the authority of Sa'd b. Mu'adh!' He was brought to him on a donkey, seated on a saddle stuffed with palm fronds and with his people all around him, who were telling him, 'Abū 'Amr, they are your allies and colleagues, your family in times of crisis, people you know well.' But Sa'd did not respond to them at all, nor did he turn towards them. When he arrived close by the homes of Banū Qurayza, he turned to his entourage and said, 'It's time for me to disregard any possible criticism in serving God!'"

'Ā'isha went on, "Abū Sa'd said that when he appeared, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Arise for your master and help him dismount!' At this 'Umar commented, 'Our "master" is God!' (But) he said, 'Help him dismount.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Render your judgement over them.' Sa'd responded, 'I decree that their warriors be executed, their offspring be taken captive, and their properties be divided up.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Your decree accords with the judgement of God and with that of His messenger.'

"Thereupon, Sa'd spoke the following prayer, 'O God, if you have left for Your prophet any further warfare against Quraysh, then let me remain for it. But if You have now ended the warfare between him and them, then take me to Yourself.'"

'Ā'isha went on, "His wound then burst; up to then he had been free of it, nothing being visible except for a small circular spot. He went back to the tent that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set up for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to him, along with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. And I swear by Him in whose hands is Muḥammad, that I could well differentiate the weeping of 'Umar from that of Abū Bakr while I was there in my room. They were, as God said, '... compassionate among themselves'"(*sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII, v.29).

'Alqama stated, "I then asked, 'How did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) react?' 'Ā'isha replied, 'His eyes never wept for anyone. However, if he was deeply moved, he would take hold of his beard.'"

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is excellent, and there are testimonials to its veracity from other sources. In it there is the clear statement that Sa'd prayed twice, once before he passed judgement on Banū Qurayza, and once thereafter, as we stated earlier. And all praise and credit go to God. We will report, after finishing the narrative, the manner of his death and burial, and the credit to him therefore, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "They (Banū Qurayza) were then brought down and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) imprisoned them in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith, a woman of Banū al-Najjār."

I comment that the reference is to the daughter of al-Harith b. Kurz b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams; she was the wife of Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb,⁴⁰ who had by her a son named ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurīz.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out into the Medina market and had some trenches dug. Then he sent for Banū Qurayẓa men to have their heads severed in those trenches. They came out in groups. Among them was that enemy of God Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab, along with Kaʿb b. Asad, their leader. They were 600 or 700 in number. Some estimate their number to have been as many as 800 or 900."

I comment that according to al-Layth, quoting Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir, as given above, they numbered 400. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "As they were being taken in groups to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they asked Kaʿb b. Asad, 'Kaʿb, what do you think he will do to us?' He replied, 'Will you not understand anywhere? Can't you see that the one calling never stops, and that those of you who go never return? It means, by God, execution!'

"This continued until he had finished with them. Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab was brought to him wearing a flowered robe all over which he had made finger-size holes so that it not be taken from him; his hands were drawn up and tied by a rope to his neck. When he looked over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Well, I swear by God, I don't blame myself for being your enemy, but whoever abandons God will be abandoned!'

"He then went forward to the men and said, 'O people, there is no harm in the command of God; a decree, fate and a massacre have been written by God against Banū Isrāʿīl!' He then sat down and he was struck in the neck.

"Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thaʿlabī then spoke the verses,

'By your life, I swear that it was not himself that Ibn Akḥṭab blamed, but whoever abandons God will be abandoned

He strove hard, pushing himself to the limits, exerting himself vigorously to achieve glory.'"

Ibn Ishāq then related the story of al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā, an old man who had become blind. "At the battle of Buʿāth he had been given over to the charge of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās who had cut off his forelock. On this day Thābit had wanted to repay him,⁴¹ so he went to al-Zubayr and asked, 'Do you know me, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān?' 'Would the like of me not know the like of you?' he responded. Thābit then said, 'I want to pay you back!' 'Well,' replied al-Zubayr, 'an honourable man would repay an honourable man.'

40. Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb, i.e. "the great impostor" of Yamāma and a leader of Banū Ḥanīfā, claimed prophethood for himself following the death of the Messenger of God, (ṢAAS). He was ultimately defeated and killed by the Muslims in 12 AH, *supra*, p.25n.

41. Ibn Kathir here omits from his narrative the important fact given in Ibn Ishāq's account that al-Zubayr had spared Thābit's life on an earlier occasion, before the coming of Islam.

"Thābit then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked permission to release him, and he did release al-Zubayr b. Baṭā. When he informed him of this, al-Zubayr responded, 'What would an old man who would have no son and no family do with his life?' Thābit then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him to restore to the man his wife and his son, and to this he agreed. When he returned to al-Zubayr with this news, the old man now said, 'What's to become of a household in Hijāz that has no property; how could they survive?' Again Thābit went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked that the property of al-Zubayr be released to him, and he did so.

"When he went back and told him this, al-Zubayr asked, 'Thābit, what became of Ka'b b. Asad, whose face was like a Chinese mirror that reflects the faces of the tribe's virgins?' 'He has been killed,' he replied.

"And what of our vanguard in the attack and our protector in flight, 'Azal b. Shamwāl?' 'He has been killed,' Thābit replied.

"What became of the two counsel – meaning that of Banū Ka'b b. Qurayza and Banū 'Amr b. Qurayza. 'They have dispersed and been killed,' he replied.

"I ask you then, Thābit, by your obligation to me, to let me join my own people. There is no good in life for me now that they have gone and I can't stand postponing joining my loved ones for so long as it would take to fill and empty a bucket being borne along by a camel!"

"At this Thābit went over to him and cut off his head.

"When al-Zubayr's phrase 'joining my loved ones' reached Abū Bakr, the trusting, he commented, 'He'll meet them, by God, in the fire of hell where he will dwell for ever!'"

Ibn Ishāq used the word *ḥayla* in his account, to refer to the filling of a bucket; Ibn Hishām said the word should be *qabla*. Regarding the word used for camel here, *nādiḥ*, Ibn Hishām said it referred to a camel that bears water used to irrigate date-palms.

Abū 'Ubayda, however, said that the word refers to the emptying of a bucket.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered the execution of all of their adults. Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj related to me, from 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr, from 'Aṭīyya al-Qurazī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that all grown-up Banū Qurayza should be executed. I was a youth and since they decided I was not fully grown they let me go.'"

Authorities of all four *ṣunan*⁴² codices of *ḥadīth* relate this account from 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr, from 'Aṭīyya al-Qurazī, with similar wording.

Certain scholars make reference to this who maintain that establishing the presence of coarse hair in the genital region proves maturity. Indeed this does constitute maturity in the most authoritative statements on the subject made by al-Shāfi'.

42. The term used here, *aṣḥāb al-ṣunan*, refers to the four authoritative codices of *ḥadīth* from among the *ṣiḥāḥ* collections. Their authors were al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dā'ūd, Ibn Mājah and al-Nasā'ī.

There are some scholars who differentiate Muslim from non-Muslim youths, saying that that can indicate maturity, but only in the case of the latter. This is because a Muslim (youth) may be disadvantaged to some purpose because of that.

Ishāq recounted from Ayyūb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, that Salmā, daughter of Qays, mother of al-Mundhir, had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to release Rifā‘a b. Shamwāl, who was adult and had taken refuge with her; he had known them before this. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), did release him for her. She had said, “Messenger of God, Rifā‘a claims that he will pray and eat camels’ meat.” And so he granted her wish and released him.

Ibn Ishāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr, from ‘Urwa, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, “He only executed one of their women. She was talking with me and laughing heartily all the time the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was executing her menfolk in the market-place. Then a voice called out asking where was so-and-so. She exclaimed, ‘It’s me, by God!’ I asked her, ‘For pity’s sake, what’s wrong?’ She said, ‘I’m to be killed!’ ‘Why?’ I asked. ‘For something I did,’ she told me. Then she was taken away and beheaded.”

The account continues, “‘Ā’isha used to say, ‘I swear, I’ll never forget how high-spirited she was and how much she laughed when she knew she was to be killed.’”

Imām Aḥmad related this the same way, from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “It was she who had thrown down the millstone on to Khallād b. Suwayd and had killed him.” He is inferring that it was for him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had her executed.

Ibn Ishāq stated elsewhere, “He named her as Nabāta, wife of al-Ḥakam al-Qurazī.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then divided up among the Muslims the property, wives and children of Banū Qurayza, after he had taken out one-fifth. He awarded each horseman three shares, two for the horse and one for its rider. He gave one share to each foot soldier. The horses numbered thirty-six at that battle. This was the first time the booty was divided into division of two shares and the first in which it was divided into five parts.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Sa‘īd b. Zayd with the captives taken from Banū Qurayza to Najd, where he sold them in exchange for horses and weapons. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had chosen for himself one of their women, Rayḥāna, daughter of ‘Amr b. Khanāfa, of Banū ‘Amr b. Qurayza. He stayed intimate with her until he died, she still being at that time in his household. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had suggested that she accept Islam, but she had refused. Eventually she did accept Islam and this brought great pleasure to him. He suggested releasing and marrying her, but she chose to

continue in slavery, considering that easier for her. She remained with him until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died."⁴³

Ibn Ishāq then commented upon the verses of the Qur'ān that relate to the battle of al-khandaq, from early in *sūrat al-Aḥzāb*. We have given reference and explanation to that in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*, and to God be all praise and credit.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Those Muslims martyred in the conflict with Banū Qurayza were Khallād b. Suwayd b. Tha'labā b. 'Amr al-Khazraji, who was crushed when a millstone was cast down on him. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'He will receive the reward of two martyrs.'"

I would observe that it was that woman mentioned above, the only woman of Banū Qurayza executed, who had thrown the stone down at him. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Sinān b. Miḥsan b. Hurthān of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma died while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was besieging Banū Qurayza; he was buried in their cemetery that (same) day."

THE DEATH OF SA'D B. MU'ADH, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

It has been related above that Ḥibbān b. al-'Ariqa, God damn him, had shot an arrow at him and struck him in the vein of his arm. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then cauterized him with fire and stopped up the wound. Sa'd prayed to God not to make him die before he had been relieved of Banū Qurayza. This occurred following their breaking of the pacts and agreements they had made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and their alignment with the *aḥzāb*, the enemy clans. When the latter withdrew, dispersing away from Medina, Banū Qurayza were totally left to disaster, both on earth and in the after-life. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to them and besieged them, as told above. When they were in real suffering, beset from all sides, they decided to submit to the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to do with them as ever God wished. He delegated that authority to the chief of Aws, who had been allied with them before the coming of Islam; he was Sa'd b. Mu'adh. Banū Qurayza were pleased with this. It is said that they initially gave themselves over to Sa'd's authority because they had high hopes of his kindness and partiality towards them. They did not know that they were more hateful in his view than the apes and pigs that were their peers! This was because of the intensity of his faith, and his high trust. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for him; Sa'd was in a tent in the mosque. He was brought on a donkey riding on a soft saddle placed under him because of his injury. When he drew near the tent of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter ordered all there to rise for him. It was said that this was so that he would dismount because of the severity of his injury; also it was said

43. The latter part of this paragraph, apparently a paraphrase of Ibn Ishāq's account, seems to contradict what was stated earlier.

that this was to accord him respect in the presence of those about whom he was to decide, so that he would be more effective in carrying out his judgement. But God knows best.

When he decreed death and captivity for them and God had pleased and satisfied him by relieving him of them, and he had returned to the tent in the mosque accompanied by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he prayed to God the Almighty and Glorious that he have martyrdom. And God had chosen his reward; his wound burst open that night. Blood went on escaping from him until he died. May God be pleased with him.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Banū Qurayza affair was concluded, the wound of Sa'd b. Mu'adh burst open and he died of it, a martyr.

"Mu'adh b. Rifā'a al-Zurqī related to me as follows, 'It was related to me by whomever you like of my people, that Gabriel, wearing an embroidered turban, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when Sa'd b. Mu'adh was taken late at night. He said, "Muḥammad, who is that dead man for whom the gates of heaven were opened and for whom the throne shook?"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose hurriedly, dragging his clothing behind him, and went to Sa'd, whom he found to have died; may God be pleased with him."

This is how Ibn Ishāq related this.

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī stated in his *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*), "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, from Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who said, 'My father and Shu'ayb b. al-Layth related to us as follows, "Al-Layth b. Sa'd related to us, from Yazid b. al-Ḥadd, from Mu'adh b. Rifā'a, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, "Who is that fine worshipper of God who, when he died, had the gates of heaven opened up for him, and for whom the throne moved?"

"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out and found it was Sa'd b. Mu'adh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat down by his grave as he was being buried. While thus seated, he twice recited, *subḥāna Allāh*, "God be praised". So everyone said the same. He then spoke the words, "*Allāhu Akbar! Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great! God is most great!". So everyone spoke the same. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I was amazed at this fine worshipper who was constrained in his grave until this (time), when he was relieved."'"

Imām Aḥmad and al-Nasā'ī related, quoting a line of transmission through Yazid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Ḥadd, and Yaḥyā b. Sa'd, from Mu'adh b. Rifā'a, from Jābir, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Sa'd the day he died and while he was being buried, 'Praise be to God for this fine man for whom the throne of the All-Merciful moved, and for whom the gates of heaven were opened; he was constrained, and then God released him.'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "Mu'adh b. Rifā'a related to me, from Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Jumūh, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'We were there while Sa'd was being buried, in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who spoke the invocation *subḥāna Allāh*, God be praised, which was repeated by all there. He then said *Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great, and everyone joined him in saying this. Then they asked him, 'Why did you praise God, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'His grave constrained this fine man until God relieved him.'"

Imām Aḥmad related it thus, from Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, from his father, from Ibn Ishāq.

Ibn Hishām stated, "The figurative meaning of this *ḥadīth* is shown in 'Ā'isha's words, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The grave constrains; if anyone were to escape from it, it would be Sa'd b. Mu'adh.'"

I would comment that this *ḥadīth* is given by Imām Aḥmad as follows, "Yaḥyā related to us, from Shu'ba, from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, from Nāfi', from 'Ā'isha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'The grave exerts pressure; if anyone were to escape from that, it would be Sa'd b. Mu'adh.'"

The line of authorities for this *ḥadīth* would meet the criteria for the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, except for the fact that Imām Aḥmad related it from Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, from "a person", from 'Ā'isha.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār related it from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar. He said, "'Abd al-A'la b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Dā'ūd, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān (who said), 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar related to us, from Nāfi', who quoted Ibn 'Umar as saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The day Sa'd b. Mu'adh died 70,000 angels descended to earth; they had never done so before. The grave was severely constraining him!' Then Nāfi' wept.'"

This chain of authorities is excellent. However, al-Bazzār said, "Others related this from 'Ubayd Allāh from Nāfi', but with an incomplete chain.

Al-Bazzār also narrated it, from Sulaymān b. Sayf, from Abū 'Itāb, from Sukayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'seventy thousand angels who had never before touched the earth came down at the death of Sa'd b. Mu'adh.' And as he was being buried, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also said, 'Praise be to God! if anyone escaped the pressure of the grave, it was Sa'd.'"

Al-Bazzār stated, "Ismā'īl b. Ḥafṣ related to us, from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, quoting 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib, from Mujāhid, from Ibn Umar, who said, 'The *al-'arsh*, the throne, shook at the pleasure of God's meeting Sa'd b. Mu'adh.' It is said that he meant the *al-sarīr*, the couch. (As is the case in the following verse.) 'And he raised his two parents up on to the *al-'arsh*' (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.100). As for the shaking, that referred to its frame. He went on, 'And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into his grave and stayed there awhile. When he emerged, he was asked, "Messenger of God, what kept you?" He replied, "Sa'd was very

much constrained in the grave; and so I prayed to God, and it was widened for him.”””

Al-Bazzār stated, “‘Aṭā’ b. al-Sā’ib was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.” I would observe that it was who was being addressed in this matter.

Al-Bayhaqī, may God be pleased with him, following his having told how constrained Sa’d, God be pleased with him, was by the grave, related a strange tradition about it. He said, “Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, quoting Abū al-‘Abbās, quoting Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq, who said, ‘Umayya b. ‘Abd Allāh related to me that he asked some of Sa’d’s family, “What have you heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on this subject?” They replied, “We were told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about that and said, ‘He’ (Sa’d) ‘would cut short some of the ablutions for urination.’”””

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to us, quoting al-Faḍl b. Musāwir, quoting Abū Mu’āwiya, from al-A‘mash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, ‘I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, “The throne shook at the death of Sa’d b. Mu‘adh.”””

Also from al-A‘mash, “Abū Ṣāliḥ related to us, from Jābir, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) the same words. A man asked Jābir, ‘How is it that al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib says (that the statement was) “the *al-sarīr*, the couch, shook?” He (Jābir) replied, “There was some animosity between these two tribes; I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, ‘The *al-‘arsh*, the throne, of the *al-Raḥmān*, the Merciful One, shook at the death of Sa’d b. Mu‘adh.’”””

Muslim related this, from ‘Amr al-Nāqid, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Idris and Ibn Māja, from ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, from Abū Mu’āwiya, both of whom quoted al-A‘mash. Their version does not add anything to the account as given by al-A‘mash from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Jābir.

Aḥmad stated, “‘Abd al-Razzāq related to us, from Ibn Jurayj, ‘Abū al-Zubayr informed me that he heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, while the bier of Sa’d b. Mu‘adh was there in front of them, ‘The throne of the Merciful One shook for it.’”””

Muslim related it from ‘Abd b. Ḥumayd, as did al-Tirmidhī from Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, both quoting ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd related to us, quoting ‘Awf, quoting Abū Naḍra (who said) ‘I heard Abū Sa‘īd quote the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, “The throne shook at the death of Sa’d b. Mu‘adh.”””

Al-Nasā’i related it from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm, from Yaḥyā.

Aḥmad stated, “‘Abd al-Wahhāb related to us, from Sa‘īd, (who quoted) Qatāda as saying, ‘Anas b. Mālik related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, his bier having been put down, “The throne of the Merciful One shook for it.’”””

Muslim related it from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Azdi, from ‘Abd al-Wahhāb.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who said, "The throne of the Merciful One shook with joy for his spirit."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār stated, "Zuhayr b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ma'mar, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, 'When Sa'd's bier was carried, the hypocrites said, "How light his bier is! That's due to his having passed judgement over Banū Qurayẓa." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about this, and he said, "No; but the angels carried him."'"

(This has) an excellent line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to us, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Ishāq (who said), 'I heard al-Barā' b. 'Azib say, 'I was presented with a silk robe for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his Companions began touching it and admiring its softness. He said, 'Are you admiring the softness of this? The kerchiefs of Sa'd b. Mu'adh are better than them, or softer.'""

He (the source) then said, "Qatāda related this, as did al-Zuhri who reported hearing it from Anas, from the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad stated, "'Abd al-Wahhāb related to us, from Sa'd, he being the son of Abū 'Urūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālīk, that Ukaydir Dūma made a present of a *jubba*, a long outer garment, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this was before the wearing of silk was prohibited. He put it on and when people admired it, he said, 'By Him in whose hands is my soul, the kerchiefs of Sa'd in heaven are finer than this!'"

This *ḥadīth* accords with the criteria of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim, but they did not include it. Al-Bukhārī, however, quoted it as commentary.

Aḥmad stated that Yazīd quoted Muḥammad b. 'Amr as follows, "Wāqid b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'adh related to me (and Muḥammad said that Wāqid was one of the finest, best and tallest of men) as follows, 'I went in to Anas b. Mālīk and he asked me who I was. I replied that I was Wāqid, son of 'Amr, the son of Sa'd b. Mu'adh. He then said, "You take after Sa'd." He then wept copiously, saying, "May God grant Sa'd His mercy! He was one of the finest and tallest of men." He then went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched an army out to fight Ukaydir Dūma, who sent to him a *jubba* of brocade woven with gold thread. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it on, went up on to the *minbar*, the pulpit, and sat down without speaking. He then came down again. People felt and gazed admiringly at the *jubba*, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'So you admire this then? The kerchiefs of Sa'd b. Mu'adh in heaven are much finer than what you can now see.'""

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus, as did al-Nasā'ī, from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. 'Amr. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

After making reference to the throne having shaken after the death of Sa'd b. Mu'adh, Ibn Ishāq went on to quote a line of verse from one of the *anṣār*, the Helpers:

"The only person whose death we ever heard caused the throne of God to shake was Sa'd b. Mu'adh."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "His mother – Kubaysha, daughter of Rāfi' b. Mu'awiya b. Ubayd b. Tha'laba al-Khudariyya al-Khazrajiyya, that is – spoke the following elegy when Sa'd was being borne away on his bier,

'Sa'd's mother grieves for Sa'd, the fierce and impetuous,
A man of leadership and glory, an eager knight.
He would fill every breach, active in cutting off enemy heads.'

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'All mourning women exaggerate – except for she who mourned for Sa'd b. Mu'adh!'"

I would comment that Sa'd's death came some 25 days after the withdrawal of the *ahzāb*, the enemy clans. They had assembled in Shawwāl of 5 AH, as is told above, and remained there for approximately 1 month. Thereafter, the Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth and besieged Banū Qurayza for some 25 days. They then accepted the authority of Sa'd, who died shortly after he had passed judgement on them. This would have occurred at the end of Dhū al-Qa'da or early in Dhū al-Hijja of 5 AH. But God knows best.

Similarly, Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The conquest of Banū Qurayza took place in Dhū al-Qa'da and the beginning of Dhū al-Hijja. The polytheists took charge of that pilgrimage."

Ibn Ishāq stated that Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Sa'd b. Mu'adh, may God be pleased with him,

"My tears descended in a stream, and it was right for my eyes that they should weep for Sa'd.

Lying dead, prostrate on a battlefield. Eyes grieving at his loss flowed copiously, in constant pain.

A member of the religion of the Merciful, he will inherit paradise along with the (other) martyrs; theirs is the most noble of groups.

Even though you have said good-bye to us and left us and went into the dust of the dark grave

You have, Sa'd, through your noble martyrdom, gone back (to God) clothed in finery and glory.

By your judgement on both Qurayza tribes with what God had decreed, you did not decide wilfully.

The decree of God matched your judgement on them; you did not absolve them when you were reminded of a former pact.

Even though fate has placed you with those others who exchanged this life for heaven's eternal gardens

Happy is the end of the trustworthy who one day are called to God in honour and glory."

Section: Poetry spoken on the battles of al-khandaq and Banū Qurayẓa.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to us, quoting Shu'ba, quoting 'Adī b. Thābit, as saying that he heard al-Barā' b. 'Āzib state, 'The Prophet (SAAS) told Ḥassān, "Satirize them; and Gabriel is with you!"'"

Al-Bukhārī also said, "Additional material was given by Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from al-Shaybānī, from 'Adī b. Thābit, from al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, who said, 'The Prophet (SAAS), at the battle of Qurayẓa, told Ḥassān b. Thābit, "Satirize the polytheists, for Gabriel is with you."'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim and al-Nasā'ī, with lines of transmission from Shu'ba, but without the addition related above by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Ishāq, may God have mercy on him, stated, "Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, brother of Banū Muḥārīb b. Fīhr, spoke the following on the battle of al-khandaq."

I would add that this was prior to the acceptance by Ḍirār of Islam.

"Many were the sympathetic women who doubted us, though we commanded a formidable force.

Its size was almost as large as Mt. Uḥud when the onlooker saw its dimensions.

You saw their short armour amply fitting their heroes and their tough leather shields.

And their fast horses charging like arrows we aimed at the misguided sinners.

It was as if, when we and they charged, they were shaking hands with us, at the entry to the trenches.

Men among whom you could find not one wise, even though they would ask, 'Are we not rightly-guided?'

We besieged them for an entire month, standing above them like conquerors.

We attacked them morning and evening every day, fully accoutred in our armour.

With sharp, cutting swords in our hands, we used them to slice their skulls and head-bones.

The gleam of their drawn blades shining in the hands of those who unsheathed them

Was like the flash of lightning on clouds brightening the night that you could see with full clarity.

Had it not been for the trench where they were, we would have demolished them all.

It, however, protected them; they took refuge with it from us for fear of us.

Even though we withdrew, we left Sa'd laying dead by
your tents.

When darkness came, you could hear the women chanting
their lamentation for Sa'd.

We will revisit you shortly, assisting one another as
we did before,

A group of men of Kināna who will not be unarmed,
acting like lions of the forest, defending their dens."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "He was answered by Ka'b b. Mālik, brother of Banū
Salama, may God be pleased with him,

'Many were the questioning women who asked us how we
battled, though if they had been witness to it they
would have seen us stand firm.

We did stand fast, seeing nothing equal to God against
what faced us, relying on Him.

On our side was the Prophet, a trustworthy ally; with
him we can overcome all mankind.

We were fighting a people who did wrong and were
disrespectful and who were waiting a chance to attack
us.

When they arose against us, we fought them hard with
blows that destroyed the over-hasty.

The women would have seen us in full, long chain-mail
gleaming like streams in the desert,

Bearing light swords in our hands with which to
puncture the zeal of the trouble-makers.

At the entrance to the trenches like lions whose
thickets protect their dens.

And our cavalry attacking by morning and evening gazed
at the enemy in disdain and wore insignia

In support of Aḥmad and God, so that we may be sincere
in worship of truth.

And the people of Mecca should know when they travel,
and the tribes who came in clans,

That God has no partner, and that God is the Lord of
those who believe.

Though you may have killed Sa'd impudently, God it is
who best determines.

He will enter him in fine gardens which shall be the
abode of the righteous,

Just as He repelled you, defeated, in flight, for all
your anger, shamed and in failure.

Shamed, you gained no good there, and came close to
being destroyed.

By a gale that blew upon you so that you were rendered
blind beneath it."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allāh b. al-Zibā'ra al-Sahmi spoke the following verses on the battle of al-khandaq."

I would add that this poet had not yet accepted Islam.

"Greetings to a home whose features have been obliterated by lengthy neglect and the passage of time.

It is as though Jews had written their tracing, except for the corrals and tent pegs.

A wasteland, as though you had not sported there, pleasantly, with girls of your own age.

Think no more of a life now gone and a place in ruins and abandoned.

And remember with thanks the trials of those people who went out together past the stone monuments,"⁴⁴

The monuments at Mecca, heading for Yathrib, multi-voiced, numerous, many in number.

Avoiding the high ground and usual routes in all the heights and passes

Leading along with them their lean steeds, their bellies thin, their flanks trim,

All offspring of long-bodied mares and stallions, (moving stealthily) like a lion attacking an inattentive watchman.

An army with whose banner 'Uyayna led, while Ṣakhr commanded the *ahzāb*, the clans.

Two leaders, splendid like full moons, in them the rescue of the poor, the refuge of those in flight

Until when they arrived in Medina and dressed for death, bearing sharp swords.

For a month and ten days they fought Muḥammad, his Companions in the fighting being the very best.

They announced their withdrawal that morning, and you said, 'This has almost finished us off'

Had it not been for the trenches, they would have left their forces lying dead, the prey for birds and wolves."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "He was answered by Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him,

'Do the effaced remains of a deserted campsite respond to one who addresses them?

A wasteland, its traces wiped away by frequent rain and constant gusts of wind?

There I once saw dwellings made lovely by fresh-faced women of high ancestry.

44. Presumably the stone markers delineating the holy areas of Mecca.

But enough reminiscence of fair maidens, sweet-talking
and full-breasted,

And complain to God of your cares and what you think of
a people who maltreated the Messenger in anger.

Who attacked him *en masse*, gathering townsmen and
bedouin tribesmen to fight,

An army including ʿUyayna and Ibn Ḥarb, combining with
the cavalry of the clans.

And when they arrived at Medina, they hoped to kill the
Messenger and to gain much plunder.

They attacked us in the morning with all their strength
but were repelled into retreat for all their rage

By a gale that broke them apart and by the forces of
your Lord, the Lord of Lords.

God spared the believers their doing battle and
assured them the greatest of rewards

After they had despaired; the sending down of our
generous Lord's assistance broke them apart.

He gave relief to Muḥammad and to his Companions and
disgraced all the doubting defamers.

Hard in heart, aggressive, doubt-filled, disbelieving
men, impure.

May failure cling to them, for they maintained their
disbelief until the end.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Kaʿb b. Mālīk also answered him, saying,

'The battles have given us to keep the finest gift of
our bountiful Lord

White forts, well-watered camel pastures, dark green,
where milk is plentiful.

(Abundant) as lava fields, their bounty and plenty goes
to neighbour, relative and guest

With captured horses as swift as light, raised on
barley and cut fodder.

Their feet unshod, firm-fleshed, lean of body and legs

Long-necked, responding eagerly to the call, like
hunting dogs obeying their master

Now circling the grazing livestock and then bringing
down the enemy and retrieving the kill,

Chasing wild beasts, light-footed, in war, grim in
battle, their pedigree evident,

Fed with kindness and so well-bodied and fleshed, but
slim bellied.

They (the warriors) arrive wearing double-meshed coats
of mail and bearing strong, accurate spears.

And sharp swords, their tarnish removed by the
polishers, borne by fine men of high birth.

His right hand gripping a slim spear at the ready, its making entrusted to Khabbāb.

There is a bright blue in the spear and it is like a flaring flame in the dark of night,

A squadron whose chain-mail repels the arrows and turns aside their blows,

Dark red, all gathered together, as though their spears in each engagement were a forest on fire,

Heading for the shade of the banner as though they were an eagle's shadow, a straight lance of al-Khaṭṭ.

Their heroism overcame Abū Karib, Tubba' and the bedouins.

It was admonitions from our Lord that guided us, through the tongue of one splendid and good.

They were presented before us and we wanted to remember them after they were set out before the clans,

Wise words that the criminals thought too severe but men of wisdom understand.

Sakhina came to defeat their Lord, but those seeking to overcome the All-Conquering will be overcome!"

Ibn Hishām stated, "Someone I trust related to me, quoting 'Abd al-Malik b. Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'When he heard this verse from him, he said, "O Kaḥ, God thanks you for having spoken those lines!"'"

I would comment that by the above word *sakhina* Quraysh were meant. The Arabs would use this word, meaning "hot", in referring to them because of their liking for eating hot food, unusual for the desert dwellers. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Kaḥ b. Mālik also spoke the following verses,

'May he who enjoys the clash of battle when its noise resembles that of the crackling of flaming reeds

Come to a battle site where swords were whetted, between al-Madhād and the trench's sides.

They were skilled in striking at the emblazoned knights and entrusted their lives to the Lord of the East

In a force God employed to aid His prophet, and He was gracious to His servant thereby.

They all wore suits of armour the full lengths of which rippled like wind on the surface of a pool.

Of white, finely-wrought steel, its rivets (protruding) like locusts' eyes in the tight-woven links.

Held up by the belt of an Indian-crafted sword, its steel pure, sharp and shining.

That along with our piety, was our dress on the day of the battle, and every hour a trial.

If our swords were unable to reach we would step
orward to make them do so.

And you could see skulls with their tops exposed, as
well as hands severed as though never created.

We met the foe with a strong, united force that drove
off their army as though heading for the heights of Mt.
al-Mashriq.

We prepared against the enemy every light-bodied,
white-footed piebald horse,

Swiftly bearing riders whose steeds seemed in the fray
as (speedy) as lions on a damp hillside.

Trusted steeds which bring death to the brave from
deadly spears amidst the dust.

God ordered that the horses be tied to his enemy in the
warfare; God is indeed the best to bring success.

That they should harass the enemy and protect the
homes if the evil-doers' cavalry approached.

God the Almighty aided us with His power and reliable
endurance at the time we met them.

We obey the order of our Prophet and respond to him;
if He calls us to an unpleasant task, we are not to be
outpassed.

When there is a summons to engage in dangerous acts, we
attend them, and when we see fighting rage, we take
part.

Those following the Prophet's words (are right), for
among us his orders are obeyed, and He is fully
believed.

By that He will give us aid and show our glory and
ensure thereby that we achieve a pleasant life.

Those who deny Muḥammad are disbelievers and have
strayed from the path of the God-fearing."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ka'b b. Mālik also spoke the following,

'The clans well knew, when they joined against us and
attacked our faith, that we would not give up

Joint forces of Qays b. 'Aylān and Khindif united, but
they did not know what was going to happen.

They seek to turn us from our religion, while we seek
to turn them from disbelief; and the All-Merciful sees
and hears.

When they stormed against us in battle, broad help from
God helped us against their rage;

That was God's grace and protection for us; and
whomever God does not protect is lost.

He led us to the religion of the truth, and chose it
for us; and God has deeds above those of all others."

Ibn Hishām commented, "These verses are in a *qaṣida* of his" – by which he meant a long ode.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following lines on the execution of Banū Qurayza,

'Qurayza encountered what harmed them and found no aid
against disgrace.

Disaster hit them equal to that which struck Banū
al-Naḍir

That day when the Messenger of God came down at them
like the light-giving moon.

He had eager horses bearing riders like eagles.

We left them having gained nothing, their blood smeared
on them like perfume,

Prostrate, vultures circling above them; thus are the
evil and obstinate paid back.

So warn Quraysh of the like from the All-Merciful, if
they will take my advice.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Ḥassān b. Thābit also spoke the following verses about Banū Qurayza,

'A people who helped Quraysh had made a pact, and they
shall find no aid in their land.

The Book was brought them, but they neglected it; they
are blind to the Torah, ruined.

You disbelieved in the Qur'ān, though you had been
brought proof of what the Warner spoke

But the leaders of Banū Lu'ayy ignored the great
conflagration at al-Buwayra.'

"Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib answered him as follows,

'May God eternalize such a deed as that! And may the
fire blaze on in its parts!

You shall learn which of us is sin-free, and the lands
of which of us it will harm.

If the palm trees there had been riders, they would
have told you, "There's no place for you here, so
leave!"'"

I comment that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith spoke this verse before he accepted Islam. Some of these lines are also given by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Ishāq recorded also the response of Ḥassān on this subject addressed to Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thaḥlabī; that we have purposely omitted.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ḥassān b. Thābit also spoke the following eulogizing Sa'd and those men who achieved martyrdom fighting Banū Qurayza,

‘My people, is there defence against matters ordained?
And will good times now gone ever return?’

I remembered a time now gone, my emotions were
disturbed and my tears flowed down.

The pain of sorrow reminded me of brethren and of dead
now gone, including Ṭufayl and Rāfi‘

And Sa’d; they are in paradise, while their homes are
empty and the earth a waste-land without them.

At the battle of Badr they were loyal to the Messenger,
while above them were the shades of death and flashing
swords.

He called, and they responded properly, all of them
responsive and obedient to every command.

They did not withdraw until all were gone; and it is
only battles that shorten a life-span.

For they hope for intercession from him, at a time when
only prophets will intercede.

And so that, O best of worshippers, was our brave
action, our response to God while death awaited.

We made the first step towards You, while behind us in
God’s religion others will follow our first.

We know that dominion is God’s alone, and that God’s
decree will surely prevail.’”

*ON THE EXECUTION OF ABŪ RĀFI‘ SALLĀM B. ABŪ AL-ḤUQAYQ
THE JEW, GOD DAMN HIM, IN A FORTRESS OF HIS AT KHAYBAR.
HE WAS A WELL-KNOWN MERCHANT OF ḤIḤAZ.*

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the battle of al-khandaq and the Banū Qurayẓa affair were over, the matter of Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, he being known as Abū Rāfi‘, arose. He was one of those who had gathered the clans against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Prior to the Battle of Uḥud, Aws had killed Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf and so the Khazraj asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who was at Khaybar, and he agreed.

“Muḥammad b. Musallam al-Zuhri related to me as follows, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b b. Mālīk as having said, ‘God had so ordered it for His messenger (ṢAAS) that Aws and Khazraj used to compete with one another like two stallions. If Aws ever accomplished something for him, then Khazraj would not want this to give them any advantageous position with him over themselves. So they would strive hard to achieve something similar. And when Khazraj accomplished something, Aws would say the same.

“‘When Aws struck down Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf for his enmity to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Khazraj determined that Aws would have no advantage with him over themselves thereby. And so they asked themselves who had expressed

an enmity similar to that of Ibn al-Ashraf; they thought of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who was at Khaybar. They therefore asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill him, and he agreed.

“Five men of Khazraj, of Banū Salama, then set out to do this. They were ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atīk, Mas‘ūd b. Sinān, ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays, Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Rib‘ī, and Khuzā‘a b. Aswad, an ally of theirs from Banū Aslam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atīk in command of them and told them to refrain from killing any woman or children.

“It was night when they arrived at the compound of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq. They took care to close all the doors upon those who lived there. He himself was in an upper chamber reached by a ladder. They climbed it, reached his door and asked to come in. His wife came out to them and asked who they were. They replied that they were bedouin seeking supplies. She told them they had come to the right man and let them in.”

The account proceeds, “When we went in, we shut him and ourselves inside the room, fearing someone might interfere between us. His wife screamed and gave him warning about us, but we set upon him with our swords while he was still in bed. I swear it was only his whiteness – like that of a Coptic dress lying there – that showed us where he was in the black of the night. As his wife screamed, we raised our swords to her, but remembered what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had forbidden and lowered them again. We would otherwise have killed her too that night. As we struck him with our swords, ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays plunged his into his stomach and pierced him through, as he said the words, “Qatni! Qatni!” “That’s enough! That’s enough!”

“Then we left. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atīk had poor sight and he fell off the ladder and severely sprained his arm. We carried him off into a water channel at one of their wells. They (Sallām’s people) lit torches and chased all around looking for us, but gave up and assembled around him as he expired.

“We wondered how we could ascertain that he had died, so one of us suggested that he would go back to see. He mingled with those there and reported how he had seen her – Sallām’s wife – holding a torch and telling people as she looked into his face, “I swear, I heard the voice of Ibn ‘Atīk. But then I told myself I must be wrong, because there was no way he could be in these parts!” She then went close and, looking into his face, said, “He’s dead, by the God of the Jews!” And I swear, I never heard words sweeter to me than those!

“When he returned and told us this, we carried our companion away and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the death of God’s enemy. When with him, we argued over which of us had actually killed him, each of us claiming it. He then said, “Hand me your swords.” When we did so, he examined them and said of the sword of ‘Abd Allāh b. Anis, “This one killed him; I can see food traces on it.””

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on this,

‘God has credit for that band you met, Ibn al-Ḥuqayq,
and you too, Ibn al-Ashraf.

They attacked you bearing light swords, as lively as
lions in thick brush.

They reached you in your own town and made you taste
death with swift swords

Seeking victory for their prophet’s religion,
belittling every difficulty.’”

This, then, is the account as given by Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq, may God have mercy on him.

Imām Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī stated, “Ishāq b. Naṣr related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Ibn Abū Zā’ida, from his father, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā’ b. ‘Azib, who said, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent a group of men to attack Abū Rāfi‘. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atik entered his house at night while he slept and killed him.’”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated, “Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to us, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrā’īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā’, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out some men of the *anṣār* to attack Abū Rāfi‘, the Jew. He appointed ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atik in charge of them. Abū Rāfi‘ had been doing harm to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and assisting his enemies. He was inside a fort he owned in Ḥijāz. When they drew near him, by which time the sun had set and the people were taking their livestock inside, ‘Abd Allāh told his companions, “Sit down here, and I’ll go off and play a trick on the gatekeeper to get inside.” He then went on, close to the gate, where he shielded himself with his clothing as though relieving himself, the other residents already having gone inside. The gatekeeper called out to him to come on inside since he wanted to close the gate.’”

(‘Abd Allāh’s account went on), “So I went in and hid. When everyone was inside, he locked the gate and hung the keys on a peg. I then took them and opened the gate. Abū Rāfi‘ was entertaining in an upstairs room of his. When his guests left, I went on up to him, closing each door behind me from the inside, determined that if they spotted me they would not reach me before I killed him.

“When I reached his chambers, he was inside a *fiḡh*, a dark apartment, but I did not precisely know his whereabouts. So I called out, “Abū Rāfi‘!” “Who’s there?” he asked. I then hurried towards the voice and struck out at him with my sword. But I was confused and accomplished nothing, while he shouted out. So I left the chamber and went a little off, then came back in again, asking, “What was that sound, Abū Rāfi‘?” He replied, “Woe on your mother, I swear, there’s a man in the house who just hit me with a sword!” At that I hit him hard once more but still did not kill him. Then I put the tip of my sword into his stomach until it reached his back. I then knew I had killed him. After that I opened the doors again, one by one, and reached a stairway. When I put my foot down,

thinking I had finished (climbing down) I fell. It was a moon-lit night. I broke my leg but tied it up with a turban and went on as far as the gate, where I sat, telling myself I should not leave until I knew I had killed him. At the cock's crow the death-announcer got up on a wall and shouted, "I lament the death of Abū Rāfi', saviour of the people of Hijāz." I then left to join my companions, telling them, "Let's go! God has killed Abū Rāfi'!" When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, he said, "Stretch out your leg!" I did so and he touched it. And it was as if it had never caused me pain!"

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥakīm al-Awdī related to us, quoting Shurayḥ, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Ishāq, who said he heard al-Barā' say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk, and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, along with others, against Abū Rāfi'. When they drew near the fortress, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk told them to wait while he went on ahead.'" (He recounted), "'I played a trick to get inside the fortress. They could not find a donkey of theirs and went out with a lantern to find it. I was afraid I would be discovered, so I concealed my head and crouched as though relieving myself. He (the gatekeeper) called out, 'Whoever wants to go in should do so before I lock the gate.'" So I went inside then hid in a donkey stall at the fortress gate. There were people dining with Abū Rāfi' and they kept on conversing with him until it was night. Then they went home.

"When the voices died down and I could hear no movement, I came out. I saw where the gatekeeper had placed the key to the fortress, in a niche, and I took it. So I used it to open the door, telling myself I would quietly sneak out if people detected me. I then barred the doors of all their dwellings from the outside.

"After that I climbed a ladder up to Abū Rāfi' and found his apartment dark, the lantern having been extinguished. I did not know where the man was, so I called out his name. When he responded, I made for the voice and struck him. He cried out, but my blow did no injury. Later I came back to him as though to help him and, disguising my voice, asked him, "What's wrong, Abū Rāfi'?" He replied, "Woe on your mother! A man came in to me and struck me with a sword!" I then made for him and struck him again, but once more to no avail. He shouted out and aroused his family. After that I again returned, changing my voice as though coming to help. He was lying on his back. So I placed my sword on his stomach and leaned on it until I heard the sound of (it striking) bone. I then left, in some confusion, found my way to the ladder I wanted to descend, but I fell off it and dislocated my leg. I bandaged it and went on to my companions, limping. I told them, "Get going! Tell the Messenger of God, the good news! I'll not leave until I hear the announcement of his death." When dawn broke, the announcer climbed up and lamented the death of Abū Rāfi'. So I got up and left, feeling no pain, and rejoined my companions before they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I told him the good news."

Al-Bukhārī, alone of the authors of the six canonical books of tradition, related this text. He then went on, "Al-Zuhri stated, Ubayy b. Ka'b said, 'So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was on the *minbār*, the pulpit, at the time. He asked, "Are faces happy?" They replied, "May yours be, Messenger of God!" "Did you slay him?" "Yes," they replied. "Hand me the sword," he asked. He unsheathed it and then said, "Yes, that's his food on the tip of the sword."'"

I would comment that it is likely that when 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atik fell from the ladder that he dislocated his shank and sprained his foot and his leg. When he bound it up, it had the immediate effect of calming the pain. And when he wanted to walk, he was aided (by unseen forces) for he was engaged in a beneficial exercise. When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and came to a rest, the pain in his leg again flared up. When he stretched it out and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) touched it, that took away the pain there had been, as well as what he might have expected there would be thereafter. This would reconcile the former and latter accounts. But God knows best.

In this regard, Mūsā b. 'Uqba related in his *maghāzī*, his work on the military engagements, an account similar to that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq. He named the group of men who took part therein as those stated by Ibn Ishāq, Ibrāhīm and Abū 'Ubayd.

THE EXECUTION OF KHALID B. SUFYĀN B. NUBAYḤ AL-HUDHALI.

The *ḥafīẓ* al-Bayḥaqī gave this account in *Dalā'il* (*The Signs*) following that of Abū Rāfi'.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb related to him that his father quoted Ibn Ishāq as saying, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to me, from Ibn 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, from his father, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for me and said, "I have been informed that Khālīd b. Sufyān b. NubayḤ al-Hudhālī is gathering a force of men to attack me. He is at 'Urāna. Go to him and kill him." I replied, "Messenger of God, please describe him to me so that I can recognize him." "When you see him", he replied, "you'll tremble."

"So I left, bearing my sword; I came upon him at 'Urāna where he had litter-borne women for whom he had sought a campsite. When it was time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer – and I had experienced that shivering that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had described for me when I should see him – I went towards him. As I did so, I was worried that some conflict might develop between us that would preoccupy me from performing the prayer. So I prayed as I walked towards him, nodding my head for the prayer bows and prostrations. When I reached him, he said, "And who might you be?" I replied, "I'm a bedouin Arab who has heard of you and of your gathering a force against that fellow, and I've therefore come to you." He replied, "Yes, I am engaged in that." I then accompanied him a while until, when I could, I attacked him with my

sword and killed him. I then departed, leaving his women all crouched over him.

"When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he saw me, he asked, "Happy, I hope?" I replied, "I've killed him, Messenger of God!" "You spoke true," he said. He then arose with me, entered his house and presented me with a stick, saying, "Keep this with you, 'Abd Allāh b. Unays."

"So I took it and went outside where people asked me what it was. I replied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given it to me and had told me to keep it. They then suggested I return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ask him to explain about that. So I did go back and asked him why he had given me the stick. He replied, "It is a sign between yourself and me for Judgement Day. There will be very few that day with something to lean upon.""

The account continues, "'And so 'Abd Allāh attached it to his sword and it was always with him until, upon his death, it was included in his winding sheet and he and it were buried together.'"

Imām Aḥmad related this from Yahyā b. Ādam, from 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, from one of the sons of 'Abd Allāh b. Unays – or alternatively, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, from 'Abd Allāh b. Unays himself. His account is similar.

Abū Dā'ūd related it similarly from Abū Ma'mar, from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, from his father. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it on a line through Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, from his father.

Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. 'Uqba relate this story without a full line of transmission in their works on the *maghāzī*. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Unays spoke the following verses on his execution of Khālid b. Sufyān,

I left Ibn Thawr like a camel foal still connected to
its mother, while around him hired weepers rent their
clothes to shreds.

I engaged him, while the camel litter was at my back
and his, with a sword formed from fine, molten steel,

Well-tested by the heads of armoured men, as though a
flame in a dark night from a flaring fire.

I told him, as my sword bit into his head, "I am Ibn
Unays, a knight, no coward I.

I am the son of him whose like fate never produced, a
man who welcomed all, a generous host."

I told him, "Take that, the blow of a noble, gracious
man who follows the religion of the Prophet Muḥammad;

If the Prophet is concerned about a disbeliever, I race
towards him, raising voice and hand.""

I comment that his full name was ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays b. Ḥarām, Abū Yahyā al-Juhanī; he was a famous and highly-regarded *ṣaḥābī*, “Companion”. He was present at the al-‘Aqaba pledge, and participated in the battles of Uḥud, al-khandaq and later ones. His death occurred late in life, while he was in Syria, at age 80, as is well known. It is also said that he died in the year 54 AH. But God knows best.

‘Alī b. al-Zubayr and Khalifa b. Khayyāt differentiated him from ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays Abū ‘Isā, the *anṣārī*; it was he who related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed at Uḥud over a vessel containing water and its spout opened and he drank from it. This was what Abū Dā‘ūd and al-Tirmidhī related through ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umārī, from ‘Isā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays, from his father. Al-Tirmidhī then stated, “But its chain of authorities is not reliable; and ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umārī is a weak source with regard to his memory.”

The Story of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and the Negus, after the battle of al-khandaq, and how ‘Amr accepted Islam.

Ibn Ishāq related the following after his account of the killing of Abū Rafī‘.

“Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Rashid, freed-man of Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Thaqafi, from Ḥabīb b. Aws, as follows, “Amr b. al-‘Āṣ related to me directly, saying, “When we left with the *aḥzāb*, the clans, after the battle of al-khandaq, I gathered some Quraysh who thought as I did and respected my opinion and told them, ‘You know how I think that the Muḥammad affair is escalating badly. You know my opinion; what is yours?’

“““How do you mean?” they asked.

“““Well,’ I went on, ‘I think we should join the Negus and stay with him. If Muḥammad defeats our people, we’ll be there with the Negus, and we’d prefer to be under his authority than that of Muḥammad. If our people prevail, they already know us, and we’ll experience nothing but good from them.’

“““They responded, ‘That’s a (good) opinion.’

“““I then said, ‘Let’s gather something to present to him.’ The gift he liked most from our country was leather, so we collected a large quantity of it for him.

“““After that we left and joined him. While we were there with him, ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī arrived; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him to the Negus concerning Ja‘far and his companions. He went in to see the Negus and then came out again. I told my friends, ‘That’s ‘Amr b. Umayya; if I were to go in to the Negus and asked him to give him over to me, he would do so and I could kill him. And if I did that Quraysh would know that I was acting for them in killing Muḥammad’s envoy.’”

““He went on, “So I went in and bowed as was my custom. He greeted me, saying, ‘Welcome to my friend! Did you bring me a gift from your country?’ I replied, ‘Yes, O king. I’ve brought you a lot of leather.’ I then gave it to him and

he was delighted. After that I asked him, 'O king, I saw a man who just left your presence; he is the envoy of a man who is our enemy. Give him over to me, so that I may kill him. He has killed some of our leaders and nobles.'

"“But he became enraged; he put out his hand and struck his nose with it so hard I thought he broke it. If the earth had opened up, I would have willingly gone inside!

"“Then I said, 'O king, if I had known this would displease you, I would never have asked it of you.'

"“He responded, 'Do you ask me to hand over to you the envoy of a man to whom the *nāmūs al-akbar*, "the archangel Gabriel" comes, the one who used to come to Moses, so you could kill him?'

"“I asked, 'Is that how he is, O king?' 'Woe on you, 'Amr,' he replied; 'obey me and follow him. I swear by God that he is right. He will certainly overcome all those who oppose him just as Moses son of 'Imrān defeated Pharoah and his troops.'

"“I asked, 'Will you accept my allegiance to him in Islam?'

"““Yes,' he replied, stretching out his hand. I then declared to him my allegiance to Islam.

"“After that I went out to my companions, my attitude towards Islam now completely different from what it had been. I concealed from them my having accepted Islam and then left, heading for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to become a Muslim. I met Khālid b. al-Walid – that being before the conquest of Mecca – while he was coming from Mecca. I asked him, 'Where are you headed, Abū Sulaymān?' He replied, 'I swear by God, the way has become clear. The man really is a prophet. I am going to accept Islam; until when (should I delay)?' I then told him, 'I swear by God, I myself have only come to accept Islam!'

"“So we went to Medina to see the Prophet (ṢAAS). Khālid arrived first, accepted Islam and declared his allegiance. I went up to him and said, 'Messenger of God, I pledge allegiance to you on condition that you forgive me all my past sins, without reference to what is yet to come.'

"“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Amr, do pledge, for Islam erases all before it, just as the Hijra erased all that preceded it.'

"“I then made my pledge to him and left.””

Ibn Ishāq went on, "A reliable source related to me that 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa was with them both and accepted Islam at the same time. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Zibā'rā' al-Sahmī then spoke the verses,

'I refer 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa (to what is behind us) (or to our pact) and to the place at al-Muqabbal where people cast their sandals.

And to all the pacts our forefathers made, and Khālid is not absolved of the like as well.

Is it the key to a house you do not possess that you desire;⁴⁵ yet what could you more desire than a house of ancient glory?

Do not trust Khālīd hereafter, not ʿUthmān; they have caused a calamity.’”

I observe that their acceptance of Islam came after the Ḥudaybiyya truce. This is evident because on that occasion Khālīd b. al-Walīd was in the polytheist cavalry, as will be related. It would have been more appropriate to refer thereafter to his acceptance of Islam. But I have related it here since Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God be pleased with him, did so. This is because the first departure of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to the Negus did occur after the battle at al-khandaq; it is clear that he went there for the remainder of the year 5 AH. But God knows best.

Chapter: The Marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqī related following the battle of al-khandaq, quoting al-Kalbī from Abū Ṣāliḥ from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said with relation to the words of the Almighty, “Perhaps God will bring about friendship between you and those of them you consider enemies” (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.7). “This relates to the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān; she thus became the *umm al-muʾminin*, the ‘mother of the believers,’⁴⁶ while Muʾāwiya (son of Abū Sufyān), became the *khāl al-muʾminin*, the ‘uncle of the believers’.”

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, “Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥafīẓ recounted to us, quoting Aḥmad b. Najda, quoting Yahyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid, quoting Ibn al-Mubārak, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, who said that Umm Ḥabība was with ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh who had gone to the Negus and had died. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had then arranged marriage with Umm Ḥabība while she was there in Abyssinia, and the Negus had arranged this, giving her a dowry of 4,000 dirhams which he had taken to her by Shuraḥbil b. Ḥasana; it was he who provided her trousseau, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) not sending her anything. He said, “The dowry provided for the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to be 400 (dirhams).”

I would comment that in fact the dowries of the Prophet (ṢAAS) were 12 *awqiyya* and 1 *nash* (of gold); and the *wuqya* was worth 40 dirhams, while the *nash* was worth one-half (a *wuqya*). That totals 500 dirhams.

Al-Bayhaqī then recounted through Ibn Lahiʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh died a Christian in Abyssinia. The next to marry Umm Ḥabība was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); it was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, who arranged her marriage to him.

45. ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa was in charge of the keys of the *kaʿba*.

46. The honorific title given to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

I comment that the conversion to Christianity of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Jahsh has been described above. That occurred after he had migrated to Abyssinia with the Muslims. There Satan subverted him and made Christianity seem attractive to him, and he therefore embraced it until he died. May God curse him! He used to mock the Muslims by telling them, "We see clearly; your eyes are still half closed!" Reference to this is made above relating to the migration to Abyssinia.⁴⁷

'Urwa's statement above, "It was 'Uthmān who arranged the marriage for him," is strange. This is because 'Uthmān had returned to Mecca before this, and then migrated to Medina, accompanied by his wife Ruqayya, as is related above. But God knows best.

What is authentic is the account of Yūnus, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, "I was informed that the man who arranged her marriage was her cousin Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀṣ."

I comment that the agent of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in accepting this contract was Aṣḥuma, the Negus, the king of Abyssinia. This is what Yūnus reported, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, whom he quotes as saying, "Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn related to me, stating, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus and he arranged his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, conveying from him 400 dinars.'"

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related to me, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Zuhayr, from Ismā'īl b. 'Amr, that Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān said, 'While I was in Abyssinia, I was surprised by a visit from an envoy of the Negus, a slave-girl called Abraha who used to care for his clothes and anoint him. She asked to come in and I agreed. Then she said, "The king says to you, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has written to me asking me to arrange your marriage to him.'" I replied, "God has sent you with good news." Abraha then continued, "The king says to you, 'Appoint an agent to arrange your marriage.'"

"So I sent for Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀṣ and appointed him my agent. Then I gave to Abraha two silver bracelets and two silver camel decorations I was wearing and silver rings from each of my toes, I was so pleased with the good news she had brought me.

"That evening the Negus ordered Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and the Muslims there to attend him and he made an address in which he said, "Praise be to God, the King, the All-Holy, the Faithful, the Powerful, the Almighty! I testify that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, and that it is he whose coming ʿĪsā (Jesus), son of Mary predicted. Further, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has requested that I marry him to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. I have responded to the request made by the Messenger

47. See Vol. II.

of God (ṢAAS), who has given 400 dinars as her dowry." He then poured out the coins before everyone.

"Khālīd b. Saʿīd spoke, saying, "Praise be to God! I give Him praise and ask His forgiveness. I testify that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth to show its superiority to all religions, however much the polytheists may dislike this. Moreover, I have responded to what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has requested, and I have contracted his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. May God bless the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

"The Negus then paid the dinars over to Khālīd b. Saʿīd who took them. Then everyone was about to rise, but he (the Negus) then said, "Take your seats, for it is the practice of prophets to have a feast when they marry." He then called for food and they ate and dispersed thereafter."

I comment that it may well be that ʿAmr b. Umayya, when seen by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ emerging from the presence of the Negus, following the battle of al-khandaq, had been active in the matter of Umm Ḥabība. But God knows best.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandaḥ related that the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Umm Ḥabība was in the year 6 AH, while his marriage to Umm Salama was in the year 4 AH."

I comment that Khalīfa, Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā and Ibn al-Baraḳī said the same, and that the marriage to Umm Ḥabība was in 6 AH. Some people said that it was 7 AH. Al-Bayhaqī said, "That is more likely."

I also note that, as has been related heretofore, his marriage to Umm Salama was late in the year 4 AH. It is likely that the marriage to Umm Ḥabība occurred before that, though it could also have been thereafter. It is most probable that it was following the battle of al-khandaq, because of what we have related above regarding ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, and how he saw ʿAmr b. Umayya with the Negus, engaged in that matter. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Athīr recounted in *al-Ghāba*, quoting Qatāda, that when Umm Ḥabība migrated from Abyssinia to Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to her and married her.

Some scholars maintain that he married her after her father had accepted Islam, following the conquest of Mecca. But that contradicts what was related by Muslim, through ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār al-Yamanī, from Abū Zmayl Simāk b. al-Walīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Abū Sufyān said, "O Messenger of God, grant me three wishes!" "Yes," he replied. "That you give me authority to battle the unbelievers just as I used to battle the Muslims." "Yes," he replied. "And that you appoint Muʿāwiya as a clerk of yours." "Yes," he replied. "And I have at home the best and most lovely of all the Arab women, Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān; let me marry you to her."

That is the *ḥadīth* in its entirety.

Ibn al-Athīr stated, "This *ḥadīth* is one for which Muslim is criticized. This is because when Abū Sufyān came to renew the pact before the conquest, he went

in to see his daughter Umm Ḥabība and she rolled up the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then asked, "By God, I don't know whether you consider the carpet too good for me or me too good for it!" She replied, "This rug belongs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and you are a polytheist." He replied, "I swear by God, you've changed for the worse since you left me, daughter!"

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "This *ḥadīth* was invented by 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār. This statement from him should not be considered dependable."

Others stated that he wanted to renew the pact because of the disadvantages in it (that had been included) without his permission. Others say it was because he believed that his daughter's marriage would be dissolved because of his acceptance of Islam.

But all this is unconvincing. What is most likely is that he wanted to marry him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) to his other daughter 'Amra, since he thought that would bring honour to himself. And he therefore sought help from his daughter Umm Ḥabība, as is stated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. The narrator was merely in error in his using the name Umm Ḥabība. That is why we have given (only) one report.

Abū Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām stated, "Umm Ḥabība died in the year 44 AH." Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama said, "She died one year before Mu'āwiya." The death of Mu'āwiya occurred in Rajab of 60 AH.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TO ZAYNAB, DAUGHTER OF JAḤSH B. RPĀB B. YA'MUR B. ṢABRA B. MURRA B. KABIR B. GHANAM B. DŪDĀN B. ASAD B. KHUZAYMA, AL-ASADIYYA, UMM AL-MU'MININ, 'MOTHER OF THE BELIEVERS'.

Her mother was Umayya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was previously the wife of his freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha, God be pleased with him.

Qatāda, al-Wāqidi and some of the people of Medina said that he married her in the year 5 AH; some added the month, Dhū al-Qa'da. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqi stated, "He married her after the attack on Banū Qurayza." Khalifa b. Khayyāt, Abū Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā and Ibn Mandah said that he married her in the year 3 AH. The first possibility is better known and it is the one accepted by Ibn Jarīr and several historians.

Various commentators, theologians and historians give as the reason for his marrying her reference to a *ḥadīth* related by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in his collection that we have deliberately refrained from including so that those lacking understanding would not place it in the wrong context.⁴⁸

48. Zaynab had originally been presented, when a virgin, by the Prophet (ṢAAS) to his freed-man and adopted son Zayd d. Ḥāritha. Her later divorce and this marriage inspired much commentary and is the subject of the following passage in the Qur'ān quoted here by Ibn Kathīr.

In His Glorious Qurʾān, Almighty God stated, "And (consider) when you say to him whom God had favoured and whom you had favoured, 'Keep your wife for yourself, and fear God,' and you hide within yourself what God makes evident, and you fear men. Yet God has greater right that you fear Him. And since Zayd has now finished with her, We give her to you in marriage so that there should be no distress for believers regarding the wives of their adopted sons when the latter have divorced them. God's command must be fulfilled. And there should be no distress for the Prophet in accomplishing what God has imposed upon him. Such has been God's course with those who went before. God's decree is determined'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.37, 38).

We have discussed this at sufficient length in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*).

The person referred to as having received God's favour is Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God favoured him with Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also favoured him by setting him free and by marrying him to Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, the daughter of his own maternal aunt. Muqātil b. Ḥabbān stated that the dowry he provided for her was ten dinars and sixty dirhams, a veil for her head and face, a wrap, a coat of armour, fifty *mudd* (a dry measure) and *ten* mudd of dates. She (Zaynab) remained with him (Zayd) close to a year, or longer, but then they quarrelled. Her husband complained about her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he would say to him, "Keep your wife for yourself and fear God."

God stated, "You hide within yourself what God makes evident." Regarding this, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn b. al-ʿĀbidīn and al-Suddī said, "He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) knew that she was to be one of his wives and it is he who hid (this) within himself."

Many early authorities discussed this matter in various strange ways. Some of these are controversial and so we are omitting them.

God Almighty stated, "And since Zayd has now finished with her, We give her to you in marriage ..." This refers to Zayd having divorced her. And when her *ʿidda* period was over, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to her so that she would become engaged to himself, and he then married her. And it was the Lord of the universe, Blessed and Almighty is He, who married him to her, as is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from Anas b. Mālik. The latter related that Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, used to claim superiority over the other wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and say, "It was your families who arranged your marriage, whereas it was Almighty God, from above the seven heavens, who arranged mine!"

There is a report through ʿIsā b. Tahmān, from Anas, which says, "Zaynab would claim superiority over the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and say, 'It was God who arranged my marriage from heaven.' And it was regarding her that the verse requiring use of the *ḥijāb*, the veil, was revealed, namely, 'O you

who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited to eat, without waiting while it be cooked'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.53).

Al-Bayhaqī related, from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād, from Zayd b. Ḥārith, from Anas, who said, "Zayd came to complain about Zaynab and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Fear God, and keep your wife for yourself.'"

Anas went on, "And if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been concealing something, it would have been this. She used to claim superiority over the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and say, 'It was your families that arranged your marriages, while God from above the seven heavens arranged mine.' He then said, 'Al-Bukhārī related this from Aḥmad, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through 'Affān, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "Zayd came to complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh. The Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, 'Keep your family for yourself.' And there was revealed the verse, 'and you hide within yourself what God makes evident.'"

He went on, "Al-Bukhārī related it, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, from Muḥā b. Maṣṣūr, from Muḥammad, in an abbreviated form." Ibn Jarīr stated, "Ibn Ḥamīd related to us, saying, 'Jarīr related to us from Muḥīra, from al-Sha'bi, as follows, "Zaynab used to say to the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'I, alone of your wives, was led to you by three factors: my grandfather and yours was one person.' (She was referring to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was the father of the father of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and the father of her own mother, Umayya.) And I was married to you by God Almighty from heaven. And the envoy was Gabriel, upon whom be peace.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥāshim (meaning Ibn al-Qāsim) related to us, quoting al-Naḍr, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Muḥīra, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, 'When Zaynab's *ʿidda* period was over, the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to Zayd, "Go and make mention of me to her." He went to her – she was leavening her dough at the time – and (later said), "When I saw her, I felt so emotional I could not look at her, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made mention of her. So I turned my back to her and withdrew, saying, 'Zaynab, rejoice! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) makes reference to you (for marriage).' She exclaimed, 'But I have not done anything to cause my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, to so honour me!' Then she went to her place of prayer." Thereafter the (passage in the) Qur'ān was revealed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came and went in to her without (seeking) permission.'"

Anas went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with her, we made a feast of meat and bread for her sake. Some people left while some men stayed in the house talking following the food. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, and I followed him as he went to each of the chambers of his wives to greet them. They called out to him, 'O Messenger of God, how

did you find your family?' I don't know whether it was I who informed him that the people had left, or whether he was told of this (by someone else)."

He went on, "Then he left and entered his chamber and I went to enter it with him. But he threw down the screen between myself and him. (Then it was) revealed about the *ḥijāb*, the screen and the people were admonished by the words, 'Do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited.'"

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī related it thus, through Sulaymān b. al-Mughira.

An Account of the institution of the ḥijāb, the screen, on the morning of Zaynab's wedding arranged by God.

It was appropriate for the screen to be instituted during this wedding, as a protection for her and for her sisters, also known as the *umahāt al-mu'minīn*, the "mothers of the faithful". This was in accord with the previously held view of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Raqqāsh related to him, quoting Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān, who said, "I heard my father say, 'Abū Mijlāz quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, he invited people in and they ate and sat there conversing. When he was ready to arise, they did not do so. When he saw that, he himself arose. When he did so, others also arose, though three men remained seated. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came (back) to go inside, the people were still sitting, but they then got up and left. I went and told the Prophet (ṢAAS) that they had left and he returned and went inside. I went as if to go inside too, but he let down the screen between myself and him. Then God Almighty revealed, "O you who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet."'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in other passages; and Muslim and al-Nasā'ī did so with other lines of transmission from Mu'tamir. Al-Bukhārī then related it – he alone doing so – from a *ḥadīth* of Ayyūb from Abū Qullāba, from Anas in similar form.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Mu'ammār related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ṣuhayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "A feast of bread and meat was given for the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh. I was dispatched to invite people to come for the food, and they would come and eat then leave; others would come and do the same. I continued inviting until I could not find anyone left to invite. I then said, 'O Prophet of God, I don't find anyone to invite.' He responded, 'Take the food away.' But there were three men who stayed in the house conversing. So the Prophet (ṢAAS) left and went to the chamber of 'Ā'isha and said, 'Peace be upon you, people of the house, along with the mercy and blessings of God.' She replied, 'Peace be upon you, along with the mercy and blessings of God. How

did you find your family, may God bless you!' He then went and visited the chambers of each of his wives, spoke to them as he had to 'Ā'isha and they responded to him as she had done. He then came back and the three men were still in the house conversing. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was exceedingly modest and he then left again, heading for 'Ā'isha's chamber. And I don't know whether I told him or whether he was (otherwise) informed that the people had left, but he came out, and, placing one foot over the threshold of the door and leaving the other outside it, he let down the screen between myself and him. Then the verse relating to the *ḥijāb* was revealed."

Al-Bukhārī was alone in giving this from this line. He then related it, also uniquely, from Ishāq, he being Ibn Naṣr, from 'Abd Allāh b. Bukayr al-Sahmī, from Ḥumayd b. Anas in similar form. That account refers to two men, instead of three. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī also gave the chain of a similar *ḥadīth* from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān, from Anas.

Ibn Abū Ḥātim said, "My father related to us, quoting Abū al-Muzaffar, quoting Ja'far b. Sulaymān, from al-Ja'd Abū 'Uthmān al-Yashkurī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and some of his wives gave a wedding feast. Umm Salīm made some *ḥays*, a dish of date, butter and curds, and placed it in a bowl, saying, "Go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and tell him that this is a little something for him from us."'

"Anas went on, 'People at that time were under strain. I took it to him, saying, "Messenger of God, Umm Salīm has sent you this, with her greetings, and says, 'This is a little something for you from us.'" He looked at it and said, "Place it over near the house." He then said, "Go and invite for me so-and-so" and he named a large number of men. He added, "And any other Muslims you may meet." So I invited those he had told me, along with the other Muslims I met. When I returned, I found the house, the stone benches and the courtyard filled with people. I (Ja'far b. Sulaymān?) asked, "Abū 'Uthmān, how many must there have been?" "Some 300" he replied.'

"Anas went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told me to accompany him and I took it (the bowl of food) to him. He placed his hand over it and prayed, saying, *mā shā'a Allāh!* "Whatever God wills!" He then said, "Have them form groups of ten and invoke the name of God; every person should eat what he finds." They began invoking God's name and to eat until all had done so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told me, "Pick it up." I then went and took the bowl and looked inside. And I don't know whether there was more when I had put it down or when I picked it up!

"Some men stayed behind conversing in the house of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Meanwhile, his wife, whom he had brought in with them, was there turning her face to the wall. The men stayed so long chatting that they annoyed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was the most modest of men; if they had realized it, they would have felt badly. Eventually he went off into his chambers

to his wives. When they (the men there) saw him do so, they thought they had annoyed him, and so they moved to the door and left. Then he returned, let down the screen and went inside while I was there in the (outer) room. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed inside his house for a while and God made a revelation of the Qurʾān. He came out reciting this verse, "O you who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited to eat, without waiting while it be cooked. If you are invited, then do enter and when you have eaten, disperse. Do not linger on for conversation. That would annoy the Prophet, though he would be too shy (to tell you so); but God is not shy of the truth. And if you should ask something of them (his wives), do so from behind a screen. That is more pure for both you and them. And you should not annoy the Messenger of God, nor should you ever marry his wives after him. That would indeed be offensive to God. And whether you divulge something or keep it concealed, God has knowledge of all."''' (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.53, 54).

Anas went on, "He recited these to me before the others. And so I have known them longer than them."

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī all related this tradition from Qutayba, from Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, from al-Jaʿd Abū ʿUthmān. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic". Muslim also related it, from Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Jaʿd Abū ʿUthmān.

Al-Bukhārī related this *ḥadīth*, as did al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī, from several lines, from Abū Bishr al-Aḥmasī al-Kūfī, from Anas, in similar form. Ibn Abū Hātim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Naḍra al-ʿAbdī, from Anas in similar form; they did not explicate it. Ibn Jarīr related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd and from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from Anas, in similar form.

I note that Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, may God be pleased with her, was one of the first women who migrated. She was a woman of great goodness and charity. At first her name was Tarra, then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed her Zaynab. She was known as *Umm al-Ḥakam*, "al-Ḥakam's mother".

ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her, said, "I never knew a woman more religious, more God-fearing, more truthful in her speech, more protective of family ties, more trustworthy or more charitable than Zaynab."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, as will be seen in the *ḥadīth al-ifk*,⁴⁹ "the calumnious account", that ʿĀʾisha stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, about me. She was the (only) wife of the Prophet who could compete with me for his favour. God encompassed her with goodness, and she said, 'O Messenger of God, in all truth and obedience, I say I never knew of her (ʿĀʾisha) anything but good.'"

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Maḥmūd b. ʿAylān related to him, quoting al-Faḍl b. Mūsā al-Shaybānī, quoting Ṭalḥa b. Yaḥyā b.

49. See above, pp.217 et seq.

Talḥa, from 'Ā'isha 'mother of the believers', who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The women who will be the earliest to join me (in the Hereafter) are the ones who are the most generous.' We used to vie with one another over which of us was the most generous. In fact it was Zaynab, because she made things herself and gave to charity."

Muslim is alone in giving this.

Al-Wāqidi and other authorities on the biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS), on the early military campaigns and on history, state that she died in 80 AH. The Commander of the Believers 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, prayed over her. She was buried at al-Baqī'; and she was the first woman for whom a bier was made.

THE YEAR 6 AH.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "People used to say that it was in Muḥarram of that year that there was the expedition of Muḥammad b. Maslama to Najd. It was during this that they captured Thumāma b. Athāl al-Yamāmi."

I note, however, that in the text of Ibn Ishāq from Sa'īd al-Maqbūrī, from Abū Hurayra, that he (Abū Hurayra) was present then and it was after the expedition against Khaybar that he (Abū Hurayra) emigrated. It (the expedition to Najd) would therefore have to be dated thereafter. But God knows best.

It was during the early part of this year, for certain, that the expedition was mounted against Banū Liḥyān.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The conquest of Banū Qurayza took place in Dhū al-Qa'da and the start of Dhū al-Ḥijja. The polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year, 5 AH that is." As is related above.

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina thereafter for the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja, Muḥarram, Safar and both Rabi' al-Awwal and Rabi' al-Thānī. In Jumadā al-Uwla, at the start of six months following the conquest of Banū Qurayza, he went forth against Banū Liḥyān seeking revenge for Khubayb and his companions who were killed at al-Raji'. In order to surprise the enemy, he made it appear that he was heading for Syria."

According to Ibn Hishām, he left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.

What Ibn Ishāq is referring to here is as follows. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached their homes (in his attack on Banū Liḥyān) they retreated before him and sought refuge in the mountain heights. He therefore turned off to 'Uṣfān, where he encountered a force of polytheists. It was there that he performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf*, the "fear prayer".

This expedition has been described above as having occurred in 4 AH. Al-Bayhaqī related it there.

But what Ibn Ishāq relates is most probable, namely that it took place after the battle of al-khandaq. It is established that he did perform the *ṣalāt al-khawf* at 'Uṣfān on the expedition against Banū Liḥyān. It should best, therefore, be

included here and removed from there, in accord with the Imām, the prime authority, on the military expeditions in his own era and thereafter. As al-Shāfiʿī, may God be pleased with him, stated, "Whoever wants information of the military expeditions is dependent upon Muḥammad b. Ishāq."

Kaʿb b. Mālīk spoke the following verses on the expedition against Banū Liḥyān:

"If Banū Liḥyān had stayed they would have met at their dwellings a band of brave fighting men

Mounted on fast horses; their hearts would have filled with terror at the great force of their host, vast as heaven's gate.

But they were mere weasels, keeping to the high and inaccessible Ḥijāz passes."

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST DHŪ QARAD.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded to Medina. He had been there only a few nights when ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī and some horsemen of Ghatafān attacked milch-camels belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ghāba. A man of Banū Ghifār and his wife had been guarding the camels; the raiders killed him and abducted his wife along with the camels.

"ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related the following to me, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, along with another man I trust, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālīk; each of these sources gave part of this account. The first to become aware what they had done was Salama b. ʿAmr b. al-Akwaʿ al-Aslamī who was heading for al-Ghāba armed with his bow and arrows and accompanied by a slave belonging to Talḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh leading his horse. When he had climbed up to the al-Wadāʿ pass, he saw some of their horsemen. Then he looked down towards Salʿ and cried out (in alarm), *ʿWā sabahā!*⁵⁰ He hurried off in pursuit of the raiders, like a lion. When he caught up with them, he began shooting his arrows at them, exclaiming, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-Akwaʿ! Today the wicked will die!'

"Whenever their horsemen headed for him he would flee, then return and shoot again at them whenever he could, repeating the same battle cry. One of them exclaimed (using a pun on his name, Ibn al-Akwaʿ) 'Is he trying to *yukawwiʿu*, "to divert us", so early in the day!'

"News of Ibn al-Akwaʿ' s battle cry reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, and he called out there: 'Alarm! Alarm!' At that the cavalry hurried to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The first to reach him was al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, followed by ʿAbbād b. Bishr, Saʿd b. Zayd, Usayd b. Zuhayr (though there is some doubt about this man), ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan, Muḥriz b. Naḍla, brother of

50. A cry for help.

Banū Asad b. Khuzayma, Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī, brother of Banū Salama, Abū ʿAyyāsh ʿUbayd b. Zayd b. Šāmit, brother of Banū Zurayq.

"When they were gathered around the Messenger of God (ŠAAS), he appointed Saʿd b. Zayd as their leader. He then told them, 'Get out and pursue them, and wait till I join you with our men.'

"I have been told by some men of Banū Zurayq that the Prophet (ŠAAS) said the following to Abū ʿAyyāsh: 'What if I were to give this horse over to a better rider than yourself so that he can catch up the enemy?' Abū ʿAyyāsh says, 'I responded, "Messenger of God (ŠAAS), I'm the best of all horsemen!" Then I slapped my horse and I swear by God, he'd not carried me 50 arms-lengths before he tossed me! I was amazed.'

"Some men of (Banū) Zurayq say that the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) gave over Abū ʿAyyāsh's horse to Muʿadh b. Māʿiṣ, or to ʿĀʾidh b. Māʿiṣ b. Qays b. Khaldā, the eighth (of the horsemen there). Some count Salama b. al-Akwaʿ as the eighth and drop Usayd b. Zuhayr. But God knows best. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ was not a rider that day; he was the first to catch up with the raiders on foot."

The account continues, "The horsemen left and caught up with the enemy. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the first rider to catch up with them was Muḥriz b. Naḍla, known as al-Akhraim, and also as Qumayr. The horse he rode belonged to Maḥmūd b. Maslama. The name of the horse was Dhū al-Lamma. When he reached the enemy, he said, 'Stop, you tribe of no-goods, and let the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn* pursuing you catch up with you!' One of the raiders then attacked and killed him. His horse wheeled and could not be caught; it raced off without stopping until it reached a stable of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; that is, it went back to the stall in Medina where it had been."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "No other Muslim than him was killed that day."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some other scholars refer to Waqqāṣ b. Mujjāz al-Mudliji as having been killed along with him."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "A source I trust related to me, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, that Muḥriz was riding a horse named al-Janāḥ, belonging to ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan. Muḥriz was killed and Janāḥ was captured. But God knows best.⁵¹

"When the cavalry engaged, Abū Qatāda killed Ḥabīb b. ʿUyayna, covered him with his cloak, then caught up with the rest. Soon the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) arrived there with the other Muslim warriors."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.

"When the Muslim force found Ḥabīb (b. ʿUyayna) covered with Abū Qatāda's cloak, they were shocked, believing the latter had been killed. But the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) told them, 'It's not Abū Qatāda; it's someone he has killed, then covered with his cloak to let you know that he did it.'"

51. There seems to be some confusion in Ibn Ishāq's account as to the name of the father of Waqqāṣ and whether or not he was killed in this engagement.

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Ukāsha b. Miḥṣan then caught up with Awbār and his son ‘Amr who were riding the same camel. He pierced both with his lance, killing them both together. They then retrieved some of the milch-camels. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on and encamped at Mt. Dhū Qarad; he was joined by his force and they remained there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwa‘ told him, ‘Messenger of God, if you were to send me on with 100 men, I could recover the rest of the herd and kill the enemy.’ But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been told, replied, ‘By now they are being served their evening drinks among Ghaṭafān.’ He then provided a slaughtered camel for each 100 men and they remained there. After that he returned to Medina.

“The wife (who had been abducted) of the Ghifārī guard then arrived in Medina on one of the camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to whom she reported. When she had finished her account, she told him, ‘Messenger of God, I promised God I would slaughter this camel if God allowed me to escape on it.’ He smiled and responded, ‘But you would be rewarding the camel badly, since God bore you away and let you escape on it, if you slaughtered her. No vow in disobedience of God is valid, nor is one relating to something you do not own. She is one of my camels. Go back to your family, with God’s blessings.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The *ḥadīth* on this subject was transmitted from Abū al-Zubayr al-Makkī from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.”

This, then, is this story with its text and line of transmission as given by Ibn Ishāq.

Al-Bukhārī, God be pleased with him, states following his materials relating to the al-Ḥudaybiyya incident and before his account of the expedition to Khaybar, “The expedition to Dhū Qarad; this incident relates to the enemy’s raid on the milch-camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS), three days before the Battle of Khaybar. Qutayba b. Sa‘īd related to us, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū ‘Ubayd, who said, ‘I heard Salama b. al-Akwa‘ say, “Once I left (town) before the call had been made for the *al-fajr*, dawn, prayer. The milch-camels belonging to the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to graze at Dhū Qarad. (On the way) I was met by a slave belonging to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, who said, ‘The milch-camels of the Prophet (ṢAAS) have been stolen!’ ‘Who took them?’ I asked. ‘It was Banū Ghaṭafān,’ he replied. I called out three times, ‘*Wā sabāhā!*’ I (shouted so loudly I) made all between Medina’s two mountains hear me. I then rushed on ahead until I caught them up as they were watering their camels. I began shooting my arrows at them; I was an archer. (As I did so) I called out, in *rajaz*, doggerel verse, ‘I’m Ibn al-Akwa‘, and today the wicked will die!’ I (continued shooting until) I had retrieved the milch-camels and I also seized from them thirty cloaks.

““When the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his men arrived, I told him, ‘Messenger of God, I have prevented the enemy getting water. They will be thirsty. Send a force after them now.’ He replied, ‘Ibn al-Akwa‘, you mastered them; now be charitable!’

““We then went back; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seated me on his camel along with himself for the journey back to Medina.””

Muslim related it thus from Qutayba. Al-Bukhārī related it from Abū ‘Āṣim al-Sahlī, from Yazid b. Abū ‘Ubayda, from his freed-man Salama in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim related to him, quoting ‘Ikrima b. ‘Ammār, quoting Iyyās b. Salama b. al-Akwa‘, who reported that his father had said to him, “At the time of the Hudaybiyya expedition, we came to Medina with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then I and Rabāḥ, a slave of his, left, without his prior knowledge. I went with a horse belonging to Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh; I wanted to graze it with the camels. But when it was dark ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Uyayna raided the camels of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He killed their herdsman and drove them away, he and the horsemen he had accompanying him. I told Rabāḥ to ride the horse back to Ṭalḥa and to inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that his herd had been raided.

“I then climbed a hill, turned towards Medina and shouted three times, ‘*Yā sabāḥā!*’ I then pursued the enemy, bearing my sword and arrows. I began shooting at them and wounding them; this was when there were plenty of trees about. When one of the horsemen would come back at me, I’d sit at the base of a tree and shoot. And every rider who came near I shot. As I shot at them, I would call out, ‘I’m Ibn al-Akwa‘! Today the wicked will die!’ When I would attack one of their men on his mount, my arrows would fall on him until I pierced him in the shoulder, then I’d cry out, ‘Take that! I’m Ibn al-Akwa‘, and today the wicked will die!’

“While I was in the trees, I plastered them with my arrows; when the mountain trails were narrow, I would climb up the mountain side and hurl down rocks on them. My engagement with them continued, with me following them and calling out my battle cry, until God so arranged it that I retrieved and left behind me all of the property of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having saved it from their control. I went on shooting at them until I had got over 30 of their spears and over 30 cloaks they were bearing. All of this they cast away I placed beneath stones, gathering everything into position in the path the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take. Later in the morning ‘Uyayna b. Badr al-Fazārī came to reinforce them; at that point they were in a narrow defile. I climbed the mountain so that I was above them. ‘Uyayna asked them, ‘What’s this I see?’ They replied, ‘We’ve had too much trouble from this fellow. He’s been with us from dawn till now. He’s seized everything we had and placed it all behind himself.’ ‘Uyayna commented, ‘Well, if this fellow saw that he was being hunted, he’d have left you alone. Some of you should attack him.’ A group of four of them did so, climbing up the mountain.

“Having made them hear my call, I asked them, ‘Well, do you know me?’ ‘Who are you?’ they asked. ‘I’m Ibn al-Akwa‘,’ I told them. ‘By Him who

honoured Muḥammad, none of you who pursue me will catch me, whereas no one I hunt will escape me!’ One of them commented, ‘I agree!’

“So I had not left that position of mine when I saw the cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), coming through the trees. Leading them was al-Akhram al-Asadī, followed by Abū Qatāda, the horse-master of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). After him came al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī. The polytheists then withdrew and I came down from the mountain and took hold of the reins of al-Akhram’s horse. I told him, ‘Take care of the enemy’ – meaning ‘watch out for them’; ‘I’m worried they might cut you off. Take it slowly until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men catch up with you.’ But he replied, ‘Salama, if you truly had faith in God and the last day and knew that heaven and hell are real, then you would not try to block my way to martyrdom!’

“So I released the reins of his horse and he charged at ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Uyayna who turned to face him. They exchanged a few thrusts. Al-Akhram wounded ‘Abd al-Raḥmān who then thrust back at him and killed him. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān mounted al-Akhram’s horse, but Abū Qatāda closed with him and they exchanged a couple of thrusts. Abū Qatāda was wounded, but he killed ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and mounted al-Akhram’s horse.

“I then ran out in pursuit of the enemy, continuing until I saw some dust rising from the advance of the warriors of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Before sunset they turned off into a defile where there was water, a place called Dhū Qarad, where they wanted to drink. When they saw me running ahead after the enemy, they turned away from there and halted in the mountain pass where there was a well. The sun set. I caught up with one of the enemy and shot at him, yelling, ‘Take that! I’m Ibn al-Akwaʿ! And today the wicked will die!’ He responded, ‘*Bukra*, “tomorrow”, al-Akwaʿs mother will be bereaved!’ ‘Right you are, you’re your own enemy,’ I replied. The man I had shot at was named Bukra. I shot a second arrow at him and both stuck in him. The enemy abandoned two horses, and I brought these back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was at the water-hole from which I had diverted them, at Dhū Qarad. He was there with a force of 500 men. Bilāl had slaughtered a camel I had retrieved; he was busy cooking its liver and its hump for the Prophet (ṢAAS).

“I went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, ‘Please let me choose 100 of your men to attack the enemy in the dark. I’ve killed all their guards.’ He replied, ‘Would you really do that, Salama?’ ‘I certainly would, by Him who honoured you!’ I replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed so heartily I could see his molars in the firelight. He then said, ‘They are being served drinks now in Ghaṭafān territory.’ A man of Ghaṭafān then arrived and said, ‘The enemy force passed by so-and-so the Ghaṭafānī and he slaughtered a camel for them. But when they began removing its skin, they discovered an ulcerous wound. So they abandoned it and fled.’

“Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Abū Qatāda is the finest of our horsemen, while the best of our foot-warriors is Salama.’ And he awarded

me both the share for a horseman and that for a foot-warrior. He then set me to ride behind himself on (his camel) al-‘Aḏbā’ on our way back to Medina.

“When we were about half a day’s travel from the town, one of our warriors, an *anṣārī*, who had never been beaten in a race, began calling out, ‘Will someone race me? Won’t someone race me into the town?’ He repeated this several times while I was there riding behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I asked the man, ‘Don’t you respect the noble or fear the powerful?’ ‘No, I don’t’, he replied, ‘except for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!’ I then asked, ‘Messenger of God, do please, for the sake of my mother and my father, let me race with the fellow!’ ‘If you like,’ he replied. ‘I’ll come to you,’ I told the man. At that he jumped off his mount and I bent my leg and jumped down from the camel. I then let him get well ahead, holding myself back, then I ran hard, caught up with him and slapped him on the shoulder, saying, ‘I beat you, by God!’ – or I made some such comment. The man laughed and said, ‘I agree.’ So we went on into Medina.”

Muslim related this *ḥadīth* in this way with lines from ‘Ikrima b. ‘Ammār in similar form. His version ends, “... so I beat him into Medina and we remained there only three days before we left for Khaybar.” Ahmad also has this text.

Al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqī relate this engagement after al-Ḥudaybiyya and before Khaybar, similarly to Ibn Ishāq. But God knows best. Thus it should be placed later, to early in 7 AH, for Khaybar took place in Ṣafar of that year.

Regarding the woman who escaped on the camel of the Prophet (ṢAAS), having sworn to slaughter it for its having allowed her to get away, this story is related by Ibn Ishāq from Abū al-Zubayr, with an incomplete chain of authorities back to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. It is also given with a complete line through other sources.

Imām Ahmad stated, “‘Affān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Abū al-Halab, from ‘Umrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, ‘(The camel named) al-‘Aḏbā’ had belonged to a man of Banū ‘Uqayl and had been one of the mounts racing at the *ḥajj* fair; the Messenger of God, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, had taken it when he had captured him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding a donkey with a velvet saddle cloth, had later passed by the man, who was in fetters, the latter had called out to him, “Hey, Muḥammad, why did you take me and the *ḥajj* racing camel?” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “We’ve seized you on account of your allies Thaḳīf.”’”

(The narrator continued) “Thaḳīf had taken captive two of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The prisoner then said, along with other things, ‘But I’m a Muslim!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘If you were to have said that when you had your freedom, you would have been very successful.’ As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on his way, the man called out, ‘Muḥammad, I’m hungry and I’m thirsty! Give me some food and drink!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘Yes, that’s what you’re after!’ Then the two men were ransomed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) retained al-‘Aḏbā’ for his own journeys.

"After that the polytheists raided the Medina milch-camels and made off with them, including al-ʿAḏbāʾ, and they also took captive a Muslim woman. When they made camp, they set his camels free in their enclosures. One night after they were asleep, she went out to the camels. Each one grunted until she reached al-ʿAḏbāʾ. She had come upon a female riding camel that was well used to being ridden. She mounted it and directed it towards Medina. She then vowed that if God were to allow her to escape on it, she would slaughter it. When she reached Medina, the camel was recognized as belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was told of her vow (or she came to him and told him of it) and he stated, 'It was a bad vow she' (or 'you') 'made to slaughter it if God allowed her to escape on it.' He went on, 'No vow in disobedience to God is valid, nor is one relating to what one does not own.'"

Muslim related this from Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Among the verses spoken relating to the Dhū Qarad incident were the following by Ḥassān b. Thābit,

'Had the frogs of their hooves not suffered while being led, south of Sāya, (our horses)

Would have met you bearing fully armed warriors carrying the banner, men of fine ancestry.

And those offspring of sin would have rejoiced that we were at peace that morning when al-Miqdād's horsemen came.

There were eight of us, while they were numerous and loud-mouthed, but they were pierced by our lances and they fled.

We belonged to that people who were pursuing them and who gave free rein to each horse.

Indeed, by the lord of the camels that race to Minā, (we will) cross by the passes over the mountains

Until we make our mounts urinate amidst your horses and make off with your women and children,

Moving quickly, our garments tucked up, our horses swift and moving proudly, in valley or battlefield,

Having worn down their quarters and made their backs bare on days being led and on others at the chase.

Our steeds, moreover, get milk to drink and warfare is fanned by the breeze.

And the steel blades of our swords slice through shields of iron and recalcitrant heads.

God places barriers in their way on account of what is sacrosanct, and for the dignity of the All-Merciful.

They once were contented at home, but on the day of Dhū Qarad their faces were like slaves."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Sa'd b. Zayd, leader of the riders moving in advance of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was enraged at Ḥassān and swore he would never speak to him. He said, 'He raves away about my horses and riders and then credits al-Miqdād'. Ḥassān then apologized to him, claiming that al-Miqdād's name matched the rhyme. He then spoke verses praising Sa'd b. Zayd,

'If you need the fiercest and most determined, or a man
of real ability, then seek out
Sa'd b. Zayd, who never gives in.'

"But the verses did him no good.

"Ḥassān b. Thābit also spoke the following about the incident at Dhū Qarad.

'Did 'Uyayna imagine when he visited it that he would
demolish the castles there?

You were proved to lie in what you claimed as true;
you said, "We will seize much booty!"

You hated Medina when you visited it, and became used
to the roar of lions there.

Quickly they retreated, like speeding ostriches, and
they uncovered no camels' hideout.

The messenger of the lord was the leader over us; how
beloved a leader we find him!

A messenger who proves true his mission and who recites
a book that illuminates and enlightens.'

"Ka'b b. Mālik spoke the following verses on the Dhū Qarad incident in praise of the Muslim horsemen that day,

'Do those offspring of sin consider that we on
horseback are not the match for their knights?

We are men who see no disgrace in death and we do not
bend before the rigid lance.

We serve our guests the choicest of meats, and we
strike off the heads of happy braggards!

We turn back bemedalled warriors when they charge with
blows that dispel the courage of the brave,

With heroes who protect the banner, men of glory,
fierce as wolves of the jungle.

They protect their reputation and their lands with
swords that slice off the tops of helmets wearing
heads.

Ask of Banū Badr, if you meet them, what our brothers
did on the day of battle.

When you go forth tell the truth to those you meet; do
not hide your news in your meetings.

Say we escaped the claws of a lion in his lair, whose
deep anger remains unalleviated.'"

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANŪ AL-MUṢṬALIQ OF KHUZĀʿA.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "This was the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "That took place in 6 AH."

Mūsā b. ʿUqba, however, set it in 4 AH.

Al-Nuʿmān b. Rashīd stated, quoting al-Zuhri, "The *ḥadīth al-ifk*,⁵² the 'calumnious report', occurred during the expedition to al-Muraysīʿ." Similarly al-Bukhārī related it from the military chronicle of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, to the effect that it took place in 4 AH. However, it was related from both him and from ʿUrwa that it occurred in Shaʿbān, 5 AH. Al-Wāqidi stated, "It took place when two nights remained of Shaʿbān in 5 AH, and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) was accompanied by 700 men."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār stated, following his account of the Dhū Qarad incident, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for part of Jumādā al-Ākhira and Rajab, whereafter he made an expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzāʿa, in Shaʿbān, 6 AH."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī in command of Medina; Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī, however, is also named."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "ʿĀsim b. ʿUmar b. Qatada, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān related to me, each narrating part of the account relating to the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed that Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were assembling to attack him, under the leadership of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār, the father of Juwayriyya, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) later married. When he heard of their activity, he went forth against them, engaging them at one of their water sources at a place called al-Muraysīʿ, near Qudayd, towards the coast. The forces met and did battle; God defeated Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, a number of them being killed, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) took over as booty their women, children and possessions.'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth with two nights having passed of Shaʿbān in 5 AH, with a force of 700 of his Companions against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. They were allied to Banū Mudlij. When he reached them, he entrusted the banner of the *muhājirin* to Abū Bakr, the Trusting – though some say to ʿAmmār b. Yāsir – and that of the *anṣār* to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. He then ordered ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to tell the enemy, 'Cry out the words, "*Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*!", "There is no god but God". By this you will protect yourselves and your property.' But they refused and cast arrows instead.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then ordered the Muslims to attack. They did so as one. And not one man escaped them; they killed ten and captured the rest. Only one of the Muslims was killed."

It is related in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn, who said, "I wrote to Nāfiʿ asking him about the battle-cry prior to the fighting. He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Banū al-Muṣṭaliq while

52. See above, p.217 et seq.

they were engrossed in their pleasures, taking water at the well. He killed their warriors and took captives. It was that day he acquired – I think that is what he said – Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar narrated this to me, and he was with that army.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “One of the Muslims, Hishām b. Ṣubāba, was struck down that day. He was killed in error by one of the *anṣār* who thought him to be an enemy.”

Ibn Ishāq related that Hishām b. Ṣubāba’s brother, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, arrived from Mecca professing Islam and requested blood-money from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since his brother had been killed in error. He did pay blood-wit and Miqyas stayed on a short while but then attacked and murdered his brother’s killer. He then returned, an apostate, to Mecca and spoke the following verses,

“It assuaged me that he was felled in the valley, his
clothing stained with the blood of his jugular.

My mind was troubled before I killed him; my worries
kept me from enjoying my bed.

By killing him I eased my tension and got my revenge;
and I was prompt to return to the idols.

Through him I avenged Fihṛ and charged his blood-wit to
the chiefs of Banū al-Najjār, the lords of Fāri‘ castle.”⁵³

I note that this is why this Miqyas was one of the four persons whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had executed on the day of the conquest of Mecca, (having said) “... even if they be wrapped in the drapes of the *ka‘ba*!”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “While the warriors were there at the well, a group of men arrived to get water. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had with him a hired man of Banū Ghifār named Jahjah b. Mas‘ūd who led his horse. Jahjah and Sinān b. Wabr al-Juhānī, an ally of Banū ‘Awf b. al-Khazraj, got in one another’s way at the water-hole and began fighting. Al-Juhānī called out, ‘Help, *anṣār* friends!’ Jahjah shouted, ‘Help, *muhājiri* friends!’ At this ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl became angry; he had with him a number of his people, including Zayd b. Arqam, a boy. ‘Did they really cause this?’ he asked. ‘They challenge us and outnumber us in our own lands! I swear by God, the old maxim well applies to us and these Quraysh ruffians: “fatten your dog and you it will eat!” I swear, when we return to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker!’ He then approached some of his people and told them, ‘See what you have done to yourselves! You let them settle among you and shared your property with them. I swear, if you had kept what you owned from them, they would have gone some place else!’

“Zayd b. Arqam overheard this and so informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb with him at the time. ‘Umar advised him,

53. In Medina.

'Order 'Abbād b. Bishr to kill him!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'How would it be, 'Umar, to have people say that Muḥammad kills his own Companions. No, give orders to leave instead.' This was at a time of day when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not accustomed to begin a journey. So everyone then set off.

"'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was told that Zayd b. Arqam had reported what he had been heard to say. He swore by God that he had not said any such thing and had not spoken to Zayd. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy was a great chief of his people, and those *anṣār* of his men present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Messenger of God, perhaps the lad mistook what was said, or did not memorize it correctly.' They said this to give support and protection for 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set forth and travelled some distance, he was met by Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr who addressed him as a prophet and greeted him in peace. He said, 'Messenger of God, aren't you out travelling at an unpleasant time when you don't usually do so?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to him, 'Have you heard what your friend said?' 'What friend was that then?' Usayd asked. "'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy,' he replied. 'Well, what did he say?' he asked. 'He claimed that when he gets back to Medina, the stronger will drive out the weaker.' Usayd responded, 'Well, I swear by God, Messenger of God, you'll drive him out if you wish. He's certainly the weak one, and you the strong.' He went on, 'Be kind, Messenger of God! I swear, God brought you to us while his people were stringing pearls with which to make a crown for him. And so he considers that you have robbed him of his kingdom.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on throughout that day and that night and the following morning until they suffered greatly from the sun. He then had them make a halt and they all fell asleep as soon as they dismounted. He had only behaved in this way to keep the minds of his men off discussion of what 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy had said the previous day. After that, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took his men off into Hijāz and encamped at a water-hole there, a little above al-Naqī', at a place called Baq'a'. When he left there a gale arose that much discomforted and frightened the men. He told them, 'Don't be afraid at it; it is blowing this way due to the death of one of the unbelievers' chiefs.' When they reached Medina, they discovered that Rifā'a b. Zayd b. Thābit, of Banū Qaynuqā', a leader of the Jews and a supporter of the hypocrites, had died that day."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba and al-Wāqidi related this similarly.

Muslim related, through al-A'mash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, much the same story, although he did not name the hypocrite who had died. He stated, "A gale blew up while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on one of his travels, and he said, 'This is because of the death of a hypocrite.' And when we reached Medina, we found that one of the chief hypocrites had died."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Then the *sūra* was revealed in which God made mention of the hypocrites, with reference to Ibn Ubayy and those like him. The Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) took hold of the ear of Zayd b. Arqam and said, "This is he who devoted his ear to God!"

I comment that I have written on this in my *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* at sufficient length to obviate need to repeat it here. We have listed the various lines of transmission of this *ḥadīth* from Zayd b. Arqam; to God belong all praise and credit. Should anyone wish to include this material here, he is at liberty to do so. And to God all credit is due.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I have heard that you want to kill 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy because of what you were informed about him. If that is so, then order me to do it and I will bring you his head. I swear that Khazraj well know that there is no man more loyal to his father than me. I fear that if you order someone other than myself to do it and he does kill him, then my spirit will not allow me to look upon the killer of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy walking freely among people and so I will then kill a believer in exchange for an unbeliever, and so enter hell!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'On the contrary, we will treat him kindly and enjoy his company so long as he stays with us.' Thereafter, if anything bad had happened, 'Abd Allāh's people would blame and reproach him. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having been informed that they were treating him that way, asked 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Well, what do you think now, 'Umar? I swear, if I had killed him the day you suggested it, there would have been much resentment. But if I were to order his death today, they would all kill him!' 'Umar responded, 'Well, I've certainly learned that orders you give are more blessed than mine would be!'"

'Ikrima, Ibn Zayd and others relate that this son, 'Abd Allāh, stood in the way of his father 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl at the narrow entry into Medina and told him, "Stop! By God, you'll not enter until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gives you permission to do so!" When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy did indeed ask his permission to enter and he sent to him allowing him to do so.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A number of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were killed that day. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib killed two of them – Mālik and his son."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The battle-cry of the Muslims was, 'Yā Maṣṣūr! Amit! Amit!' 'O conqueror! Kill! Kill!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took many captives that day and he distributed them among the Muslims."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba b. Sa'īd related to him, quoting Ismā'īl b. Ja'far, from Rabi'a b. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān, from Ibn Muḥayriz, who said, "I went into the mosque and there I saw Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī. I sat with him and asked him about *al-ʿazl*, coitus interruptus. Abu Sa'īd replied, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) on the expedition to Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. We took many of the bedouin captive and we lusted after the women; celibacy was very hard on us. We liked to practise *al-ʿazl*, but wondered whether we should do this without asking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since he was there with us. So we did ask him about it, and he replied, 'You might well not do that; for any soul that is going to exist till Judgement Day will so exist.'"

He (Muslim) also related this *ḥadīth*.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "One of those taken captive that day was Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀ'isha as saying, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed the captives taken from Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was awarded to Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās, or to a cousin of his and she wrote a *muqābala*⁵⁴ deed giving herself to him. She was a very sweet and attractive woman; every man who saw her fell for her. She came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ask his help in preparing the document. And, I swear, as soon as I saw her at the door of my room, I disliked her and recognized that he would see in her what I did. When she went in to him, she said, "Messenger of God, I am Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār, the leader of his people. You can see what my plight is now; I have fallen to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās" – or to his cousin – "and I've prepared a deed awarding myself to him. I've come to ask your help in writing it."

"He then asked her, "Would you prefer better?" "What would that be, Messenger of God?" she asked. "I will take responsibility for your deed myself and marry you," he replied. "Yes, Messenger of God," she commented, "I agree."

"The news spread that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had married Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith. And so people said, "Then they (i.e. our captives) are relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!" And so they released their captives.

"And so by his marriage to her, he released 100 of her relatives from Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. I know no woman who brought greater blessings to her people than she."

Thereafter Ibn Ishāq reported the incident of *al-ifk* in its entirety as part of his narration of this expedition. Al-Bukhārī and several other scholars did the same. I have laid out the various lines of transmission in my *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* of *sūrat al-Nūr* (XXIV) and this could be joined to what was mentioned here. And God is the source of help.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "Ḥarām related to us, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who said, 'Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, stated, "For three nights before the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS), I seemed to see the moon travel from Yathrib and fall into my lap. I did not like to tell anyone of this prior to the

54. A contract between slave and master wherein the former agrees to pay the latter a certain sum for emancipation.

arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But when we were taken captive, I felt good about the visions. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) freed me and married me. I swear, I never spoke to him on behalf of my people; it was the Muslims themselves who sent messages to them. The first I knew of it was when a slave girl belonging to one of my female cousins told me the news. And I gave thanks to God Almighty.””

Al-Wāqidi stated, “It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave as dowry for her the freeing of 40 of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq.”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related, quoting Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, that her father sought her out and paid ransom for her and that then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought her in marriage and he (her father) then married him to her.

THE QIṢṢAT AL-IFK, THE ‘CALUMNIOUS REPORT’.

This is the text of Muḥammad b. Ishāq’s account of the calumny.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Al-Zuhri related to me the following from ‘Alqama b. Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿUtba. He, al-Zuhri, said that some of these sources had given more information than others, and that he had consolidated all into the account that follows.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “(Also) Yahyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me the following, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr from ‘Amra, daughter of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from ‘Ā’isha who was narrating about herself when people spread the calumny about her. Each one of these contributed to this account of hers, some giving information not reported by others. Each is regarded as a reliable source for information from her, and all reported what they had heard her say.

“‘Ā’isha said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to go on a journey he would draw lots among his wives to decide who would accompany him. He did so, as usual, for the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq; my name was drawn and so he took me with him. The women on such occasions would eat light filling foods rather than meat which would increase their weight. I would sit in my *howdah* while my camel was being saddled. The men responsible for mounting it would then grasp the *howdah* from below it and lift and place it upon the camel’s back, tying it there with ropes. They would then lead the camel away by the head.

“‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed that journey, he directed the party to return home and when close to Medina he made a halt for part of the night. A crier then called out to everyone to depart again, and people prepared to do so. I went out to relieve myself. I was wearing a necklace of onyx beads from Zafār.⁵⁵ When I had finished, it slipped from my neck without my

55. A town in Yemen.

knowledge. Having returned to my mount, I felt for it around my neck but did not find it there. People were beginning to leave, but I returned to where I had been to search for the necklace and eventually I found it. The men who had now finished saddling my camel came back for me and raised up the *howdah*, thinking I was inside as usual, and fastened it on the camel; they had no doubts about my being inside. Then they took the camel by the head and led it away.

“When I returned to the campsite, there was absolutely no one there; everyone had left. So I wrapped myself in my cloak and lay down; I was sure that they would return for me when they missed me.

“I swear, I was lying there when Ṣafwān b. al-Mu‘aṭṭal al-Sulamī came by. He had for some reason of his own been lagging behind the other warriors and had not spent the night with the others. When he saw my form he approached and stood above me; he had seen me before the veil was required for us. When he saw me, he exclaimed, “To God we belong, and to Him we return! Isn’t it the *ḡa‘īna*⁵⁶ of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?” I was all wrapped up in my cloak. He then asked, “What made you stay behind, *yarhamuki Allāh*! ‘May God have mercy on you!’” I did not speak to him. He then brought up the camel and said, “You ride.” He kept away from me.

“So I mounted and he led the camel away by the head, moving quickly to catch up with the rest. I swear by God, we neither caught them up nor did they miss me before morning. By the time the force had halted and made secure, the man appeared leading me. And so those who spread the calumny began talking and the men were greatly perturbed. However, I swear I knew nothing of this.

“We then went on into Medina. There I soon fell seriously sick and heard nothing of what was going on. All the talk soon reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and my parents, but they told me absolutely nothing of this. All I noticed was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not as kind as usual towards me; whenever I had been sick he had been very kind and comforting to me, but not on this occasion. I pretended not to notice. When he came in to see me, my mother being present nursing me, he would just say, formally, “*Kayfa fikum?*” (“How are you?”). He would add nothing more.

“Eventually this coldness of his bothered me and so I asked him, “Messenger of God, if you will allow it, I’d like to go and stay with my mother to have her care for me.” “No problem,” he replied. And so I moved in with my mother. I still had no knowledge what was going on until I recovered from my illness some three weeks later.

“We were an Arab people and did not have in our homes those toilets that foreigners use; we find them disgusting. We would go out and use the open areas of Medina. Each night the women would go outside to relieve themselves. I went out to do so one night accompanied by Umm Miṣṭaḥ, daughter of Abū Ruḥm

56. A term denoting a woman borne in a *howdah*.

b. al-Muṭṭalib. She was walking with me when she tripped over her gown and swore *ta'is Mistah!* "perish that Mistah!" Mistah was her son's nickname, his real name being 'Awf. I commented, "That's a terrible thing to say about a *muhājiri*, and a man who fought at Badr!" "Has the news not reached you, daughter of Abū Bakr?" she asked me. "What news?" I asked. She then told me what those spreading the calumny were saying. I exclaimed, "This is really so?" "Yes", she said, "it really is so."

"I swear, I was so upset I could not do my business and went home. I wept so much I thought my crying would burst my liver! I told my mother, "May God forgive you for not telling me anything about what people have been saying about me!" She replied, "Don't take it too seriously, daughter; rarely does a beautiful woman with a husband who loves her not have her co-wives, and others too, speak badly about her."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had stood and addressed people on this subject, but I knew nothing of that. He had praised and thanked God, then said, "Why is it that people are giving me concern about my family and speaking untruths against them? I swear by God, I know nothing but good of them! And they are also saying the same against a man of whom I have never known anything but good. He has never entered any of my dwellings without me being in his company."

"The greatest blame for this lay with 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, some of the Khazraj and Mistah, and Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh. Ḥamna spoke thus because she was the sister of Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, who also lived with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And Zaynab was the only one of his wives who would rival my status with him. Zaynab herself was given God's protection through her religion, for she spoke only good of me. Ḥamna spread her rumours about me to do harm for her sister's sake, and I suffered for that.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made this address, Usayd b. Ḥudayr stated, "Messenger of God, if they were from al-Aws, we would deal with them for you; if from our Khazraj brethren, then give us your order and I swear by God, they deserve to have their heads cut off!"

"Then Sa'd b. Ubāda arose; he had previously been considered a fine man. He said, "You lie, I swear by God's life! You'd certainly not cut off their heads! And you only made that statement because you knew that they were of Khazraj; if they had been from your tribe, you'd never have said that!"

"Usayd b. Ḥudayr then responded with, "It's you who lie, I swear by God's life! You're a hypocrite arguing on behalf of hypocrites!"

"People became so angry that there was almost fighting between these two tribes of Aws and Khazraj.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood down and came in to see me. He called for 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and Usāma b. Zayd and consulted with them. Usāma spoke well of me and then said, "Messenger of God, this is about your family about whom we know nothing but good. It's all foolish lies." 'Alī

said, "Messenger of God, there are plenty of women; you can exchange them. Ask the slave girl; she will speak the truth to you."

"So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Burayra to ask her. 'Alī went up to her and struck her violently, saying, "Speak the truth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!" Burayra replied, "I swear by God, I know nothing but good! I never found fault with 'Ā'isha at all, except that, when I knead dough and ask her to watch over it she may fall asleep, and the pet lamb comes and eats it!"

"'Ā'isha continued, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to me; I had with me both my parents and an *anṣārī* woman. I was weeping, and so was she. He sat down, gave praise and thanks to God, and said, "'Ā'isha, you have been informed what people have been saying about you. Fear God. If you have indeed done wrong, as they say, then repent to God. God accepts repentance from his servants." As soon as he said this my tears dried up so that I could feel nothing of them. I waited for my parents to respond on my behalf to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but they did not speak.

"I swear to God, I thought myself too humble and unimportant for God to send down a verse of the Qur'ān about me, one that would be recited and used for the prayer. But I had hoped that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would have some vision in his sleep by which God would prove my veracity from His knowledge of my innocence and would give some information. But as for a verse of the Qur'ān being revealed about me, I swear I thought myself too insignificant for that. When I saw that my parents were not going to respond on my behalf, I asked them, "Will you not reply to the Messenger of God?" They replied, "By God, we don't know what to reply."

"I swear, I don't know any household that ever suffered so much as did that of Abū Bakr through those days. When they were unable to respond for me, I burst out crying again. Then I said, "By God, I'll never repent to God for what you refer to. I swear, I well know that if I were to affirm what people say while God knew me to be innocent of it, I would be affirming what had not happened. And if I were to deny what they say, you would not believe me!" I then tried to remember the name of Jacob, but I could not remember it, so I said, "But I will speak as did the father of Yūsuf, 'Patience is fine, and God's help is to be sought against what you describe'" (*sūrat Yūsuf*, XII, v.18).

"I swear, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not left his seat before God sent down upon him what he used to send; he was wrapped up in his cloak and a pillow of leather was placed beneath his head. As for myself, when I witnessed this, I swear I felt no alarm or concern. I knew that I was innocent and that God would not harm me. However, I swear by Him who bears 'Ā'isha's soul in His hands, that as soon as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recovered, I thought my parents would expire for fear that confirmation of what people had been saying would come from God.

"Having recovered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat up, his face streamed with droplets like a winter's day. He began wiping the sweat from his face and

saying, "Rejoice, 'Ā'isha! God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has sent down (confirmation of) your innocence!" "Praise be to God!" I exclaimed.

"He then went out to the people, addressed them and recited to them what God, the Almighty and Glorious, had revealed from the Qur'ān on the subject. He then gave orders about Miṣṭah b. Uthātha, Ḥassān b. Thābit and Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh – these having been the most outspoken in their calumny – and they received the flogging prescribed by law."

This *ḥadīth* is cited in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from al-Zuhri. Its text has many virtues. It refers to the punishment for false accusation of fornication having been applied to Ḥassān and those with him. Abū Dā'ūd related it in his *Sunan*.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A Muslim spoke the following verses on the flogging of Ḥassān and his associates,

'Ḥassān, along with Ḥamna and Miṣṭah, tasted what they
deserved for speaking a foul calumny.

They engaged in slanders against the wife of their
Prophet, incurred the wrath of Him on the noble throne,
and were cast down.

They harmed the Messenger of God through her and were
exposed to lasting and public disgrace and censure.

Whips lashed them with the force of sudden rain showers
from storm clouds."

Ibn Ishāq related that Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke verses in which he criticized Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'attal and a group of Quraysh who fought at the well, associates of Jahjah, as mentioned above. These verses commence,

"These strangers have become powerful and numerous and
Ibn al-Furay'a⁵⁷ has become top man in the land!

A man's mother is as bereaved, or it is as if he is in
a lion's claws, if you fight him;

For the man I come upon and kill, I'll take no blood-wit,
nor compensation.

The sea, riding high when the wind blows north and it
casts foam on the shore, is not

More violent than me when you see me strike like a
sudden hail-cloud.

As for Quraysh, I will not make peace with them until
they leave error for the right

And abandon al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and all of them bow
down before the One and Everlasting

And bear witness that what the Messenger of God said to
them is true, and they are faithful to God's truth and
to the pacts made."

57. "Ibn al-Furay'a" is a reference to Ḥassān himself.

Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal confronted him and struck him with his sword, saying,

“Receive from me my sword’s blade, for I’m a man who speaks no poetry when attacked!”

He (Ibn Ishāq) related that Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās seized and bound Ṣafwān after he had attacked Ḥassān. When ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa found him thus, he asked, “What’s all this?” Thābit replied, “He struck Ḥassān with his sword.” ʿAbd Allāh then asked, “Does the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) know anything of this?” “No,” he replied, and released Ṣafwān. They all then went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Ibn al-Muʿaṭṭal told him, “Messenger of God, he did me harm and ridiculed me, and my anger so overcame me that I struck him.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, “Ḥassān, would you scorn my people once God gave them guidance?” He added, “Be nice about your injury.” “As ever you say, Messenger of God,” he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) compensated him by awarding him Bīr Hā castle that Abū Talḥa had given over as alms, and a Coptic slave-girl named Sirīn; she bore him his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

ʿĀʾisha used to say, “Enquiries were made about Ibn al-Muʿaṭṭal and he was found to be impotent; he did not approach women. Thereafter he was martyred. May God be pleased with him.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “After that, Ḥassān spoke the following verses in apology for what he had said about ʿĀʾisha,

‘Chaste and sensible, untouched by suspicion, because of my error she became food for scandal-mongers.

A noble woman of Luʾayy b. Ghālib, people of honour, their glory unending.

What was said of you could never apply to you; they were the words of a slanderer.

If I did speak what you claim, then may my hands never raise my whip again!

How could this be, in light of my friendship and support for the illustrious family of the Messenger of God.

Their dignity is such that all others are beneath them, falling far short; may their glory last very long.’”

There should be written down here the verses of *sūrat al-Nūr*, namely from God’s words, “Those who related the calumny are a faction among you. Do not consider it an evil for you; in fact it is good for you. Let each man of them suffer the punishment he has earned” to the words, “Forgiveness and a fine reward” (*sūrat al-Nūr*; XXIV, v.11–26). Also here should be inserted the traditions, chains of transmission and other relevant matters that have come down from the earliest and later authorities. And success comes through God.

THE HUDAYBIYYA EXPEDITION.

This indisputably took place in Dhū al-Qa'da, 6 AH. Those who state this include al-Zuhri, Nāfi', freed-man of Ibn 'Umar, Qatāda, Mūsā b. 'Uqba and Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār, along with others too. This is also what was related by Ibn Lahī'a, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa – namely, that it occurred in Dhū al-Qa'da of 6 AH.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated, "Ismā'il b. al-Khalil related to me, from 'Ali b. Mushir (who said), 'Hishām b. 'Urwa narrated to me, quoting his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) set out for al-Ḥudaybiyya in Ramaḍān; (the agreement at) al-Ḥudaybiyya was made in Shawwāl.""

This is very strange to have come from 'Urwa.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim relate from Hudba, quoting Hammām, from Qatāda, that Anas b. Mālik narrated to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the *umra* four times (sic) in Dhū al-Qa'da, apart from the *umra* performed along with his pilgrimage. The Ḥudaybiyya *umra* took place in Dhū al-Qa'da, that of the following year was in Dhū al-Qa'da, that of al-Jifrāna was in Dhū al-Qa'da, when he divided up the booty from the Battle of Ḥunayn, and there was the *umra* that took place along with his pilgrimage."

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Thereafter the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Medina for Ramaḍān and Shawwāl; then, in Dhū al-Qa'da, he left to perform the *umra*, not to engage in warfare."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Numayla b. 'Abd Allāh al-Laythī in command of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He invited the local Arabs and the bedouin in neighbouring areas to accompany him, fearing that Quraysh would attack him or block his way to the *ka'ba*. But many of the bedouin refrained from joining him.

"Eventually the Messenger of God (SAAS) set forth accompanied by men of the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* and those bedouin who had joined him. He took with him the animals for sacrifice and dressed in pilgrim garb so that people would feel secure from attack by him and would recognize that he was only leaving to visit this House that he wished to venerate.

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, as follows, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) left in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya intending to visit the *ka'ba* and not wanting to engage in battle. With him he took 70 camels for sacrifice and was accompanied by 700 men. Each sacrifice was for 10 persons. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh used to say, so I have been told, "Those of us present at al-Ḥudaybiyya totalled 1,400."

Al-Zuhri stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) travelled as far as 'Usfān, where he met Bishr b. Sufyān al-Ka'bi, who told him, 'Messenger of God, these

Quraysh have heard of your travelling and have gone forth accompanied by milk-giving camels accompanied by their young. They have dressed in tiger skins and encamped at Dhū Tuwān, swearing to God that you will not ever enter it (the city) by going past them. And Khālīd b. al-Walīd is in charge of their cavalry and they have advanced to Kurā' al-Ghamīm.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Woe upon Quraysh! They are consumed by the warfare! What harm would it do them to leave my way clear to the other Arabs? If they (the Arabs) should defeat me, that would be what they themselves wanted. And if God gave me victory over them, they (the Arabs) would enter into Islam in droves. Otherwise, they (the Arabs) will fight on for as long as they have strength. What is Quraysh thinking of? I swear by God, I'll keep on striving to accomplish that for which God sent me my mission until He brings it to pass or I myself perish!'

"He then asked, 'What man will direct us by some path other than the one where they are?'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that a man of Aslam replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' He then led them along a rough, stony trail between mountain passes. When they emerged from it, the Muslims, who had suffered greatly from this trail, emerged on to easy terrain at the end of the valley. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out, 'Say: we ask God's forgiveness and turn to him in repentance!' They did repeat this and he then said, 'I swear by God, that was the *ḥiṭṭa*⁵⁸ put before the Israelites, but they did not say it.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to his men as follows, saying, 'Keep to the right, passing between the two sides of al-Ḥamaḍ on a road traversing the pass of al-Murār, on to the slope of al-Ḥudaybiyya, below Mecca.'"

Ibn Shihāb went on, "The army did follow that route, and when the Quraysh cavalry saw by the dust raised by the army that they had diverted from their own path, they raced back to Quraysh.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on until having crossed the al-Mirār pass, his camel knelt. People then said, 'It's turned refractory!' He replied, 'It has not turned refractory; that's not her nature. The One who restrained the elephant from Mecca stopped her. Quraysh shall not today call upon me to respect any ties of kinship that I will not agree to.'"

"He then addressed the men as follows, 'Dismount.' They told him, 'Messenger of God, there's no well in this *wadi* where we can make camp.' He then took out an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his Companions who took it down to one of the water-holes there and stuck it in its centre. It then produced water and they had their mounts lie down there after they had been watered."

58. A word implying a plea for forgiveness of sins.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "A scholar related to me, from some men of Banū Aslam, that the man who took the arrow of the Messenger of God (SAAS) down into the water-hole was Nājiyya b. Jundab, the driver of his sacrificial camels."

Ibn Ishāq also said, however, "A(nother) scholar maintained that al-Barā' b. 'Azib used to say, 'It is I who went down with the arrow of the Messenger of God (SAAS).' God knows best what in fact happened."

Ibn Ishāq then gave evidence for the first person named by reporting that an *anṣārī* slave-girl came to the well while Nājiyya was down filling a bucket.

"She spoke the following verses,

'Hey, you drawing water, my bucket is before you.
I saw our people praising you
Wishing you well and congratulating you.'

The man then responded to her with the following verses,

'A Yemeni slave-girl has learned that it is I who draw
the water, and that my name is Nājiyya.
Many a deep, gushing wound I've made, piercing the
 chests of the enemy.'

Al-Zuhri stated in his *ḥadith*, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had rested, Budayl b. Warqā', along with some men of Khuzā'a, came to talk with him and to ask him why he had come. He told them that he had not come intending to do battle, but to visit the *ka'ba* and to venerate its sanctity. He then said to them much the same as he had to Bishr b. Sufyān. The men then returned to Quraysh and told them that they were treating Muḥammad too hastily, and that he had only come to visit the *ka'ba*. Quraysh responded by making accusations against the men and by calling them cowards, saying, 'Even if he has come not wanting to fight, he'll never enter it by compulsion! The Arabs will never say that of us!'"

Al-Zuhri stated, "Khuzā'a, both their Muslims and their polytheists, were advisers to the Messenger of God (SAAS), hiding from him nothing that happened in Mecca.

"They then sent to him Mikraz b. Ḥaṣṣ b. al-Akhyaf, a brother of Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw him approaching, he said, 'This man is untrustworthy!' When Mikraz reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and addressed him, the latter replied to him much as he had to Budayl and his companions. Mikraz then returned to Quraysh and reported what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had told him. They then dispatched Ḥulays b. 'Alqama, or Ibn Zabbān, who at that time was the leader of the Abyssinian fighters, he being a member of Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw him, he commented, 'This man is from people who are devout; drive out the animals for sacrifice in front of him so he

will see them.' When he saw them going past from the valley side, wearing their neck decorations and having eaten their own hair from having been long confined, he went back to Quraysh without actually having gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since they were so impressed with what he had seen. He reported this to them (Quraysh). They told him, 'Just sit down! You're only a bedouin, without any sense!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that al-Ḥulays was angry at this and retorted, 'Quraysh, it wasn't for this that we allied with you and made a pact with you! Shall someone who has come to venerate God's house be barred from it? By Him who holds the soul of al-Ḥulays, either you allow Muḥammad to do what he has come for, or I'll take away the Abyssinians to the last man of them!' They responded, 'Keep silent and leave us alone until we get for ourselves what we want!'"

Al-Zuhri stated in his *ḥadith*, "Then they (decided to send) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi and he told them, 'Tribe of Quraysh, I saw the violence and bad language you directed at those who came back to you after you dispatched them to Muḥammad. You well know that you are as my father and myself the son' ('Urwa was in fact the son of Sabī'a, daughter of 'Abd al-Shams). 'Having heard what has occurred to you, I gathered some of my people who obey me and so have come to you to help you myself.'

"They replied, 'You speak the truth; you have our trust.'

"So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Muḥammad, so have you gathered together a whole mix of people, then brought them to your own home to destroy it with them? Quraysh have come forth with their milch-camels, accompanied by their young and dressed in tiger skins, having sworn to God that you will never enter contrary to their wish. By God, I'll wager these people will abandon you tomorrow!'

"Abū Bakr, the Trusting, God be pleased with him, was behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and commented, 'Go suck al-Lāt's tits! Us abandon him, indeed!' 'Urwa then asked, 'So who is this, Muḥammad?' He replied, 'This is Ibn Abū Quḥāfa.' 'Umar then said, 'If I wasn't obligated to you, I'd punish you for that. But now we are even.'

"'Urwa then began fondling the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was speaking to him. Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, who was standing close by, dressed in armour, began tapping at 'Urwa's hand as it touched the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'Remove your hand from the face of the Messenger of God, or you'll never get it back!' 'Urwa commented, 'Damn you, how churlish and rude you are!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled at this, so 'Urwa asked him, 'Who is this, then, Muḥammad?' 'This', he replied, 'is your nephew al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba!' At this 'Urwa commented, 'You wretch, wasn't it only yesterday you learned how to wash your own private parts!'"

Al-Zuhri went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Urwa approximately what he had to the others, telling him that he had not come seeking battle. 'Urwa then left, having observed how the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated him. When he washed, they rushed to the water he had used. If he spat, they hurried to retrieve it, and if a hair fell from his head, they would take it. Consequently, when 'Urwa returned to Quraysh, he told them, 'Men of Quraysh, I've been to Chosroe in his kingdom, Caesar in his and the Negus in his; but I swear, I never saw a king amidst his people like Muḥammad amidst his Companions. I have seen people who would never abandon him for any reason. So draw your own conclusions.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Khirāsh b. Umayya al-Khuzā'ī and sent him to Quraysh in Mecca, mounting him on one of his camels called al-Tha'lab, to tell their leaders on his behalf why he had come. But they hamstrung the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and wanted to kill him. The Abyssinian troops, however, prevented this and they released him, so he made his way back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Ishāq also stated, "A reliable source related to me, from Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that Quraysh had sent 40 or 50 of their men with orders to encircle the camp of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to capture one of his Companions. But they were taken prisoner and brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He forgave them and released them. They had hurled stones and shot arrows at the camp of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"He then summoned 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to send him to Mecca to inform the Quraysh leaders for him why he had come. 'Umar responded, 'Messenger of God, I fear for myself from Quraysh. There is no one in Mecca of Banū 'Adī who could protect me. Quraysh are well aware of my enmity towards them and of the roughness with which I have treated them. But I will suggest to you a man they respect more than myself, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and did send him to Abū Sufyān and the Quraysh leaders to tell them that he had not come to wage war, but to visit the *ka'ba* in veneration of its sanctity. 'Uthmān set out for Mecca, where he was met by Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀṣ, either before or after he had entered the city. Abān mounted 'Uthmān before himself and gave him protection until he delivered the message of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 'Uthmān went on to meet Abū Sufyān and the other Quraysh leaders. He gave them the message entrusted to him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he had done so, they told 'Uthmān, 'If what you want is to circumambulate the *ka'ba*, then do so.' He replied, 'I could never circumambulate it before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did so.'

"Quraysh then kept 'Uthmān as their prisoner. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims were informed that 'Uthmān had been killed. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, when

he was informed that ‘Uthmān had been killed, ‘We’ll not leave before engaging the enemy in battle!’”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called upon the men to pledge allegiance to him. This pledge, the *bay‘at al-raḍwān*, the ‘willing pledge’, was made beneath a tree. People would say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received a pledge of allegiance unto death. Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, however, used to say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not have us pledge allegiance unto death, but had us swear that we would not flee.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received their pledge and the only Muslim present who abstained from it was al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of Banū Salama. Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh used to say, ‘I swear, I can almost see him now, standing glued to the side of his camel, trying to hide from everyone.’

“Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received the news that the report about ‘Uthmān was false.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Wakī‘ recounted, from Ismā‘īl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Sha‘bī, that the first man to make the *bay‘at al-riḍwān* to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was Abū Sinān al-Asadi.

“And a reliable source related to me a tradition from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from Ibn ‘Umar, that the Messenger of God himself (ṢAAS) made the pledge for ‘Uthmān, clapping one of his hands to the other.”

This tradition mentioned by Ibn Hishām with this line of authority is weak; however, it is confirmed in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Al-Zuhri stated, ‘Quraysh then sent Suhayl b. ‘Amr, brother of Banū ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him, “Go to Muḥammad and make peace with him. The only condition for peace with him is that he withdraw from us this year. By God, the Arabs shall never say that he entered it by compulsion!”’

“Suhayl b. ‘Amr went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, seeing him approach, ‘The enemy wanted peace when they dispatched this man.’

“When Suhayl reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he spoke with him at length; they reconciled and made peace. The matter having been concluded, with nothing but a document remaining to be drawn up, ‘Umar jumped up and went over to Abū Bakr. He asked him, ‘Abū Bakr, is he not God’s messenger?’ ‘Indeed yes,’ he replied. ‘And are we not Muslims?’ he asked. ‘Indeed yes,’ Abū Bakr replied. ‘And are they not polytheists?’ ‘Indeed yes,’ he agreed. ‘So why should we agree to something that demeans our religion?’ ‘Umar asked. Abū Bakr replied, ‘Obey whatever he says; for I testify that he is the Messenger of God.’ ‘Umar added, ‘I too testify that he is the Messenger of God.’

“He (‘Umar) then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him, ‘Are you not the Messenger of God?’ ‘Yes, indeed.’ ‘And are we not Muslims?’ ‘Indeed yes.’ ‘And are they not polytheists?’ ‘Indeed yes.’ ‘So why then should we

demean our religion?" 'I, he replied, 'am the servant of God and His messenger. I shall not oppose His order and He will not let me fail.'

"Umar, God be pleased with him, used to say, 'I have gone on fasting, giving alms, praying and freeing slaves because of what I did that day and out of fear for what I said that day, until I felt that I had made up.'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then summoned 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalib, God be pleased with him and told him, 'Write: "In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent".' Suhayl objected, 'I don't know that (phrase).' 'Write instead, "In Your name, O God."' And 'Alī wrote it.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Write down: "This is the peace agreement made by Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and Suhayl b. 'Amr."' Suhayl then said, 'If I were to testify that you are the Messenger of God, I would not oppose you. Write down your name and that of your father.'

"So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Write down, "This is the peace agreement made by Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh, with Suhayl b. 'Amr. They have made peace by agreeing to put aside warfare from the people for ten years. During this period, people will be safe and leave one another alone. Provided that if anyone from Quraysh comes to Muḥammad without permission of his guardian, then he must send him back to them. If, however, anyone goes to Quraysh from Muḥammad, they are not to send him back to him. There are to be no secret agreements, bad faith or antagonism between us. Anyone wishing to enter into a pact or agreement with Muḥammad may do so. Anyone wishing to enter into an agreement or pact with Quraysh may do so.'"

"At this Khuzā'a promptly announced, 'We have made a pact and agreement with Muḥammad!' And Banū Bakr responded at once, 'We have made a pact and agreement with Quraysh!'

"The agreement went on, 'You shall retire from us this year and not enter Mecca against our will. Next year we will make way for you, and you and your people may enter and stay for three nights, each rider bearing his own weapons – swords in sheaths, that is, and bringing in no other weapons.'

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was writing the document, up came Abū Jandal, Suhayl's son, dragging fetters, having escaped to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When those with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone forth, they had not doubted that there would be victory, because of visions he had seen. Witnessing now the peace being made and their withdrawal being arranged and what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was agreeing to on his own behalf, they were all very disappointed and deathly depressed.

"When Suhayl saw (his son) Abū Jandal, he got up, went to him and struck him in the face, grabbing him by the collar and saying, 'The matter was agreed to between us before this fellow came to you!' 'You are right,' he agreed. And so

Suhayl began dragging his son away to return him to Quraysh custody, while Abū Jandal screamed at the top of his voice, 'Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists who will subvert my faith?'

"This increased their sense of depression.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Be patient and control yourself, Abū Jandal! God is preparing relief and succour for you and the others with you who are powerless. We have made a peace pact with the enemy and we and they have sworn to this in God's name; we cannot act falsely with them.'

"Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped up and walked along beside Abū Jandal, saying, 'Be patient! They're only polytheists, their blood worth no more than that of dogs!' He was keeping the hilt of his sword close to Abū Jandal. Umar used to say, 'I was hoping he would take the sword and strike his father with it! But the man spared his father, and the matter was settled.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished the document, he called upon some of the Muslims and some of the polytheists to witness the peace. These men were Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 'Abd Allāh b. Suhayl b. 'Amr, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, Maḥmūd b. Maslama, Mikraz b. Ḥaṣṣ (he having been a polytheist at that time), 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. It was he, 'Alī, who wrote out the agreement."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set up his tent in unhallowed territory and he would say his prayers on sacred ground. When he had concluded the peace, he set about sacrificing his animals. He then sat and had his head shaved; the man who shaved it that day was Khirāsh b. Umayya b. al-Faḍl al-Khuzā'ī. When the Muslims saw that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made sacrifice and shaved, they hurried to do the same."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me, from Mujāhid, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'Some men shaved their heads at al-Ḥudaybiyya, while others cut their hair short. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "May God have mercy on those who shaved!" They asked, "And on those who cut it short, Messenger of God?" "May God have mercy on those who shaved," he repeated. "And on those who cut it short, Messenger of God?" they again asked. He said, "And on those who cut it short."

"They then asked him, "Messenger of God, why did you emphasize God's mercy for those who shaved and not for those who cut their hair short?" He replied, "They did not doubt."

'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ stated, "Mujāhid related to me, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sacrificed one camel among the rest that had belonged to Abū Jahl and had a silver ring on its head; he did this to anger the polytheists."

This is the text given by Muḥammad b. Ishāq; may God be pleased with him for this account. In the text of al-Bukhārī that will follow there are differences in some places with this text, as you will see, if God so wills it and in Him is all

trust. We will give it complete, making reference to traditions considered both authentic and good for the benefit in them. If God Almighty wills it; our reliance is upon Him, for He is the one from whom to seek help.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Khālid b. Makhlid related to us, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, who quoted Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Zayd b. Khālid, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and at night it rained hard. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with us. Later he turned to us and said, "Do you know what your Lord said?" We replied, "God and His messenger know best!" He said, "God Almighty said, 'Of my servants, some have awakened to belief in me, others to disbelief. Those who said, "Our rain comes by God's mercy and bounty" are believers in me and disbelievers in the stars. Those who said, "Our rain comes by this or that star" is a believer in the stars and a disbeliever in me.'""

Al-Bukhārī related this in several places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim gave the tradition in various lines back to al-Zuhri. From al-Zuhri the line of transmission went back to 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh from Abū Hurayra.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, "'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to us, from Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', who said, 'You use the word *al-fath*, "the victory", to apply to the *fath* of Mecca. That was certainly a victory. We consider *al-fath* (also) to have been the *bay'at al-riḍwān*, the "willing pledge", that occurred at al-Ḥudaybiyya. There were 1,400 of us with the Prophet (ṢAAS). At al-Ḥudaybiyya there is a well; we went down to it and drained it to the last drop. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard of this, he came there and sat on its edge and called for a vessel of water, with which he performed the ablution. Then he rinsed out his mouth, prayed, and poured it in the well. We then went a little way off, and later it produced for us (the water that) we and our mounts needed.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, regarding the words of God Almighty, "but He made apart from that a near victory" (*sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII, v.27), (referring to) "the Ḥudaybiyya peace". "Al-Zuhri stated, 'No victory occurred previously in Islam than was greater than it. (Previously) wherever men had met, there had been fighting; when the truce was made, warfare came to an end and all made peace with one another. When they met they would negotiate with one another when they talked. And no one of any intelligence had Islam explained to him without accepting it. In those two years the same number of men entered as before, or even more.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The proof of what al-Zuhri said is in the fact that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya with 1,400 men, as Jābir states, and then two years later attended the 'conquest of Mecca' with 10,000."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yūsuf b. 'Isā related to him, quoting Ibn Fuḍayl, quoting Ḥusayn from Salīm, from Jābir, who said, "At al-Ḥudaybiyya the men were thirsty while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had before him a waterskin

he would use for ablutions. Eventually the men went over to him and he asked what they wanted. They told him that they had no water for ablutions or for drinking and that all that remained was in his waterskin. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then placed his hand in the waterskin and the water began spurting out from between his fingers as if it were a spring." Jābir continued, "So we drank and performed the ablutions." We asked Jābir, "How many were you there that day?" He replied, "Even if we had been 100,000, there would have been enough for us. We were 1,500 men."

Al-Bukhārī also related this *ḥadīth*, as did Muslim, from different lines of transmission, from Ḥuṣayn, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Jābir.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ṣalt b. Muḥammad, quoting Yazīd b. Zuray', from Sa'īd, from Qatāda (who said), "I said to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, 'I have heard that Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh used to say that they were 1,400 strong.' Sa'īd replied, 'Jābir told me that they were 1,500 in number who made the pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya.'"

Abū Dā'ūd traced this tradition back with a line including Qurra, from Qatāda. Al-Bukhārī is alone in thus giving this *ḥadīth*.

Thereafter al-Bukhārī stated that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, that 'Amr said, "I heard Jābir say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to us at al-Ḥudaybiyya, 'You are the best people on earth!' We were 1,400; and were I able today to see, I would show you the place where the tree stood.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this tradition, as did Muslim, from several lines of transmission, from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. Al-Layth b. Sa'īd related it similarly, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "A slave belonging to Ḥatīb came to make a complaint about him. He said, 'Messenger of God, Ḥatīb will surely enter hell-fire!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You have lied; he will not enter hell; he was present at Badr and al-Ḥudaybiyya.'"

Muslim related this.

Muslim also gave, from several lines of transmission, the following from Ibn Jurayj, "Abū al-Zubayr narrated to me that he heard Jābir say, 'Umm Maysar told me that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, when he was with Ḥafṣa, 'None, if God wills it, will enter hell of those who made the pledge beneath the tree.' Ḥafṣa commented, 'On the contrary, Messenger of God.' He berated her and she then quoted, 'All of you are headed there' (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.71). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then responded, 'Almighty God stated, '... and then We will deliver those who are pious, and We will leave there the evil-doers, prostrate'"" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.72).

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mu'ādh said, "My father related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from 'Amr b. Murra, who stated, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā said, 'The men at the tree were 1,300 in number; Aslam were one-eighth of the *muhājirin* (there).'"

Muḥammad b. Bashār included in the chain of authorities Abū Dā'ūd and Shu'ba.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it with 'Abd Allāh as one of the authorities in the chain. Muslim narrated it from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mu'adh, from his father, from Shu'ba. Also from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Abū Dā'ūd, from Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, from al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, both of them quoting Shu'ba.

Thereafter, al-Bukhārī stated that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from Marwān and al-Miswar b. Makhrama, who both said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya with some hundreds of his Companions. While he was at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he put ceremonial necklaces on the sacrificial camels, marked them and entered into the *iḥrām*, the state of ritual consecration."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this tradition. This text will follow complete hereafter.

What is implied here is that all these accounts contradict what Ibn Ishāq maintained, namely that those at al-Ḥudaybiyya were 700 in number.

He only said this – though God knows best – because he was using his independent scholastic judgement; since there were 70 sacrificial camels, each one of which would have been for ten men, then those making the sacrifice would have been 700 in number.

But there is no need for all of them to have been participating in the offering, nor that all of them were making the pilgrimage. It is established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out one group of them, who included Abū Qatāda. And Abū Qatāda did not adopt the *iḥrām* state until after he had killed that wild donkey which he and his companions ate. They carried some of it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while on the journey, and he asked (those in a state of *iḥrām*), "Did any of you order that he bring the meat or make any gesture towards it?" "No," they said. "Then eat what remains of the donkey," he told them.

Al-Bukhārī had stated, "Shu'ba b. al-Rabi' related to us, quoting 'Alī b. al-Mubārak, from Yaḥyā, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Qatāda, that his father (Abū Qatāda) related to him, as follows, 'We set off with the Prophet (ṢAAS), the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and my companions went in the *iḥrām* state, but I did not.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Rāfi' related to him, quoting Shabāba b. Suwār al-Fazārī, quoting Shu'ba, from Qatāda, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, who said, "I saw the tree; then I came to it later but did not recognize it."

(Al-Bukhārī went on) "Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū 'Awāna, quoting Ṭāriq, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, that he was among those who made the pledge beneath the tree. So we returned to it the following year; but it was obscure to us."

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Mahmūd related to him, quoting 'Ubayd Allāh, from Isrā'īl, from Ṭāriq b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who said, "I set off as a pilgrim, and

passed by some people praying. 'What *masjid*, place for prayer, is this then?' They replied, 'This is the tree where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for the *bay'at al-riḍwān*, the "willing pledge".' I then went over to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and related this to him. Sa'īd then said, 'My father related to me that he was among those who made the pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beneath the tree. He told me, "The following year we had forgotten it and could not find it."'

"Sa'īd then said, 'The Companions of Muḥammad did not know it but you people do! You know best, then!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this tradition, as did al-Thawrī, Abū 'Awāna and Shabāba, from Ṭāriq.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sa'īd related to him, quoting his brother, from Sulaymān, from 'Amr b. Yaḥyā, from 'Abbād b. Tamīm, who said, "At the battle of al-Ḥarra, people were making a pledge to 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanzala. Ibn Zayd asked, 'What is the pledge the people are making to Ibn Ḥanzala?' He was told, 'To the death'. He then said, 'I will not pledge that to anyone following the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)'. He had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya with him."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from various lines, from 'Amr b. Yaḥyā.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba b. Sa'īd related to him, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd (who said), "I said to Salama b. al-Akwa', 'What pledge was it you made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya?' 'To the death,' he replied."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it states that he sought the pledge three times – from a first group, from a middle group and from a final group.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* there is a *ḥadīth* from Ma'qīl b. Yasār that he held the tree branches away from the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was receiving their pledge. (It also states there) that the first man to give his pledge that day was Abū Sinān, he being Wahb b. Miḥṣan, brother of 'Ukāsha b. Miḥṣan. The name of Sinān b. Abū Sinān is also given.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Shujā' b. al-Walīd that he heard al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad (say), that Ṣakhr b. al-Rabī' quoted Nāfi' as having said, 'People relate that 'Umar's son accepted Islam before 'Umar, yet it was not so. The day of al-Ḥudaybiyya 'Umar sent (his son) 'Abd Allāh to bring him a mare of his that was with one of the *anṣār*; this was so that he could ride it to battle. At the time, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was receiving the pledge beneath the tree, though 'Umar did not know this. 'Abd Allāh pledged his allegiance, then left. 'Umar then went with him and made his pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is why people say that 'Umar's son accepted Islam before 'Umar did.'

"Hishām b. 'Ammār stated, 'Al-Walīd b. Muslim related to us, quoting 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-'Umarī, (who said), "Nāfi' narrated to me, from Ibn 'Umar,

that the people who were with the Prophet (ṢAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya were dispersed in the shade of the tree. Then they all began looking directly at the Prophet (ṢAAS). He (ʿUmar) then said (to his son), ‘Abd Allāh, go and find out why everyone is looking directly at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ He (ʿAbd Allāh) found them to be making their pledge, and he did so himself. He then returned to ʿUmar, who went and pledged allegiance.”” Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* from both these lines of authorities.

*An Account of the texts given by al-Bukhārī relating
to the pilgrimage of al-Ḥudaybiyya.*

Al-Bukhārī stated in his military chronicle as follows, “‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Sufyān, who said, ‘I heard al-Zuhri when he related this *ḥadīth*. I learned part of it by heart and Maʿmar corroborated me. (The *ḥadīth* quotes) from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, each of these adding to the account of the other. They both stated, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya accompanied by some 1,000 men. When he arrived at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he put neck decorations and badges on the sacrificial camels, and went out from there as a pilgrim, sending on ahead a scout of his from the Khuzāʿa.

““The Prophet (ṢAAS) travelled on till he arrived at the stream at al-Asḥṭāt, where his scout came to him and said, ‘Quraysh have gathered a force against you. They have assembled the Abyssinian warriors to fight you. They intend to do battle with you and to keep you away from the *kaʿba*.’ He then asked, ‘Men, give me your advice. Do you think that I should give way for the children and families of those who wish to keep us from the *kaʿba*? (Better) if they do come and join us, (so) God will have cut out one eye of the polytheists; alternatively, we will leave them defeated.’ Abū Bakr replied, ‘Messenger of God, you have come forth to visit the *kaʿba*, not intending to do battle or to make war against anyone. Proceed to it, and we will fight anyone who blocks our way.’ He responded, ‘Then proceed onwards, in God’s name.’””

This is how al-Bukhārī related this tradition here, stopping at this point and adding nothing more.

In his work, *Kitāb al-Shahādāt*, al-Bukhārī stated, that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, quoting al-Zuhri, quoting ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, each of them corroborating the other’s account. They both stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya and proceeded on for part of the way. At that point the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘Khālīd b. al-Walīd is at al-Ghamīm with cavalry as Quraysh’s vanguard. Take a route to the right.’ And, by God, Khālīd had no awareness of them until he saw their army’s dust. He then raced off to inform Quraysh.

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) proceeded on until he reached the pass from which the way led down to them. There his camel kneeled down; people said, '*Hal! Hal!* Get up! Get up!' but it persisted (in kneeling). People said, 'Al-Qaṣwā' (the camel's name) has become refractory!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to them, 'No, al-Qaṣwā' has not; that's not in her nature. She has been held back by Him who held back the elephant.' He then said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, I'll accept any request that they make of me by which the sanctuaries of God are dignified!' He then scolded his camel and it got up.

"He then veered away from Quraysh and halted beyond al-Ḥudaybiyya at a well there that had little water. His men kept taking the water from it, little by little, and soon they had bailed it out completely. Complaint of thirst was made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he drew an arrow from his quiver and told them to put it into the water-hole. And, by God, it continued providing them plenty of water until they left.

"While this was going on, Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'a arrived, accompanied by others of Khuzā'a. They were the trusted confidants of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the people of Tihāma. Budayl said, 'I have just left Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and 'Amir b. Lu'ayy who have encamped at the Ḥudaybiyya wells; they have with them their milch-camels with their young. They are going to do battle with you and prevent you from reaching the *ka'ba*.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'We have not come to fight anyone. We have come to make a pilgrimage. Quraysh have been consumed by the warfare! It has ruined them. If they want, I will give them respite for a period. They should then give me access to the people. If it (Islam) prevails, and they wish to join into what the people have entered, they could do so. Otherwise, they will have gained in numbers. If they refuse this, then I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, I will battle them in this cause of mine until I perish! Let God's will be done!'

"Budayl said, 'I will inform them what you say.' He then went off to Quraysh and told them, 'We come to you from that man. We have heard him make certain statements which, if you wish, we will relate to you.' Fools among them said, 'We have no need for you to tell us anything of him.' Those of them who were sensible, said, 'Tell us what you heard him say.' He responded by relating to them what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said.

"Urwa b. Mas'ūd then arose and said, 'People, am I not as your father?' 'Yes, you are,' they told him. 'And are you not as my children?' 'Yes, indeed,' they replied. 'Do you mistrust me?' he then asked. 'No,' they answered. 'Do you not know that I called to the people of 'Ukaz to come forth to war alongside me and that when they put me off I came to you with my family and my son, and all who obeyed me?' 'Yes indeed,' they replied. 'This man', he went on, 'has made an appropriate offer. Accept it, and let me go to see him.' 'Go to him,' they told him.

"When he went to him, he began talking to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said to him approximately what he had told Budayl. 'Urwa at that point said, 'Hey now, Muḥammad, haven't you considered that you are ruining your people? Have you ever heard of any Arab who ruined his people before yourself? And if that doesn't happen, I swear I don't see faces here; I just see a hodge-podge of people who are quite capable of fleeing and abandoning you.'

"Abū Bakr said to him, 'Go suck al-Lāt's tits! Would we flee and abandon him!'

"Urwa asked, 'Who is that?' 'Abū Bakr,' people told him. 'Urwa commented, 'Well, by Him who has my soul in His hand, if I weren't obligated to you, I'd give you a reply all right!'

"He then went on speaking to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and while doing so would take hold of the latter's beard. Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, who was standing at the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wearing a sword and a helmet, would tap his hand with the hilt of his sword each time 'Urwa stretched it out to touch the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saying, 'Keep your hands off the beard of the Messenger of God!' 'Urwa raised his head and asked, 'And who is that?' 'That is al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba,' they replied. 'Urwa then said, 'You wretch! I couldn't match your treachery!'

"Before Islam, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba had stayed with a family and had murdered them and taken their property. Thereafter, he came and accepted Islam, whereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'As for Islam, do accept it. As for money, I've nothing to do with that.'

"Then 'Urwa began watching closely the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said (later), 'I swear that if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat, the phlegm would fall into the hand of one of them and that person would rub it on to his face or skin. If he gave them a command, they would carry it out immediately. If he performed the ablutions, they would almost kill one another trying to get to the water he had used. If he spoke, they lowered their voices. And they never looked directly at him, out of their reverence for him.'

"Urwa returned to his companions and told them, 'Well, I've gone in to kings, had audiences with Caesar, Chosroe and the Negus and I swear by God I've never seen the subjects of any king venerate him the way Muḥammad's people venerate him! I swear, if he spits, the phlegm always falls into the palm of one of them and he will then rub it on to his face or skin. If he gives them a command, they hurry to carry it out. If he performs the ablutions, they almost kill one another for the water he used. If he speaks, they lower their voices in his presence. And they never look directly at him, out of their veneration for him. He has made you an appropriate offer; accept it.'"

"A man of Banū Kināna then asked to be allowed to go to see him and Quraysh agreed. As he was approaching, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented,

'This is so-and-so; he is from a tribe who much venerate sacrificial camels. Send them out to him.' They were put out for him and people greeted him chanting *labbayk*,⁵⁹ 'at Your service', ('O Lord'). When he saw this, he said, 'All praise be to God! It is not right for these people to be kept from the *ka'ba*.' When he returned to his companions, he told them, 'I have seen the sacrificial camels necklaced and decorated with badges, and I don't think they should be kept from the *ka'ba*.'

"One of their men, named Mikraz b. Ḥaṣṣ, then arose, and said, 'Let me go to him.' 'Do so,' they told him. When he approached, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This is Mikraz; he is an immoral man.' As Mikraz began to speak to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Suhayl b. 'Amr arrived."

Ma'mar stated, "Ayyūb narrated to me, from 'Ikrima, that when Suhayl b. 'Amr arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Your problem has *suhhila*, "been eased"!'⁶⁰

Ma'mar went on, "Al-Zuhri stated in his *ḥadīth*, 'Suhayl then came and said, "Come on now, write an agreement between us." The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked for a document to be brought and said, "Write down: *Bismi Allāhi al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* (in the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent)". But Suhayl objected, "As for that term *al-raḥmān*, I swear I don't know what that is. Instead, put down *Bismik Allāhumma* (In your name, O God), like you used to write." The Muslims insisted, "By God, we'll write it only *Bismi Allāhi al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*!" But the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Write down *Bismik Allāhumma*."

"He then said, 'This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has determined.' Suhayl objected, 'By God, if we knew you to be the Messenger of God, we'd not have blocked your access to the *ka'ba*, nor would we have battled you. However, write down "Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'By God, I certainly am the Messenger of God, even though you call me a liar! Write down "Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh."'"

Al-Zuhri stated, "This relates to his having said, 'I'll accept any request they make of me by which the sanctuaries of God are dignified.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'on condition that you allow us access to the *ka'ba* so that we may circumambulate it.'

"Suhayl objected, 'By God, we'll not have the Arabs say that we accepted pressure; however, that can happen next year.'

"So he wrote it. Suhayl then said, 'A condition is that any of our men who come over to you, even if in your religion, you will return to us.'

"The Muslims said, 'Goodness gracious, how could someone be returned to the polytheists if he came as a Muslim!'

"While this discussion was in progress Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. 'Amr came along, dragging his chains, having escaped from below Mecca, and threw himself

59. A liturgy addressed to God by a pilgrim in the *iḥrām* state.

60. The comment makes a pun on the name Suhayl, from a root meaning to make easy, or facilitate.

down among the Muslims. Suhayl said, 'This fellow, Muḥammad, is the first whom I charge you to return to me.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'But we've not completed the agreement yet.' 'In that case,' Suhayl insisted, 'I'll never make a pact with you over anything.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'Release him to my custody.' 'I'll not release him to you,' Suhayl said. 'I insist that you release him!' 'That I'll not do,' he replied. Mikraz then said, 'Very well, we'll release him to you.'

"Abū Jandal then exclaimed, 'Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists? I have come to you as a Muslim. Can't you see how I've been treated?' He had been brutally tortured in God's cause.

"Umar, may God be pleased with him, said, 'So I went to the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and asked, "Are you not truly the Messenger of God?" "Yes, indeed," he replied. "And are we not in the right and our enemy in error?" "Yes, indeed," he agreed. "Why, then, are we so demeaning our religion?" I asked. He replied, "I am the Messenger of God, and I will not disobey him; He is my helper."

"“Well,” I asked, “didn’t you tell us how we would come to the *ka’ba* and circumambulate it?” “Indeed yes,” he replied. “But did I tell you we would do that this year?” “No,” I replied. “Well,” he said, you will go to it and circumambulate it.”

"Umar went on, 'I then went down to Abū Bakr and asked, "Abū Bakr, is this man not in truth God's prophet?" "Yes, indeed," he replied. "But are we not in the right and our enemy in error?" "Yes, indeed," he agreed. "Well", I asked him, "then why are we demeaning our religion?" He replied, "Look, man, he is indeed the Messenger of God and he will not disobey Him; He is his helper. Trust him; he is right."

"“But”, I continued, “didn’t he tell us we would go to the *ka’ba* and circumambulate it?” “Yes indeed,” he agreed. “But did he say you would get there this year?” “No,” I said. “You will get there and circumambulate it,” he said.”

Al-Zuhri stated, "Umar went on, 'So I therefore did certain things.'

"He went on, 'And when he had completed the document, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, 'Make your sacrifices and shave.'

"“And, I swear, not a man of them did so until he repeated this three times. When none of them arose, he went in to Umm Salama and told her how the men were acting. Umm Salama said, "Prophet of God, do you like that? Go on out without speaking a word to anyone and sacrifice your camel. Then call for your barber and have him shave your head."

"He went out and spoke to no one until he had done this. He made his sacrifice and called for his barber who shaved his head. When the men saw this, they arose and made sacrifice. Then some so hurriedly shaved the heads of others that it appeared that they were killing each other in their grief.

"Then some believing women went to see him. And so God Almighty revealed the words, "O you who believe! If believing women should come to

you as emigrants, then test them ..." and so on to the words, "... the marriage ties of unbelieving women" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.10).

"That day ʿUmar divorced two women who had been his while he was a polytheist. Muḥāwiya b. Abū Sufyān married one of these, while Safwān b. Umayya the other.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina. There Abū Baṣīr, a Quraysh man, came to him, he being a Muslim. They (Quraysh) sent two men to retrieve him, referring to the pact that had been made. He gave Abū Baṣīr over to them and they left with him and went to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, where they halted to eat the dates they had. Abū Baṣīr said to one of the two men, 'By God, I can see that that sword of yours is a very fine one.' The other man unsheathed it and said, 'Yes, it is; I swear it is fine. And I've put it to the test often.' Abū Baṣīr asked, 'Do let me look at it.' He then took it from him and struck him until he was dead. The other man fled back to Medina where he ran into a mosque. When he saw him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'That man has seen something dreadful.'

"When the man reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), the man exclaimed, 'I swear by God, my companion has been killed! And I'm as good as dead!' Then Abū Baṣīr arrived and said, 'Prophet of God, God has fulfilled your obligation! You returned me to them, and then God saved me from them.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then commented, 'Woe on his mother! What an inciter to war he would have been if he had had supporters!'

"When Abū Baṣīr heard this, he knew that he would return him to Quraysh, and so he left for the coast."

He went on, "Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr escaped from Quraysh and joined Abu Baṣīr. Thereafter, every man who left Quraysh to accept Islam went and joined Abū Baṣīr. Eventually a group of them were formed. Whenever they heard of a Quraysh caravan heading for Syria, they would attack it, killing the men and taking the goods.

"And so Quraysh sent to the Prophet (ṢAAS) invoking God and family ties (and saying) that if he were to send for those men they would be safe. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did send for them. Thereafter, God Almighty revealed, 'And His it was who kept their hands away from you and yours away from them in the valley of Mecca, after He had given you control over them ...' as far as the words, '... their zeal, the zeal of *al-jāhiliyya*'" (*sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII v. 24).

Their "zeal" referred to is the fact that they did not agree that he was the Prophet of God, and that they would not accept the words, "in the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate". And the fact that they denied them access to the *kaʿba*.

This text has additions and advantages that are absent from the narration of Ibn Ishāq from al-Zuhri. His account quoted al-Zuhri from a group of others, including Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Maʿmar and Muḥammad b. Ishāq. All of these quoted al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, from Marwān and Miswar, in relating the narrative.

Al-Bukhārī gave it at the beginning of his work, *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ* from Yahyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth b. Sa'd, from 'Uqayl, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and al-Miswar b. Makhrama, from Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), in relating the narrative.

This is the best chain of authority. For Marwān and al-Miswar were young at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya. It is obvious that they acquired it from the Companions, may God be pleased with them, in relating the narrative.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Sābiq, quoting Mālik b. Mighwal, who said, 'I heard Abū Ḥuşayn state, "Abū Wā'il said, 'When Suhayl b. Ḥunayf arrived from Ṣiffin, we went to him asking for news. He replied, "Be sceptical. At the battle of Abū Jandal, if I could have reversed the orders of the Messenger of God (SAAS) I would have done so. And God and His messenger know best. And we never took down our swords from our shoulders for any problem that troubled us without them providing us some solution we could appreciate. Before this affair, that is. Now, we no sooner deal with one contender⁶¹ than another arises before us that we don't know how to deal with."'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting Mālik, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was travelling one night in the company of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Umar asked him a question on some matter, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) made him no reply. 'Umar asked him again and yet again, receiving no reply from him. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then exclaimed, "Umar, your mother is as good as bereaved of you! You persisted three times in asking the Messenger of God (SAAS), and despite that he would not respond to you."

'Umar related, "So I moved my mount away and advanced to the front of the Muslims, fearing that there was going to be a revelation about me. But immediately I heard someone shouting at me. I responded, 'I was afraid there was about to be a revelation about me.'

"Then I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and greeted him. He said, 'Tonight a *sūra* has been revealed to me that is more pleasing to me than anything over which the sun rises.' He then recited, 'We have made for you a clear victory!'" (*sūrat al-Faṭḥ*; XLVIII, v.1).

I note that I wrote about the *sūrat al-Faṭḥ* fully and sufficiently in my *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*), to God being due all praise and credit. Those wishing to insert that material here should do so.

Chapter: On the Expedition and missions that took place in 6 AH.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, quoting al-Wāqidī, gives a summary of these.

61. The footnote of the Arabic printed text reminds us that the statement comes in the context of the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya over succession to the Caliphate.

In Rabi' al-Awwal (or Rabi' al-Ākhir) of that year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent 'Ukāsha b. Miḥṣan with a force of 40 men to Gharw Marzūq. They fled from him and he encamped at their wells. He sent some men in pursuit of them and took 200 of their camels which he led into Medina.

Also that year was the dispatch of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh to Dhū al-Qiṣṣa, also with 40 men. He made for them on foot, reaching them in the morning while it was still dark. They fled from him into the mountain heights. He captured one of their men and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

And there was his dispatch of Muḥammad b. Maslama with a force of 10 men. The enemy hid from them until night; all the companions of Muḥammad b. Maslama were killed and he escaped, wounded.

That year too there was the mission of Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Jamūm. A woman of Muzayna called Ḥalīma was captured and she directed them to one of the places where Banū Salīm were. There they captured cattle and sheep and took a number of the polytheists prisoner. Among them was the husband of Ḥalīma; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him to her and released them both.

Also that year was the mission of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, in Jumādā al-Uwla, to Banū Tha'labā with a company of 15 men. The bedouin fled from him; he captured 20 of their camels, then returned, having been absent for 4 nights.

Zayd b. Ḥāritha also left in Jumādā al-Uwla that year for al-Ṣṣ.

He (al-Wāqidi) also said, "That year the property that had been with Abū al-Āṣ b. al-Rabi' was taken; he sought refuge with Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and she took him in."

Ibn Ishāq related this man's story, about when the camels that were with him were taken, his companions were killed and he fled from them and went to Medina. His wife, Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had emigrated after Badr. When he arrived in Medina, he sought refuge with her, and she took him in following the *al-subḥ* prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him over to her custody and told his men to return the camels taken from him. They did return to him everything taken from him, so that he lost nothing. When he returned with his property to Mecca and gave over to those he owed what was due them from their deposits, he accepted Islam. He then left Mecca and returned to Medina. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned his wife to him by the first marriage, not by remarriage or contract, as was related heretofore. The period between his accepting Islam and her having emigrated was six years; it is also said to have been two years.

We have explained that there is no discrepancy between the two accounts, and that his acceptance of Islam came two years after the time when believing women were prohibited to unbelievers. His acceptance of Islam came in 8 AH, in the year of the conquest (of Mecca), not as is told above in the account of al-Wāqidi that it took place in 6 AH. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidi stated that in that year Diḥya b. Khalifa al-Kalbī came back from Caesar, who had awarded him money and robes of honour. When he was at

al-Ḥuṣmā he was waylaid by some men of Judhām. They robbed him and left him with nothing. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha, may God be pleased with him, against them.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar related to me, from Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba, who said, 'ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, went forth with 100 men to a village of Banū Asad b. Bakr. This was because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had learned that a group of their men wanted to extend help to the Jews of Khaybar. He approached them at night, keeping hidden by day. He (ʿAlī) captured a scout of theirs who confirmed that he had been sent to Khaybar to suggest to them that they hand over to them their dates.'"

Al-Wāqidi, may God be pleased with him, said, "In Shaʿbān of 6 AH there was the expedition of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to Dūmat al-Jandal. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If they obey, then marry the daughter of their king.' They did accept Islam and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān married their king's daughter, Tamāḍur, daughter of al-Isbaʿ al-Kalbiya; she was the mother of Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "In Shawwāl of 6 AH the expedition of Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri against the people of ʿUraynī took place; they had killed the herdsman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had stolen his cattle. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Kurz b. Jābir with 20 horsemen to track them down and they retrieved them."

According to texts given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, quoting Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālīk, what happened was that a group from ʿUkl and ʿUrayna (from ʿUkl or ʿUrayna, according to one version) went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told him, "Messenger of God, we're really herdsmen, not farmers and we find Medina unhealthy." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to leave with a small herd, in the charge of a shepherd, and told them to live by drinking the milk and urine of the animals. They left and when in the vicinity of al-Ḥarra, they killed the herdsman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), drove off the herd and denied Islam after having accepted it earlier. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent men in pursuit of them and had their hands and feet cut off and their eyes gouged out; they were left there at al-Ḥarra in that state until they died.

Qatāda stated, "We have heard that thereafter, whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address he would speak in favour of compassion and against exemplary punishment."

This *ḥadīth* is related by one group of scholars from Qatāda, while another group relates it from Anas b. Mālīk.

In the account of Muslim, from Muʿāwiya b. Qurra, from Anas, it is stated that a group of ʿUrayna went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and announced their acceptance of Islam and their allegiance. Then smallpox broke out in Medina, and they told him, "Since this smallpox has broken out, we'd like to go

back to the camels." He replied, "Yes; go and be with them." They did then leave, but they killed the herdsmen and left with the camels.

According to that account, he sent some 20 of the *anṣār* in pursuit of them, along with an expert tracker. When they were found, their hands and feet were severed and their eyes were gouged out.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, on a line of transmission through Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Anas, who is quoted as saying, "A group from ʿUkal arrived and accepted Islam. They loathed Medina and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him so. He then said to them, "Then go and join the camels; drink their milk and urine." They then left and lived among them for a time; but eventually they killed the herdsman and stole the camels. News of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and before the sun next arose they had been brought to him. He had iron rods brought and these were heated and used to cauterize them. He then had their hands and feet cut off and they were dumped out in the heat, where they sought water. But they were given none until they died, without protection.

In an account from Anas, he is quoted as saying, "I saw one of them biting the ground in his thirst."

Abū Qalaba stated, "That gang murdered, stole and apostatized after having declared their faith. They fought against God and His messenger (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related, through ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān, from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent men in pursuit of them, he said, "O God, make them lose their way and make it narrower than a camel's ankle." He went on, "They did lose their way and were captured and brought back. He had their hands and feet severed and their eyes gouged out."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it states, "The reason he had their eyes gouged was that they had done this to the herdsman."

Section: Relating to happenings that year, 6 AH.

During that year the obligation of making the pilgrimage was revealed; al-Shāfiʿī asserts that this came at al-Ḥudaybiyya in the words of the Almighty, "and complete the pilgrimage and the ʿumra for God" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.196).

This is why he (al-Shāfiʿī) held the view that the pilgrimage could be deferred and need not be performed as an urgent matter, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not himself make the pilgrimage until 10 AH.

His view is opposed by the other three authorities, Mālik, Abū Ḥanifa and Aḥmad (Ibn Ḥanbal). According to them, the pilgrimage is to be considered a matter of urgency for all who can make it. They deny that its *wujūb*, "necessity" is deduced from the Almighty's words, "and complete the pilgrimage and the ʿumra for God" but maintain that in this verse the requirement is only to finish it once it has been commenced. They prove this through various citations, to

many of which we referred in our explanation of this verse in our *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*). And to God is due all praise and credit.

It was during this year that Muslim women were forbidden to polytheists. This was an exception to the general rule established by the truce agreed upon at al-Ḥudaybiyya that year, namely that members of Quraysh were to be returned to them even if wishing to accept Islam. And so the words of the Almighty were revealed, "O you who believe! If believing women should come to you as emigrants, then test them. God knows best about their faith. If you ascertain them to be believers, then do not return them to the unbelievers. These women are not permitted for marriage to those men, nor are those men permitted for marriage to those women" (*sūrat al-Mumtahana*; LX, v.10).

That year also there was the expedition to al-Muraysī', during which the *qiṣṣat al-ifk*, the calumnious report, arose which ultimately resulted in the Revelation telling of the innocence of the *umm al-mu'minin*, the mother of the believers, 'Ā'isha, as was related above.

The *ʿumra* to al-Ḥudaybiyya occurred that year too, along with the blockade made by the polytheists against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ultimately there resulted peace between them lasting ten years, during which time people lived in security with one another on the understanding that there should be neither fetters used nor swords drawn. Reference is made at length in the appropriate places heretofore; and to God belong all praise and credit. That year the polytheists had control of the pilgrimage.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "In Dhū al-Ḥijja of that year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth six men in the company of Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balṭa'a to al-Muqawqis, the governor of Alexandria. He also dispatched Shujā' b. Wahb b. Asad b. Judhayma, who was present at Badr, to al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shammar al-Ghassānī, the king of the Christian Arabs, that is. Also he sent Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbī to Caesar, he being Heraclius, emperor of Rome. And he dispatched 'Abd Allāh b. Hudhāfa al-Sahmī to Chosroe, king of the Persians. Also he sent Salīṭ b. 'Amr al-'Āmirī to Hawdha b. 'Alī al-Ḥanafī, and 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus, king of the Christians of Abyssinia, his name being Aṣḥama b. al-Ḥurr."

THE YEAR 7 AH. THE EXPEDITION AGAINST KHAYBAR, EARLY THAT YEAR.

Shu'ba stated, from al-Ḥākim, who quoted 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā as having said that the words, "and He rewarded them with a near victory" (*sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII, v.18), referred to Khaybar.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned (to Medina) from al-Ḥudaybiyya, he remained for some 20 days and then went forth to Khaybar; this was what God had promised to him."

Mūsā narrated, from al-Zuhri, that the conquest of Khaybar was in 6 AH; what is correct is that this occurred early in 7 AH, as stated above.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then remained in Medina after his return from al-Ḥudaybiyya for Dhū al-Ḥijja and for part of al-Muḥarram. He then went to Khaybar for the remainder of al-Muḥarram."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, that Marwān and al-Miswar stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya and *sūrat al-Fath* (XLVIII) was revealed to him, while he was between Mecca and Medina. In Dhū al-Ḥijja, he came back and stayed until he went forth to Khaybar, making camp at al-Raji'. That is a valley between Khaybar and Ghatafān. He was concerned that Ghatafān might give them assistance. Next morning he attacked them."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Wāqidi related similarly on the authority of his sheikhs that he went forth (to Khaybar) early in 7 AH."

'Abd Allāh b. Idris stated that Ishāq said to him, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me as follows, 'Since the conquest of Khaybar took place following al-Muḥarram, the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived (back) at the end of Ṣafar.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "He appointed Numayla b. 'Abd Allāh al-Laythī in command of Medina."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Affān related to us, quoting Wahīb, quoting Khuthaym – Ibn 'Arāk, that is – who quoted his father (as saying) that Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina with a group of his people while the Prophet (ṢAAS) was at Khaybar, having left Sibā' b. 'Urfutā – of Banū Ghatafān, that is – in command of Medina. He, Abū Hurayra stated, 'When I went to him he was saying the *al-subḥ* prayer, at the first *rak'a* reciting "*kāf hā yā 'ayn ṣād*" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX), and at the second, the verse, "Woe to those who default" (*sūrat al-Muṭafifīna* (or *al-Tatfīf*); LXXXIII, v.1). I told myself, "Woe to so-and-so who receives full measure but gives short change!"'"

He went on, "When he had prayed, we went back some distance, as far as Khaybar; the Prophet (ṢAAS) had by then conquered Khaybar. He addressed the Muslims and gave us shares of the booty along with them."

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Wahīb, from Khuthaym b. 'Arak, from his father, from men of Banū Ghifār, who said, "Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina and related this."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina for Khaybar, he went by way of Mt. 'Iṣr, where a mosque was built for him. He then passed by al-Saḥbā', advancing with his army and eventually making camp at a *wādi* by the name of al-Raji'. He made his camp between Khaybar and Ghatafān to prevent the latter from giving assistance to the people of Khaybar. They, Ghatafān, had declared their support for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I have heard that when Ghatafān heard about all this, they met together then went forth to give aid to the Jews against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When they had travelled for a day, however, they heard from home a rumour regarding their property and families. They thought that their enemy had surprised them and

so they retraced their steps and stayed with their property and families, leaving the way clear between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Khaybar."

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama, from Mālik, from Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from Bashīr, that Suwayd b. al-Nu'mān related to him that he went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the year of the attack on Khaybar, eventually reaching al-Ṣahbā', a place below Khaybar. There the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) led the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, then called for provisions to be brought. All that was produced was *al-sawīq*, barley gruel. He ordered it to be diluted and he ate, as did we. He then arose to perform the *al-maghrib* prayer, rinsed out his mouth and prayed, without performing the ablutions.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl, from Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd, from Salama b. al-Akwa', who said, "We went forth for Khaybar with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We travelled by night, and one of our men said to 'Āmir, "Āmir, would you recite us a little something you have composed?" 'Āmir was a poet. So he dismounted to recite for our men, saying,

'*Allāhumma!* O God! Without You we would not have been
rightly guided,
Nor would we have given alms nor prayed.
We beseech You to forgive what we have done (wrong) – may
we be sacrificed for You!
We beseech you to send down Your serenity upon us
To make our feet secure when we meet our enemies.
And if they cry out trying to subvert us, we will
refuse.
Already have they loudly sought others' help against
us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who is this camel driver?' 'That's 'Āmir b. al-Akwa', they replied. '*Yarḥamuhu Allāh!* God have mercy on him!' he exclaimed. One of the men then commented, 'Have you then made his martyrdom inevitable, Prophet of God? I wish you had let us enjoy his (company) longer!'

"When we reached Khaybar, we besieged them and were afflicted by great hunger. God then helped us conquer them and that evening – the evening of the conquest – the men lit many fires. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Why all these fires? What do you plan to cook?' 'Meat,' they replied. 'What kind of meat?' he asked. 'The meat of domestic donkeys.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Cast away the meat and break the pots!' One man asked, 'Should we not throw away the meat but wash the pots?' 'Either way,' he replied.

"When the opposing forces were lined up for battle, 'Āmir's sword was short, and when he aimed it at a Jew's leg, the sharp blade swung back and injured his own knee, causing his death.'"

Salama went on, "When they returned from battle, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me (looking sad) and took me by the hand, asking, 'What is wrong?' I replied, 'May my father and my mother be your ransom, they say that 'Āmir failed.'⁶² The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'Whoever said that lied; he will receive a double reward.' He raised two fingers, adding, 'He was a warrior whose valour few Arabs have ever matched.'"

Muslim related this similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl and others, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd.⁶³

Ibn Ishāq related the story of 'Āmir b. al-Akwa' from a different chain of authorities. He stated, "Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī related to me, from Abū al-Haytham b. Naṣr b. Dahr al-Aslamī, that his father related to him that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while on his way to Khaybar, say to 'Āmir b. al-Akwa', he being the uncle of Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa', 'Dismount, Ibn al-Akwa', and let's hear one of your compositions.' So he did and recited the following,

'*Wallāhi!* By God! Without God we would not have been
rightly guided, nor given alms, nor prayed.

We are a people who, if badly treated or subverted,
resist strongly.

So send down serenity upon us and steady our feet when
we clash with the enemy.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'May your Lord have mercy on you!' 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then said, 'You've made it (his martyrdom) inevitable, Messenger of God! I wish you had let us enjoy him longer!' And he was martyred at Khaybar."

He went on to related the manner of his death much as al-Bukhārī had done.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A source I do not doubt related to me, from 'Aṭā' b. Abū Marwān al-Aslamī, from his father, from Abū Mu'tib b. 'Amr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached a point overlooking Khaybar, he said, 'Stop!' Then he spoke as follows before his Companions, of whom I was one, 'O God, Lord of the heavens and all they shade, Lord of the earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and their deceptions, Lord of the winds and what they winnow, we implore of You the good of this village and the good of its people and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from its evil, from the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in God's name!'"

This is a very anomalous *ḥadīth* indeed, from this line of transmission.

62. Since he had accidentally caused his own death rather than earned martyrdom at the hand of the enemy.

63. Ibn Kathir here comments on a grammatical point relating to the Arabic text; his explanation has been judged of too little interest for inclusion here.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from al-ʿUṭaridī, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Mujmīʿ, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Abū Marwān al-Aslamī, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar. When we were near it and overlooking it, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the men to stop and when they had done so, he said, 'O God, Lord of the seven heavens and what they shade, Lord of the seven earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and their deception, we implore of You the good of this village and the good of its people and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from the evil of this village, from the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in the name of God the most-Merciful and Compassionate!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "A source I do not doubt related to me, from Anas b. Mālīk, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to attack an enemy, he refrained from doing so until it was morning. If then he heard a call to prayer, he would stop. If he did not, he would attack. We made camp at Khaybar overnight and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rested until morning came, at which time he did not hear a call to prayer. And so he mounted up and we all did so along with him. I rode behind Abū Talḥa, with my foot touching that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). On the way, we met the Khaybar labourers leaving the village with their hoes and baskets. When they saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they exclaimed, 'It's Muḥammad and his army!' They then turned away in flight. At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "*Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their open square!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Ḥārūn related this to us similarly from Ḥumayd, from Anas."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālīk, from Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālīk, (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Khaybar at night. Whenever he reached an enemy at night, he would not attack them until morning. When it was morning, the Jews came out bearing their hoes and baskets and, seeing what they did, they exclaimed, 'It's Muḥammad, by God! Muḥammad and his army!' At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their open square!'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this account; Muslim did not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Ṣadaqa b. al-Faḍl related to him, quoting Abū ʿUyayna, quoting Ayyūb, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from Anas b. Mālīk, who said, "We arrived at Khaybar early in the morning as its people were coming out bearing their hoes. When they saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) they called out, 'By God, it's Muḥammad and his army!' At that the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, commented, 'Khaybar is ruined!

It's a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their square!"

(Anas went on) "We captured some donkey meat. Then the crier of the Prophet (ṢAAS) called out, 'God and His prophet forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys; it is unclean!'"

Al-Bukhārī is unique in giving this; Muslim did not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma'mar, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Khaybar, he found them carrying their hoes as they went out to their fields. When they saw him and the army with him, they fled back into their forts. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, '*Allāhu Akbar!* Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for those already warned if we can dismount in their open square!'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*; it conforms to the criteria for both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the pre-dawn prayer close to Khaybar and then he said, '*Allāhu Akbar!* Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for those already warned if we can dismount in their open square!"

"They (the people of Khaybar) took various paths in flight. And the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed their warriors and took their families prisoner. Among the prisoners was Ṣafiyya. She went to the lot of Dīḥya al-Kalbī, and then to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who set her free as her dowry.

"'Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb said to Thābit, 'Abū Muḥammad, was it you who asked Anas, "What was it he gave as her dowry?"' Thābit nodded in affirmation to him."

He was alone in relating this *ḥadīth*; Muslim did not. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim reported the prohibition of eating the meat of domestic donkeys through various chains of transmission in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī stated, "Abū Ṭāhir, the jurist informed us, quoting Khaṭṭāb b. Aḥmad al-Ṭustī; Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd al-Abyūridī related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, from Muslim al-Aʿwar al-Malāʾī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to visit the sick, follow behind funeral processions and respond to the pleas from slaves, and rode on donkeys. At the expeditions to Banū Qurayẓa and to al-Naḍīr, he rode a donkey. At the battle of Khaybar he rode a donkey with a halter made of palm fibre, and his saddle was also made of palm fibre.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this *ḥadīth* in its entirety from 'Alī b. Ḥajr, from 'Alī b. Mushir, and Ibn Māja, from Muḥammad b. al-Sabāḥ, from Sufyān, and from 'Umar b. Rāfi' from Jarīr, all of them quoting Muslim, he being Ibn Kaysān al-Mulāʾī al-Aʿwar al-Kūfī, from Anas. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "We know of this only from his *ḥadīth*; and he is a somewhat weak source."

I comment that what is well established, in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī from Anas, is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode along with a Companion at Khaybar and that in consequence his pants became pulled up to his thigh. It is obvious that he was riding a horse that day, not a donkey.

It may be that this *ḥadīth*, if true, makes it likely that he did ride donkeys on some days, while he was besieging the enemy. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Khuzāʿī related to him, quoting Ziyād b. al-Rabiʿ, from Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī, who said, "Anas looked out at the people on Friday and saw some *taylasam*,⁶⁴ some shawls. He commented, 'They look like the Jews of Khaybar!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd, from Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, who said, "'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib was lagging behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar, suffering from sore eyes. 'Alī commented, 'How should I lag behind the Prophet (ṢAAS)?' And he joined him.

"And on the night (before) when Khaybar was conquered, he said, 'I will certainly give the banner tomorrow to someone (or the words were: 'may someone tomorrow take the banner') whom God and His messenger love, and it will be conquered by him.' We had hoped for that, but it was said that this referred to 'Alī. So it was given to him, and Khaybar was conquered."

Al-Bukhārī related (this) also, as did Muslim, from Qutayba, from Ḥātim.

Al-Bukhārī then stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Ḥāzim, who said, "Sahl b. Saʿd narrated to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at Khaybar, 'I will certainly give this banner tomorrow to a man at whose hand God will grant victory, someone who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love.'"

The account continued, "The men spent that night wondering to which of them it would be given. When morning came, they all went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), each hoping that it would be given to him. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) then asked, 'Where is 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib?' 'Messenger of God,' they told him, 'his eyes are bothering him.' 'Send for him,' he said. They sent to fetch him and he came. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spat in his eyes and said a prayer for him. And he was cured, there being pain no longer. He then gave him the banner. 'Alī asked, 'Messenger of God, shall I battle them until they become as we are?' He replied, 'Continue riding until you reach their main square and dismount there. Then invite them to Islam and inform them of their duties to the Almighty therein. And by God, if God gives guidance through you to just one man among them, that will be better for you than for you to have the *ḥumr al-naʿm*, the choice part of the herd!'"

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī both related this from Qutayba.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, and in al-Bayhaqī, there is given a *ḥadīth* of Suhayl b. Abū Ṣāliḥ, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The

64. A garment worn over the head and shoulders, not unlike a shawl.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Tomorrow I shall give the banner to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. God will grant victory at his hands."

"Umar commented, 'It was only that day that I loved leadership!'"

"He called for 'Alī and gave him his mission. He then said, 'Go and fight on till God gives you victory; do not turn aside.' 'Alī asked, 'How long should I battle the enemy?' He replied, 'Fight them until they bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. If they do that they will have saved their blood from us, along with their possessions, except for what is otherwise justified, their accounting being with God.'"

This is the phraseology given by al-Bukhārī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām and Jaḥsh b. al-Muthannā said that Isrā'īl related to them, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. 'Iṣma al-'Ijlī, (who said), "I heard Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, may God be pleased with him, say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the banner and waved it. Then he asked, "Who will take it properly?" Someone came and said, "I will." He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), told him to leave. He did so, and another man came up. He told him too to leave. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "By Him who honoured the face of Muḥammad, I shall certainly give it to a man who will not retreat." He then said, "Come here, 'Alī."

"He then left and eventually God conquered Khaybar and Fadak at his hands, and he brought in its dates and dried meat."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is fair, though somewhat strange.

This man 'Abd Allāh b. 'Iṣma is also known as "Ibn A'ṣam" and similarly by the honorific Abū 'Alwān al-'Ijlī. Originally from al-Yamāma, he lived in Kufa. Ibn Mu'īn classified him as a reliable source. Abū Zur'ā said, "He's a fairly good source." Abū Ḥatīm said, "A sheikh". Ibn Hibbān included him among reliable sources, saying, "He makes many errors." He also included him among weak sources. He commented, "He relates about well-established matters in ways dissimilar to those of the fully reliable authorities, so that one suspects that his reports may be imaginary or invented."

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as saying, "Burayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslamī related to me, from his father, from Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa', may God be pleased with him, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to several of the forts at Khaybar. He engaged in battle, but then returned, there having been no conquest despite his efforts.

"He then sent 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, and he battled and returned without conquest. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Tomorrow I shall certainly give the banner to a man whom God and His messenger love and who loves God and His messenger. God will grant victory at his hands; and he is not someone who retreats."'"

Salama stated, "And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, whose eyes were bothering him that day. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat in his eyes, then said, 'Take the banner and carry on with it until God grants you victory.'

"He went forth with it, travelling fast and with confidence, and we followed directly after him. Eventually he planted the banner in a pile of rocks beneath a fort. A Jew looked down from the fort and asked, 'And who are you?' He replied, 'I am 'Alī, son of Abū Ṭālib!' The Jew then said, 'I swear by what was revealed to Moses, you are victorious!' And he did not return until God granted victory at his hands!"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting al-ʿUṭaridī, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, who quoted 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda, as having said, "My father narrated to me as follows, 'At the battle of Khaybar, Abū Bakr took the banner but returned without having been given victory. Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed, and the army came back.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Tomorrow I will certainly award my banner to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. He will not return until God grants him victory." We slept well that night, confident that the next day there would be victory. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the morning prayer and called for the banner. He arose and then not one among us with good standing with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not hope that he would be that man. I myself was presumptuous enough to hold my own head high in expectation, because of my standing with him. He called for 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, whose eyes were bothering him. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wiped them and then gave him the banner. And victory was granted him."

(The narrator went on) "I heard 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda say, 'My father related to me that he was a friend of Marḥab.'"⁶⁵

Yūnus stated that Ibn Ishāq said, "The first of the forts at Khaybar to be defeated was that of Nā'im. There Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed; a millstone was dropped from it upon him and it killed him."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from al-Musayyab b. Maslama al-Azdī, (who said) that 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda related to him, from his father who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) might well be affected by a bad headache and spend a day or two without going outside to the people. When he made camp at Khaybar he suffered a severe headache and did not come out to the men. Abū Bakr took up the banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and then set out to battle where he fought fiercely. He then returned. 'Umar next took it, fought a battle even more fierce than the first and then he returned. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of this and he said, 'Tomorrow I shall

65. The reference is to a Jew who was champion of a fort at Khaybar. See the *ḥadīth* reported hereafter, pp.254 et seq.

certainly give it to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. He will take it (Khaybar) by force.'

"Ali was not present. The men of Quraysh there had aspirations for it, each one hoping to receive it. Next morning 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib came riding a camel of his. He made it kneel nearby. He was suffering from an eye ailment and had bound his eye with a piece of striped cloth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What's wrong?' He replied, 'My eyes became sore after you left.' He told him, 'Come close to me.' He then spat in 'Alī's eye and he suffered no pain from it till he left.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him the banner and he took it and left. He was wearing a purple and red outer garment, the nap of which had worn off. When he reached Khaybar, Marḥab, the commander of the fort, came out, wearing on his head a Yemenī helmet with a stone with a hole in it the size of an egg. He was reciting the following,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well tested.

When lions advance and rage, their prey retreats from
the victors' attack.'

"Ali, may God be pleased with him, responded with the verse,

'I am he whom my mother named "Ḥaydar", "lion", like
those of the forests, extremely fierce
I'll give you full measure for measure.'"

He went on, "They exchanged two blows and 'Alī then surprised him with a blow that split the stone, and his helmet and his head, right down to the molars. He then conquered the city."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār related from 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb, from 'Abd Allāh b. Bakr, from Ḥakīm b. Jubayr, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, the story of the dispatch first of Abū Bakr, then of 'Umar at Khaybar, and then the mission of 'Alī at whose hands victory came. In his text there are unsatisfactory and strange elements. His chain of transmission includes persons accused of Shī'ī sympathies. But God knows best.

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī, the following being the wording of the latter, related through 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, from Iyās b. Salama b. al-Akwa', from his father who narrated a long account in which he told of their return from the expedition against Banū Fazāra. He said, "We remained there only three days before going forth to Khaybar. 'Amir went out and began to recite,

'By God, had it not been for you, we would not have
been rightly guided, nor given alms nor prayed.

By your grace, we have not failed; so send down Your
serenity upon us

And make our feet firm when we meet the enemy.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked who it was speaking. 'That is 'Āmir,' they said. 'May your Lord forgive you!' he then said. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never made such special mention of any person without him being martyred. 'Umar, mounted on a camel, commented, 'I wish you had let us go on enjoying 'Āmir!'

"When we approached Khaybar, Marḥab came out, brandishing his sword and reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well-tested,
Like lions charging in fury.'

"'Āmir, may God be pleased with him, went out to challenge him, reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am 'Āmir, fully armed, a hero
brave.'

"They exchanged two blows, then Marḥab's sword struck into 'Āmir's shield. He charged vigorously at him, and he, 'Āmir, retreated and struck his own ankle, causing a fatal wound."

Salama stated, "I then left and came across a group of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, "'Āmir's work was all in vain; he killed himself!'

"When I approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) I was weeping and he asked, 'What's wrong with you?' I replied, 'They say that 'Āmir's work was in vain.' 'And who said that?' he asked. 'Some of your Companions,' I replied. 'They lied,' he said, 'he shall have a double reward.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked that 'Alī, who was suffering from sore eyes, be sent for and said, 'I shall certainly give the banner today to a man who loves God and His messenger.' I returned with 'Alī, leading him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spat into his eye and he was cured. He gave him the banner. Marḥab came forth, reciting,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well-tested,
Like lions charging in fury.'

"'Alī went out to challenge him, saying,

'I am he whom my mother named "Haydar", "lion"; like
those of the forests, fearsome in aspect.
I'll give you full measure for measure.'

"He then struck Marḥab and split open his head, killing him. Then the conquest came."

Thus according to this text it was 'Alī who killed Marḥab, the Jew, God damn him!

Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Ashqar related to him that Qābūs b. Abū Zubayn related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from 'Alī,

who said, "When I had killed Marḥab, I brought his head to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba narrated from al-Zuhri that the man who killed Marḥab was Muḥammad b. Maslama. Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated the same, as follows, "Abd Allāh b. Sahl, of Banū Ḥāritha, quoted from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh as having said, 'Marḥab the Jew came forth from the fortress at Khaybar reciting the following,

"Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well tested,
Sometimes I thrust and at others I strike, like lions
charging in fury.
Those I defend are indeed under protection and shall
not be approached."

"Ka'b b. Mālīk responded to him as follows,

"Khaybar knows that I am Ka'b, the problem-solver,
brave and determined.
When warfare arises and the battle rages, I wield a
sharp sword that pierces like lightning.
He will tread you underfoot until the brave are
humbled, by the hand of a faultless warrior."

"As Marḥab recited (other) verses, he asked, 'Will anyone engage me in combat?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Who will do this?' Muḥammad b. Maslama responded, 'I will, Messenger of God! It is up to me to seek revenge, for they killed my brother yesterday.' He told him, 'Go at him! O God, give him aid against him!'

"When they drew near one another a brittle old tree was there between them and each of them began using it to avoid his adversary. Whenever one of them took refuge behind it, the other would cut the wood with his sword to get at the other. Eventually the tree stood branchless, like a man. Marḥab then attacked Muḥammad b. Maslama and struck him. He met the blow with his shield and Marḥab's sword cut into it and remained wedged there. He then withdrew it, and Muḥammad struck at him until he had killed him."

Imām Aḥmad related this from Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Ishāq, in similar terms. Ibn Ishāq went on to state, "Some people say that Muḥammad b. Maslama recited the following verses as he struck him,

"Khaybar knows that I am a warrior; sweet if I wish, or
a deadly poison!"

Al-Wāqidi related it thus from Jābir and other early authorities, to the effect that it was Muḥammad b. Maslama who killed Marḥab.

Al-Wāqidi went on to recount that Muḥammad b. Maslama cut off both of Marḥab's legs and that Marḥab asked him, "Finish me off!" He replied, "Taste death as did Maḥmūd b. Maslama!" Then 'Alī passed by and cut off his head.

The two men later disputed over his possessions before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who gave to Muḥammad b. Maslama his sword, his spear and his helmet along with its inner lining. Inscribed on his sword were the words, "This is the sword of Marḥab; he who tastes it dies."

Ibn Ishāq then recounted that Marḥab's brother Yāsir next came out, asking, "Who will do combat with me?"

Hishām b. 'Urwa claimed that al-Zubayr went out to fight him and Umm Ṣafiyya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, asked, "Messenger of God, will he kill my son?" He replied, "On the contrary, your son will kill him, if God so wills it." The two men then fought and al-Zubayr killed him.

If anyone thereafter commented to al-Zubayr, "By God, your sword was really sharp that day!" he would reply, "I swear by God, it wasn't sharp. I just hit him really hard."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, from one of his people, from Abū Rafi', the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "We went forth with 'Alī to Khaybar; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him out with his banner. As he approached the fort, its people came out to him and he battled them. One of them, a Jew, struck him and knocked his shield from his hand. 'Alī picked up the gate of the fort and used it to defend himself. It stayed in his hand as he fought, until God (ṢAAS) granted him victory. He then threw it aside. And I, with seven others, myself being the eighth, tried hard to turn that door over, but we could not do it!"

There seems some vagueness about this report, as well as an obvious gap in its chain of transmission.

However, the ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥakīm gave an account through Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād, from Layth b. Abū Salīm, from Abū Ja'far al-Baqīr, from Jābir, that 'Alī carried the gate at Khaybar so that the Muslims could climb over it and conquer the town. The account states that afterwards 40 men tried but could not carry it!

There is weakness in this *ḥadīth*. There is a further weak account, from Jābir, that states, "Then 70 men joined together and it was all they could do to replace the gate."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Makkī b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd, who said, "I saw a scar from a blow on Salama's leg. I asked him, 'Abū Muslim, what blow caused this?' 'This is a wound I got at Khaybar. People told one another, 'Salama was wounded!' Then I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he blew on it three times. And I've never suffered from it right up till now.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Ḥazim, from his father, from Sahl, who said, "On one of his expeditions, the Prophet (ṢAAS) met and battled the polytheists. Then each side returned to their camp. Among the Muslims there was one man who tirelessly chased after

all and sundry of the polytheists, striking at them with his sword. Someone said to him, 'None of us has accomplished so much as so-and-so has.' He replied, 'He will go to hell.' They asked him, 'Well, if he's going to hell, which of us will go to heaven?' One of the men said, 'I'm going to follow him. Whether he hurries or slows down, I'll be with him.' Eventually the man was wounded and wanted to die. So he placed the hilt of his sword in the ground and its tip between his nipples and bore down on it, thus killing himself.

"So the men (who had followed him) came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and exclaimed, 'I do bear witness that you are the Messenger of God!' 'What's up with you?' he asked him and the man told him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'A man may perform actions like those who belong in paradise and seem to people to belong in paradise, yet be headed for hell, or he may perform actions such as those of the inhabitants of hell and be headed for paradise.'"

He related this also from Qutayba, from Ya'qūb, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl. That account is the same, or almost so.

Then al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shu'ayb, from al-Zuhri (who said), "Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab informed me that Abū Hurayra said, 'We took part at Khaybar, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, referring to a man among his force who was pretending allegiance to Islam, "This man belongs in hell." When the fighting commenced, that man fought very fiercely and received many wounds, so that some people began to have their doubts. The man suffered much pain from his wounds and put his hand into his quiver, took out an arrow and cut his throat with it. Some of the Muslims hurried off and said, "Messenger of God, God has fulfilled what you said! So-and-so has committed suicide!" He then said, "Get up, so-and-so and so-and-so and announce, 'No one but a believer will enter paradise; and God aids the faith even through an evil man!'"'"

Mūsā b. 'Uqba narrated from al-Zuhri the story of the black slave upon whom God bestowed faith and martyrdom within the same hour. Ibn Lahi'a narrated it similarly from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa. Both stated, "There was a black Abyssinian slave who lived in Khaybar who cared for a herd belonging to his master. When he saw that the people of Khaybar were taking up their weapons, he asked them, 'What are you going to do?' 'We are going to do battle with that man who claims to be a prophet.'

"This reference to a prophet had an impact upon him and he took his herd and approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him, 'To what do you invite?' He replied, 'I invite you to Islam, to bear witness that there is no god but God, that I am the Messenger of God, and that you will not worship any other than God.' The slave then asked, 'What will I get if I bear witness to that and believe in God?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Paradise, if you die believing that.'

"The slave accepted Islam and said, 'Prophet of God, this herd I have is my security.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Drive it out of our camp and

throw stones at it. God will discharge your security from you Himself.' He did so, and the herd returned to its Jewish master, who realized that his slave had accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and addressed his men."

He went on to relate the *ḥadīth* of him having given the banner to 'Alī, the approach of the latter to the fort of the Jews, and his killing of Marḥab. (The account states) "Also killed (while) with 'Alī was that black slave, who was borne by the Muslims to their camp and brought into the main tent. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked inside the tent, then turned to his Companions and commented, 'God has honoured this slave and led him to good. Islam was truly within his heart. At his head I saw two of the *houris* of paradise.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayḥaqī narrated through Ibn Wahb, from Ḥaywa b. Shurayḥ, from Ibn al-Ḥadd, from Shuraḥbīl b. Sa'd, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the expedition to Khaybar. A raiding party went out and they captured a man who was shepherding a herd."

He went on to relate roughly the same story of the black slave and said of him, "He died a martyr and had not made a single prayer prostration to God!"

Al-Bayḥaqī then stated that Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Faqīh related to him, quoting Abū Bakr al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Abū al-Azhar, quoting Mūsā b. Ismā'īl, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "Messenger of God, I'm a man who is black in colour, ugly of face and who owns nothing. If I fight those people until I'm killed, will I enter paradise?" "Yes," he replied.

(Anas's account continues that) "the man then went forth and battled until he was killed. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought to his body, he said, 'God has made your face handsome, sweetened your smell and increased your wealth.' Then he said, 'I saw his two wives, *houris*, competing to take off his gown; they were entering the space between his skin and his gown.'"

Al-Bayḥaqī then narrated through Ibn Jurayj as follows, "Ikrima b. Khālīd informed me, from Ibn Abū 'Ammār, from Shaddād b. al-Ḥadd, that a bedouin came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), expressed his belief in him and followed him, saying, 'I will go forth with you.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave him into the charge of one of his Companions. At Khaybar the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received booty and divided it up, including a portion for this man which he gave to the Companions of this man for he had been guarding their rear. When he came to them they gave it to him. He asked, 'What is this?' They replied, 'The portion assigned to you by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He responded, 'It was not for this that I followed you! I followed you so that I might be shot right here.' And he pointed with an arrow at his throat. 'So I would die and enter heaven!' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) then said, 'If you keep trust with God, he will keep trust with you.'

"They then arose to battle the enemy. Later he was carried in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he had been struck with an arrow where he had pointed! The

Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked, 'That is really him?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then said, 'He kept trust with God, so God kept trust with him.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then gave his own gown for him to be wrapped in, laid out his body in front and prayed over him. Part of his prayer that is known includes, 'O God, this is your servant; he went forth in your cause and was killed a martyr. I bear witness for him'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Suwayd b. Naṣr, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ibn Jurayj, in similar words.

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took possession of the properties one by one as he conquered one fort after the next. The first of their forts conquered was Na'im. There Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed; a millstone was tossed down on him and it killed him. The next fort was al-Qamūs, that of Banū Abū al-Ḥāqīq."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acquired captives from them. These captives included Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akṭab. She had been the wife of Kināna b. al-Rabi' b. Abū al-Ḥāqīq. Also captured were two of her female cousins. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose Ṣafiyya for himself; Dihya b. Khalifa had asked him for her; when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose her for himself, he gave to Dihya her two cousins.

The captives taken at Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The men were eating the flesh of donkeys, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) issued a proclamation against their doing this.

Al-Bukhārī devoted his attention to this and reported the prohibition from excellent sources.

Its prohibition has been accepted by most scholars both early and later; all four of the "orthodox Imāms" prohibited its consumption.

However, some early authorities, including Ibn 'Abbās, maintained that eating it was permissible. These scholars offered varying reasons for discounting the *aḥādīth* that have come down prohibiting it. For example, it was suggested that the prohibition came because they were using the donkeys for transport. Another reason given was that the prohibition related to the fact that the donkeys were booty that had not yet been divided up into the (required) fifths. It is also suggested that it related to the donkeys eating excrement, dung that is.

The truth is that it was prohibited because of its nature. Authentic evidences relate that the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, "God and His prophet prohibit your eating the meat of donkeys; it is unclean."

Affirmation of this is to be found in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Sallām b. Kirkira related to me, from 'Amr b. Dinār, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh – Jābir himself not having been present at Khaybar – that

when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited people from consuming donkey meat, he also allowed them to eat horsemeat."

The provenance of this is secure in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Hammād b. Zayd, from 'Amr b. Dinār, from Muḥammad b. 'Alī, from Jābir, may God be pleased with him. He said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited eating the meat of donkeys and gave permission for horses (to be eaten)."

This is the phraseology given by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to us, from Makḥūl, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prohibited four things that day: intercourse with pregnant women, eating domestic donkeys, eating carnivorous animals, and selling the spoils of war before their (official) allotment."

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, lacking proper transmission back to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Abū Marzūq, Najīb's freed-man, from Ḥanash al-Ṣan'ānī, who stated, 'We were on an expedition with Ruwayfi' b. Thābit, the *anṣārī*, to *al-Maghrib*, North Africa. One of the towns there, named Jirba, was conquered and a crier stood among us and announced, 'I am telling you only what I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tell us at Khaybar. He stood up among us and said, "It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to mingle his sperm with that of others" – referring to intercourse with pregnant captive women. "It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to have intercourse with a captive woman before determining that she is without child. It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to sell any spoils of war before its allotment. It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to ride any mount from the captured stock of the Muslims and then to return it when it is exhausted. Nor is it permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to wear any clothing from the captured stock of the Muslims and then to return it when it is worn out."'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated this similarly through Muḥammad b. Ishāq. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Ḥafṣ b. 'Amr al-Shaybānī, from Ibn Wahb, from Yahyā b. Ayyūb, from Rabi'a b. Salim, from Bishr b. 'Ubayd Allāh, from Ruwayfi' b. Thābit in abbreviated form. He characterized the *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*, "good".

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, it is stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar prohibited the meat of domestic donkeys, and also the eating of garlic.

Ibn Ḥazm narrated, from 'Alī and Shurayk b. al-Ḥunbal, that they accepted the prohibition of onions and raw garlic. What al-Tirmidhī transmitted from them was that (use of them) constituted *al-karaha*,⁶⁶ a practice considered repugnant. But God knows best.

66. That is, something for which there was disapproval but not prohibition.

People speak of the *ḥadīth* given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through al-Zuhri, from ‘Abd Allāh and al-Ḥasan, sons of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, from their father, from his father ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited at Khaybar *nikāḥ al-mut’a*, “temporary marriage”, and (eating) the meat of domestic donkeys.

This wording in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections comes down through Mālik and others, from al-Zuhri. This *ḥadīth* requires that the prohibition of *nikāḥ al-mut’a* applied only to the battle at Khaybar.

This is problematic, from two viewpoints. One is that at the battle of Khaybar there were no women to be so married, and their having captive women obviated temporary marriage.

The second problem is that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, related from al-Rabi‘ b. Sabra, from Ma‘bad, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to engage in *al-mut’a* at the time of the conquest (of Mecca), but then prohibited it before he had left Mecca, saying, “God has prohibited it until Judgement Day.”

According to this, then he would have prohibited it, then permitted it and then for it to have been again prohibited. This would have required there to have been abrogation twice. And that is unlikely.

Al-Shāfi‘ī, moreover, stated that he knew of nothing that had ever been permitted then prohibited, then permitted and again prohibited, apart from *nikāḥ al-mut’a*. And the only reason he made the exception for this was because he was relying upon both these traditions referred to above.

Al-Suhayli and others quote scholars who claim that it was permitted three times and prohibited three times. Others state that this happened four times. This is most unlikely. But God knows best.

The authorities differ as to when was the first time it was prohibited. Some say at Khaybar, others at the *‘umrat al-qadā’*, others in the year of the conquest (of Mecca); this latter seems the most likely. Others say it was first prohibited at Awṭās (a time close to that of the alternative preceding it); others say at Tabūk, others at the *ḥijjat al-wadā’*, the “farewell pilgrimage”.

Abū Dā‘ūd related this.

Some scholars refute the *ḥadīth* related from ‘Alī, may God be pleased with him, by saying that it contains *taqdīm wa ta’khir*, “an inaccurate sequencing of time”.

The best alternative seems to be what the Imām Aḥmad related, as follows, “Sufyān related to us, from al-Zuhri, from al-Ḥasan and ‘Abd Allāh, the two sons of Muḥammad (b. al-Ḥanafiyya) from their father. Ḥasan was the more convinced of the two that ‘Alī had said to Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited *nikāḥ al-mut’a* and eating the meat of domestic donkeys at Khaybar.’”

They said, “The narrator believed that the mention of Khaybar was the time and place for the prohibition of both; that was not so, however, since it was one only for the prohibition of donkey meat. There is no time and place mentioned

in fact for *nikāḥ al-mut'a*. He included this only because 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, learned that Ibn 'Abbās had permitted the *nikāḥ al-mut'a* and the meat of donkeys, as is well known. And the Commander of the Believers, ('Alī) therefore told him, 'You are misguided. The Messenger of God (SAAS) prohibited *nikāḥ al-mut'a* and the meat of domestic donkeys at Khaybar.'

He joined both together in this prohibition for him so that he would retract what he had considered permissible.

Our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, may God encompass him in his mercy, tended to accept this explanation.

Nevertheless, Ibn 'Abbās did not retract the permission he had given regarding donkey meat and temporary marriage. He attributed the prohibition against eating donkeys to the fact that they were their baggage animals. As for temporary marriage, he only rendered this permissible in case of need while travelling. As for the prohibition, that referred to when the circumstances involved indulgence of wealth or lust. Various of his associates and followers have adopted his position. This was well known to be the view of the scholars of Hijāz up to the time of Ibn Jurayj and beyond.

There is an account relating that Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal took the same position as Ibn 'Abbās; however, this account is weak.

Certain persons who adhere to the view of permissibility try to relate an account from the Imām (Aḥmad) to the same effect. This also is inauthentic, but God knows best. The text relating to this is in the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. And help is sought through God.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then began advancing slowly upon their forts and properties. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him by someone of Aslam that Banū Sahn of Aslam came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, we have fought hard and yet we have nothing.' They had not found the Messenger of God (SAAS) able to give them anything. He then said, 'O God, You well know their state and that they have no strength and that I have nothing to give them. Open up before them the wealthiest of their fortresses and give them sufficiency mainly in fats and food.' Next morning the fort of al-Sa'b b. Mu'adh was conquered for them. And no fort in Khaybar was wealthier or had richer food than it."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Various fortresses having been conquered and certain properties acquired, the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived finally at their forts called al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim; those were the last of the Khaybar castles to be conquered. The Messenger of God (SAAS) besieged the enemy there for some ten days."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Their rallying cry at Khaybar was, *Yā Manṣūr! Amit! Amit!* 'O Victor! Kill! Kill!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Burdayda b. Sufyān al-Azdī al-Aslamī related to me, from some men of Banū Salama, from Abū al-Yusr Ka'b b. 'Amr, who said, 'I was

with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar one evening when a herd of sheep belonging to a Jew passed by, heading for their forts which we were besieging. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Which man will feed us from these sheep?' I replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'Then do so,' he told me.

"So I went out, racing as hard as I could, like an ostrich. When he saw me do this, and was about to head back, he exclaimed, 'O God, let us enjoy him long!' When I had reached the sheep, the first ones had already entered their fort. But I caught two ewes from their rear, tucked them under my arms and sped back, carrying them as if I bore nothing. I threw them down before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and they slaughtered and ate them both."

Abū al-Yusr was one of the last of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to die. He would weep when telling this *ḥadīth*, and then say, "And they were given my whole life to enjoy; I was the last of them."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated in *Dalā'il (The Signs)* as follows, "Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Iṣbahānī informed us, quoting 'Abū Sa'īd b. al-A'rābī, quoting Sa'dān b. Naṣr, quoting Abū Mu'āwiya, from 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal, from Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī (or from Abū Qalāba) who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) advanced on Khaybar, the fruit was unripe. But the men raced for it, became feverish and complained to him of this. He told them to cool water in pots and then to have this poured over them when dawn came and to repeat the name of God. They did this and it was as though they had been hobbled and then had their cords removed.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We related this *ḥadīth* from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rāfi' with an uninterrupted line of transmission. According to it the phrase 'between the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ashā* times for prayer' was used."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā and Bahz both related to him as follows, "Sulaymān b. al-Mughira related to us, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal, who said, 'My share of the booty at Khaybar was a leather bag of lard. I gripped it tight and said, "I'll not give any of this to any one!" Then I turned and saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiling.'"

Aḥmad said, "Affān related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from Ḥamīd b. Hilāl, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal, who said, 'While we were besieging the fortress at Khaybar, someone threw down at us a leather bag containing lard. So I went and took it. Then I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I felt ashamed.'"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba. Muslim also related it, from Shaybān b. Farūkh, from 'Uthmān b. al-Mughira.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Someone whose word I do not doubt related to me from 'Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal al-Mazanī as follows, 'At Khaybar, I captured a leather bag of lard. I carried it around my neck and went off to my mount and my companions. The man placed in charge of the booty then came up to me and grabbed the side of it, saying, "Come on! Not till it's divided up among the Muslims." I replied, "No, by God, I'll not give it to you!" He then began pulling

the bag away from me. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw us while we were behaving this way, and he smiled and laughed. He then told the booty-master, "Let him have it." So he released it and I went off with it to my mount and to my companions and we ate it."

Most scholars refer to this *ḥadīth* in relation to Imām Mālik's prohibition of the use of the fat from animals sacrificed by Jews and captured by Muslims. This is because God Almighty stated, "and the food of those to whom the Book came is permissible for you" (*sūrat al-Mā'idā*; V, v.5). He (Imām Mālik) said, "This is not food for them (the Jews)." (His opponents, however,) cite this *ḥadīth* against him. Nevertheless, there are doubts about this *ḥadīth*. This lard could well have been permitted to them. But God knows best.

This *ḥadīth* was also cited to show that food is not subject to the division into fifths. This is supported by what Imām Abū Dā'ūd related, as follows, "Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā' related to us, quoting Abū Mu'āwiya, quoting Ishāq al-Shaybānī, from Muḥammad b. Abū Mujālid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, 'I asked, "Didn't you divide up (captured) food into the fifths during the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?"' He (*sic*) replied, "We did capture food at Khaybar. People would come and take of it what they needed, then leave."'"

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this; the *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, "good".

An Account of the Story of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Huyayy b. Akḥṭub al-Naḍriyya, may God be pleased with her.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forced the Jews of Banū al-Naḍir to vacate Medina, as was related above, most of them went to Khaybar. Their number included Huyayy b. Akḥṭub and Banū Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who were persons of wealth and prestige among their people. Ṣafiyya at that time was a child, not yet having reached maturity. Thereafter, when she was ready for marriage, it was arranged to her cousin. When she was conducted to him after the wedding, he consummated the marriage. Their married life continued for some time. Then in her sleep she saw the moon descend from the sky in her lap. She related this vision to her cousin, who slapped her face and said, "So you yearn to have the 'king of Yathrib' as your husband, do you?"

Soon thereafter the arrival and siege of them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred and Ṣafiyya was among those captured, while her husband was killed.

Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) chose her and she became part of his household, to which she now belonged, as will be related. After ascertaining that she was not pregnant and not menstruating he consummated marriage with her and discovered the mark made on her cheek by her husband's blow. He asked her about this, and she related to him what she had seen in those wonderful visions. May God be pleased with her and grant her pleasure.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ṣubḥ*, morning prayer, while it was still dark, near Khaybar. He then said, '*Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great! Khaybar is ruined! It's a bad day for an enemy who has been warned when we can dismount in their open square!'

"Then the enemy hurried to escape along the alleyways and the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed their warriors and took their children captive. Among the prisoners was Ṣafiyya. She went to Dihya al-Kalbī, and then to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who gave her her freedom as her dowry."

Muslim also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd which has several lines of transmission from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ādam related to him, from Shuʿba, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, who said, "I heard Anas b. Mālik say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) took Ṣafiyya captive and then gave her her freedom and married her.' Thābit asked Anas, 'Did he not give her a dowry?' He replied, 'He gave her herself as dowry, rewarding her her freedom.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. Dāʿūd related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, as did Aḥmad b. ʿIsā, quoting Wahb (who said), "Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Zuhri informed me, from ʿAmr, the freed-man of al-Muṭṭalib, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'We came to Khaybar. After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered the fortress, mention was made to him of the beauty of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Huyayy b. Akḥṭub. Her husband had been killed, she still being a bride. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then chose her for himself. He left with her, travelling in her company until he reached Sudd al-Ṣahbā'. She was then free of her menses and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with her. Thereafter, he made some *ḥays*, dates with butter, on a small leather mat. Then he told me, 'Make an invitation to those around you.' And this was the wedding banquet given for Ṣafiyya. We then left for Medina. I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) make a cushion behind himself for her with his cloak and would then sit upon his mount. He would bend his knee and she would put her foot on it, then mount up.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Kathīr (who said), "Ḥumayd narrated to me that he heard Anas say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed between Khaybar and al-Madd for three nights, Ṣafiyya being brought to him for consummation of their marriage. I invited the Muslims to his wedding banquet. There was no bread or meat; all he did was order Bilāl to get some leather dishes in which he threw some dates, sour milk cheese and butter. The Muslims asked, 'Is she to be considered one of the *ummahāt al-muʾminin*, 'mothers of the believers', or someone taken captive?' They replied, 'If he keeps her veiled, then she is

one of the former; if not, then of the latter.” When he rode on, he placed her behind himself and put a veil over her.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Suhayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “Ṣafiyya went to Dihya al-Kalbī, and then to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Abū Dā'ūd also stated, “Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm related to us, saying, 'Ibn 'Alīyya related to us, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Suhayb, from Anas, who said, “The captives were gathered” – meaning at Khaybar – “and Dihya arrived and said, ‘Messenger of God, award me a slave girl from amongst the captives.’ He replied, ‘Go along and select one.’ He selected Ṣafiyya, daughter of Huyayy. Then a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Prophet of God, you gave to Dihya’ (Ya'qūb added, ‘Ṣafiyya, daughter of Huyayy, a lady of Qurayza and al-Naḍir’) ‘someone for whom only you are appropriate.’ He replied, ‘Have her brought.’ When the Prophet (ṢAAS) saw her, he said, ‘Take a slave girl from the captives other than her.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then set her free and married her.””

He gave this account from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Alīya.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhili related to him, quoting Bahz b. Asad, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Thābit, from Anas, who said, “A lovely slave girl fell to the lot of Dihya, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bought her for a price of seven head of cattle. He then gave her over to Umm Salama to prepare her.” Ḥammād (b. Salama) said, “And I believe he said, ‘And she was readied in her house, Ṣafiyya, daughter of Huyayy.’”

Abū Dā'ūd alone gave this *ḥadīth*.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered al-Qamūs, the fort of Banū Abū al-Huqayq, brought to him were Ṣafiyya, daughter of Huyayy b. Akhtub and another girl. Bilāl, who had brought them both, had gone past some of the Jews who had been killed. When the woman with Ṣafiyya saw them she screamed, slapped her face and poured dirt over her head. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw her, he said, ‘Get that she-devil away from me!’ He ordered Ṣafiyya to be brought to him and she was placed behind him and he threw his cloak over her. And so the Muslims knew that he had chosen her for himself.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told Bilāl, so I have been informed, after having seen how that Jewess had behaved, ‘Have you lost your sense of compassion, Bilāl, taking the two women past their dead menfolk!’

“While still the bride of Kināna b. al-Rabi' b. Abū al-Huqayq, Ṣafiyya had seen a vision in her sleep that a moon dropped into her lap. She told her husband of her vision and he replied, ‘That’s only because you desire the “king of Hijāz”, Muḥammad!’ He then gave her a slap on her face that blackened her eye. The mark of this was still upon her when she was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He asked her how it had happened, and she told him.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had Kināna b. al-Rabi' brought to him; he was in charge of the Banū al-Naḍir treasury. When asked about it, Kināna denied knowledge of its whereabouts. Then there was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a Jew who said, 'I saw Kināna circle around the treasure early every morning.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Kināna, 'Do you realize that I'll kill you if we find it with you?' 'Yes,' he replied. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that their treasure be dug up and some of it was brought out. He then asked Kināna the whereabouts of the rest, but he refused to hand it over. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwām to go to him, saying, 'Torture him until you root out what he has.' Al-Zubayr then repeatedly struck fire on his chest until he was close to death. Finally, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) pushed him over to Muḥammad b. Maslama, who cut off his head in revenge for the loss of his brother, Maḥmūd b. Maslama."

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Waṭiḥ and al-Sulālim. When they were sure that all was lost, they asked him to let them leave, and to spare their blood. He did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had seized all the wealth of al-Shiqq, al-Niṭāt and al-Katiba, and all their forts, except for those two. When the people at Fadak heard what had happened to the others, they wanted the same. So they sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to let them leave and to spare their blood on the understanding that they would leave their possessions for him. He agreed. One of the intermediaries between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and them in this matter was Muḥayyiṣa b. Masʿūd, brother of Banū Ḥāritha.

"When the people of Khaybar surrendered on this agreement, they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to grant them a half share in the properties, saying, 'We know more about it than you do, and we'll make it produce more.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made peace with them on this basis of half shares, provided that, 'If we wish to expel you, we will do so.' He made a similar arrangement with the people of Fadak."

Section: On the Conquest of their Forts and the Division of their Land.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "When the Jews from the forts of Nāʿim and of that of al-Ṣaʿb b. Muʿadh went to that of al-Zubayr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged them for three days. Then one of the Jews, a man named ʿAzāl, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Abū al-Qāsim, will you give me protection if I direct you to what refreshes the people of al-Naṭāt and then proceed against those of al-Shiqq? Those at al-Shiqq are deathly afraid of you.'"

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did give this man protection for his family and possessions, and the Jew then told him, 'If you were to stay a whole month besieging them, they would not care. They have underground springs to which they can go out at night and drink from and then return to their fortress.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave orders that their springs be cut off and the Jews came out and fought most fiercely. A number of the Muslims were killed that day, as were ten of the Jews. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then conquered it. The last of these forts (to fall) was al-Naṭāt. He then turned his attention to al-Shiqq, which consisted of several forts. The first one he attacked was Ubayy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then attacked a castle named Samwān and he fought for it most vigorously. One of the enemy there, a man named 'Azul, came forth and made a challenge for single combat. Al-Ḥabāb b. al-Mundhir went out to fight him and cut off half his arm, the man's sword dropping from his hand. The Jew fled, but al-Ḥabāb followed him and severed his tendon. Another of them then emerged for single combat and one of the Muslims went forth to meet him. The Jew killed him. Abū Dujāna then went out against him, killing him and seizing his weapons. After that they offered no more challenges for single combat and the Muslims shouted '*Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great!' They then mounted an attack on the fortress and entered it, led by Abū Dujāna. Inside they found furniture, furnishings, cattle and food. The fighting men who had been inside fled in great haste, like lizards, until they reached the forts al-Bazāt, at al-Shiqq. There they put up a strong defence; but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men moved slowly towards them and they exchanged arrows. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) actually shot at them in person until their arrows wounded his fingertips. He then picked up a handful of stones which he cast at their fort which shook under their impact and collapsed to the ground. The Muslims then defeated them in hand-to-hand combat."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned his attention to the inhabitants of al-Akhbiyya, and of al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim, two forts of Abū al-Ḥuqayq. These they defended strenuously, having been joined by all those who had been defeated from al-Naṭāt to al-Shiqq. These joined with the rest in defending al-Qamūṣ and al-Katībā – a very strong fortress – and in al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim. Ultimately they stopped looking down and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) erected a catapult to use against them.

"When they were sure their defeat was certain, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having by then besieged them for 14 days, Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq came down to him and made peace. The conditions were that he would spare their lives and allow them to withdraw, while they would give him free access to their lands, properties, gold, silver, horses, armour and weapons, while they could keep only what was '*alā zahri insān*, 'on their backs', their clothing, that is. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'But the protection of God and of His messenger is lost to you if you conceal anything.' They made peace on that basis."

I note that when they did hide things and told lies, concealing that leather bag in which they had much wealth, it became clear that they were not keeping to their pact. And so he killed both sons of Abū al-Ḥuqayq and part of his family because they had broken their pacts and agreements.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Muqri al-Asfarāyīnī stated to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb, quoting ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ghiyāth, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Umar – according to Abū Salama – from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) battled against the people of Khaybar until he forced them to take refuge in their fortress. He thus gained control of their land, their produce and their date-palms. They then made peace with him. The conditions were that they would leave their fortress keeping what their mounts would carry. To the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go their gold, and silver. They would move away and not hide or fail to disclose anything; if they did so, they would have no valid pact of agreement.

“They then concealed a leather bag containing money and jewels belonging to Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭub; he had carried it with him to Khaybar when Banū al-Naḍir was expelled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked at this time, ‘What happened to the leather bag of Ḥuyayy that he brought from al-Naḍir?’ He⁶⁷ replied, ‘Various expenses and the warfare have exhausted it.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘Only a little time has passed and there was more money than that.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then pushed him over to al-Zubayr who tortured him. Before this, Ḥuyayy had gone inside a ruin and he⁶⁸ reported seeing Ḥuyayy circling it. They then went and searched, ultimately finding the bag in the ruin.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then killed the two sons of Abū al-Ḥuqayq, one of whom was the husband of Ṣafīyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. al-Akḥṭub. He took their women and children captive and divided up their possessions since they had broken their agreement.

“He wanted to expel them, but they said, ‘Muḥammad, let us stay on this land to care for and improve it.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions had no revenues from farming to live on and they themselves were too occupied otherwise to work on the land. And so he gave Khaybar over to them on condition that they would have an equal part of all the produce, dates and other returns, for so long as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished.

“‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa would come to them every year to receive payment for it from them, paying them their half. But they complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the zeal with which he performed this task. They had tried to bribe him. He told them, ‘You enemies of God! Would you pay me with

67. Presumably Kināna b. al-Rabi‘ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, as related in the other accounts given above.

68. It is unclear who is implied. Presumably a third party, as recounted heretofore.

ill-gotten gains! By God, I come to you on behalf of the person most dear to me of all. You are more hateful in my view than the monkeys and pigs that are your like! But my hatred for you and my love for him will not lead me to fail to treat you fairly.'

"They replied, 'By this, heaven and earth are set.'⁶⁹

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed some blackness around Ṣafiyya's eye and he asked her, 'Ṣafiyya, what is this blackness?' She replied, 'My head was in the lap of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq while I slept. I seemed to see a moon drop into my lap. When I told him of this, he slapped me, saying, "You yearn for the 'king of Yathrib'!"'

"She went on, 'I thought of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the most hateful of men. He killed my husband and my father. But he kept on explaining to me, saying, "Your father incited the Arabs against me and did so on and so forth." Eventually all that left my mind.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to give each of his wives 80 bags of dates and 20 of barley annually. During the Caliphate of 'Umar, they cheated the Muslims, and threw 'Umar's son down from atop a house, breaking his wrists. 'Umar then said, 'Those owning a share of Khaybar should come for us to divide it up.' He did divide it up and their (the Jews') leader said, 'Don't expel us; allow us to remain in it as did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr too.' 'Umar responded, 'Do you consider that what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said does not apply to me! But how would you feel if your mount raced off towards Syria, day after day after day!'⁷⁰

"'Umar then divided it up between those who were at al-Ḥudaybiyya and then at Khaybar."

Abū Dā'ūd related this in abbreviated form from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Bukhārī appended the following in the margin of his book, 'Ḥammād b. Salama narrated it.'" I note, however, that I did not see this. But God knows best.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Mahrī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, who said that Usāma b. Zayd al-Laythī informed him, from Nāfi', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who said, "When Khaybar was conquered, the Jews asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to allow them to remain on condition that they would work for one-half of what it produced. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'I will allow you to stay in it on that condition for as long as we wish.'

69. In a footnote to his translation of Ibn Ishāq's work, (*op. cit.* p.523) Guillaume points out that this is an authentically Jewish expression and that its inclusion here attests to the accuracy of the narrator here.

70. This is a reference to the charges against the Jews of Khaybar for having broken promises and failed to fulfil contracts.

"And so they did. The dates, of one-half of Khaybar, were divided into shares and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take a portion of one-fifth. From that fifth, he would provide 100 bags of dates and 20 of barley for each of his wives, annually.

"When ʿUmar wished to evict the Jews, he sent to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told them, 'Whichever of you wishes me to set aside for her (land that would produce) 100 bags, she may have the roots, land and water therefor, along with the plants to produce 20 bags of barley. This I will arrange. Those who prefer us to set aside what she owns of the fifth share as it has been, this too we will do.'"

Abū Dāʿūd narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, "Nāfiʿ related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, that ʿUmar stated, 'O people, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a pact with the Jews of Khaybar on the understanding that he could expel them if he wished. Those with property there should go to it; I am expelling the Jews.' And he did expel them."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yahyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, (who said) that Jubayr b. Muṭʿim informed him as follows, "I and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān walked over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'You gave to Banū al-Muṭṭalib a part of the fifth share of Khaybar but left us out, even though we and they have the same status with you.' He replied, 'Well, Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib are one.' Jubayr b. Muṭʿim stated, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave no share to Banū ʿAbd Shams, nor to Banū Nawfal.'"

He is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*; Muslim did not.

There is one version that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Banū Hāshim and Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib are one; they were not separate from us before Islam or thereafter."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "They went into the defile with them and gave them help after their having accepted Islam just as they had before Islam.

"Abū Ṭālib expressed displeasure with Banū ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, saying, 'May God punish badly ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal for us, and the sooner the better!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Thābit, quoting Zāʿida, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded a double share to each horse and a single share to each man on foot.

"This pleased Nāfiʿ, who said, 'So if a man had a horse, he received three shares: two for the horse, one for himself.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar (who said), "Zayd informed me, from his father, that he heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hands, were I not afraid that the other Muslims might be left in poverty, I would divide up (among the warriors) each village conquered for me, just as the Prophet (ṢAAS)

divided up Khaybar. However, I will leave it all to them as a (source of) treasury for them to distribute among themselves.”

Al-Bukhārī also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik; Abū Dā'ūd did so from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ibn Mahdī, from Mālik, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, from 'Umar.

This text requires that Khaybar was divided up in its entirety among those who had earned the booty.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, “Ibn al-Sarḥ related to us, (who said), ‘Ibn Wahb informed us, saying, “Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, ‘I learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took Khaybar by force, after fighting, and left some of its inhabitants still there after the battles.’””

Al-Zuhri stated on this, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided Khaybar into fifths, allotting it all to those who fought there.”

However, there is some disagreement over al-Zuhri's statement. What is true is that all of Khaybar was not divided up; in fact, only one-half of it was divided between the men, as will be shown.

Mālik and his followers use this argument, stating that the Imām may choose what is best to do with conquered territories. He may divide them up (between those capturing them), or he may set them aside for the benefit of all Muslims. Alternatively, he may, if he wishes, divide up part of them and set aside part to care for whatever circumstances and needs may arise.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, “Al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān, the *muezzin*, related to us, quoting Asad b. Mūsā, quoting Yahyā b. Zakariyyā' (who said) ‘Sufyān related to me, from Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from Bashīr b. Yasār, from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided Khaybar into two halves; one-half was for his own responsibilities, and one-half went to the Muslims; he divided it up among them on the basis of 18 parts.””

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. He then related, from a *ḥadīth* of Bashīr b. Yasār that is *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission, “he assigned to the half allotted for his needs (responsibilities) al-Waṭīḥ, al-Katība, al-Sulālim and their adjoining properties, and gave to the Muslims the half consisting of al-Shiqq and al-Naṭāt and their adjoining properties; the portions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was what adjoined both of these.”

He also stated that Ḥusayn b. 'Alī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from Bashīr b. Yasār, the freed-man of the *anṣār*, from men among the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (These men stated) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gained victory over Khaybar and divided it into 36 shares, each of which combined 100 shares. To the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims went one-half of this. The second half he put aside for those from the delegations who came to stay with him, and for other matters, along with some portions set aside for those who suffered special misfortune.

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this.

He also stated that Muḥammad b. ʿIsā related to him, quoting Mujmiʿ b. Yaʿqūb b. Mujmiʿ b. Yazid al-Anṣārī (who said), “I heard Abū Yaʿqūb b. Mujmiʿ say, on the authority of his uncle ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazid al-Anṣārī, from his uncle Mujmiʿ b. Ḥāritha al-Anṣārī – he being one of the reciters of the Qurʾān – say, ‘Khaybar was apportioned to those who had (also) been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya. He divided it up into 18 parts. The army consisted of 1,500 men, including 300 cavalry. He allotted two shares to each man with a horse, and one share to each man on foot.’”

Abū Dāʿūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Mālik stated, from al-Zuhri, that Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab informed him that the Prophet (ṢAAS) conquered part of Khaybar by force.

Abū Dāʿūd also related this. He then stated, “The following was recited to al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn while I was present, ‘Ibn Wahb informed you all (as follows), “Mālik b. Anas related to me, from Ibn Shihāb, that part of Khaybar was taken by force and part by peace treaty. Most of al-Katība was taken by force, and there was also a peace agreement about it. I asked Mālik, ‘What is al-Katība?’ He replied, ‘It is land at Khaybar; it consists of 40,000 *ʿadhq*.’” Abū Dāʿūd stated, “*al-ʿadhq*” means ‘date-palms’; it can also mean date fronds.”

Al-Bukhārī, moreover, stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ḥaramī, quoting Shuʿba, quoting ʿAmāra, from ʿIkrima, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, “When Khaybar was conquered, we said, ‘Well, now we’ll have our fill of dates!’”

(Al-Bukhārī went on) “Al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Qurra b. Ḥabīb, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘We never had our fill’ – meaning of dates – ‘until we conquered Khaybar.’”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “Al-Shiqq and al-Naṭāt were part of the share of the Muslims. Al-Shiqq consisted of 13 shares, al-Naṭāt of 5. The total was divided into 1,800 shares. This was paid to those who were present at al-Ḥudaybiyya, both those present at Khaybar and those absent from it. And of those who were present at al-Ḥudaybiyya only Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh was absent from Khaybar; he was awarded his share.

“Those present at al-Ḥudaybiyya consisted of 1,400 men. With them were 200 horses; 2 shares went to each horse. To each 100 men went a portion consisting of 18 shares. Four hundred shares went to the 200 horsemen; this was for their horses.”

Al-Bayhaqī related similarly through Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Yahyā b. Saʿīd, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān – namely that they consisted of 1,400 men, with whom there were 200 horses.

I note: the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used an arrow to select the order of the award of shares. The first share of the allotment of al-Shiqq went to ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Katība was a fifth portion assigned to God Almighty; of it a portion went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), another to (impoverished) relations,

orphans, the destitute and wayfarers, another to feed the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), another to feed the families of those who went out to arrange the peace treaty with the people of Fadak.⁷¹ These included Muḥayyisa b. Mas'ūd, to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) allotted 30 bags of dates and 30 bags of barley. Its (Fadak's) two valleys that were set aside for him were named Wādī al-Surīr, and Wādī Khāṣ.

Ibn Ishāq went on to give the details of all the allotments made at Khaybar; he did so fully and very well, may God have mercy on him.

The men placed in charge of the division and the accounting were Jabbār b. Ṣakhr b. Umayya b. Khansā', brother of Banū Salama, and Zayd b. Thābit, may God be pleased with them both.

The commander who had authority over valuation of the date-palms of Khaybar was 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He did this for two years. Following his death, may God be pleased with him, at the battle of Mu'ta, Jabbār b. Ṣakhr, may God be pleased with him, took over his work.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismā'īl related to him, quoting Mālik, from 'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī and Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed a man in command of Khaybar who brought him some dates that were *janīb*, "of very high quality". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaybar like this?" He replied, "No, I swear by God, Messenger of God! We take a *sa'* weight of this (dates of high quality) for two *sa'* or three *sa'* (of lesser quality)." He told him, "No, don't do that. Sell the lesser quality dates for cash and then with that cash buy the *janīb* dates."

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Darāwardī said, quoting 'Abd al-Majīd, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, that Abū Sa'īd and Abū Hurayra both related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent a brother of Banū 'Adī of the *anṣār* to Khaybar and appointed him in charge of it. And the same is related on a different line of transmission from 'Abd al-Majīd, from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Samān, from Abū Sa'īd and Abū Hurayra.

I note as follows. The properties of Khaybar gained by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims and all of Fadak, constituted a large part of the territory of Khaybar. They (the Jewish inhabitants) had emerged and made peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because of their great fear of him. To all this were added the acquisitions mentioned above from Banū al-Naḍīr where the Muslims similarly had no need to use force.

These were the personal property of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). From them he would subtract the yearly expenses of his family and then treat the remainder as belonging to God. He would use it to pay for the mounts, weapons

71. According to Ibn Ishāq, when the inhabitants of Fadak heard of the conquest of Khaybar, they sent emissaries to the Prophet (ṢAAS), offering a treaty of peace under which they would remain there and keep half their produce.

and other needs of the Muslims. When he died, Fāṭima and his wives – or most of them – believed that these properties would be inherited from him. They had not been informed of a statement that has been established to have been made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows, “We prophets do not leave inheritance; what we leave becomes *ṣadaqa*, a public charity.”

When Fāṭima and the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), along with al-ʿAbbās, sought their share of this and asked (Abū Bakr), the Trusting, to pay it to them, he related to them what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, namely, “We do not leave inheritance; what we leave becomes a *ṣadaqa*.” He told them, “I will provide for those whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cared for; I swear by God, the relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) are dearer to me than my own.”

He spoke the truth, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure! In that he was faithful, well-guided and adhering to the truth.

Al-ʿAbbās requested, as did ʿAlī on behalf of Fāṭima, since they had failed to receive an inheritance, that they should have access to that charitable fund and use it for those expenses that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used to meet. But Abū Bakr refused that, considering it his duty to proceed as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done, and not to deviate from his path and practices.

Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, was annoyed with him about this and experienced some anger. Yet this was not appropriate for her. She and all the Muslims well knew his position and standing with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his role in assisting him both during his life and after his death. May God reward him well, on behalf of his prophet, Islam and his people.

Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, died six months thereafter. ʿAlī then renewed his oath of allegiance. During the Caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, they asked him to give control of this *ṣadaqa* to ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās. They pressured him through a group of the Companions. And ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, agreed to this. He did so because of the multiplicity of his duties, the extensiveness of his domain and the great spread of his subjects.

ʿAlī gained advantage over his uncle al-ʿAbbās in this matter. Then they accompanied each other and quarrelled in front of ʿUmar. And they brought along a group of the Companions to him and asked him to divide up the assets between them in such a way that each would be independent of the other. But ʿUmar resisted this strongly, fearing that such a division would be similar to the division through inheritance. He said, “Look after it together. And if you can’t, then turn it over to me. By Him at whose command the heavens and earth stand, I’ll never reach any other decision about this!” The property continued to be managed in this way, by their descendants, into the ʿAbbāside era, the expenditures continuing to be made as they had been by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (This is what became of) the assets of Banū al-Naḍīr, from Fadak and the share of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Khaybar.

DIVISION.

The slaves and the women who were there at Khaybar were awarded portions of the booty, but no actual shares in the assets gained.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to him, quoting Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal, from Muḥammad b. Zayd, (who said), "Umayr, freed-man of Abū al-Laḥm, said, 'I was present at Khaybar with my masters. They talked about me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ordered that I be awarded a sword. I was just about to draw it when he was informed that I was a *mamlūk*, a slave. He then ordered I be given something (suitable) I would enjoy.'"

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this, from Qutayba, from Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, 'good and authentic'." Ibn Māja related it from 'Alī b. Muḥammad, from Wakī', from Hishām b. Sa'd, from Muḥammad b. Zayd b. al-Muḥājir, from Munqidh, from 'Umayr.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "There were women who were present at Khaybar with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He awarded them part of the booty, but he did not allot them shares.

"Sulaymān b. Suḥaym related to me, from Umayya, daughter of Abū al-Ṣalt, from a woman of Banū Ghifār, whose name was given me. She said, 'I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with some women of Banū Ghifār. We asked him, "Messenger of God, we would like to go forth with you," – he was then on his way to Khaybar – "to take care of the wounded and give whatever help we can to the Muslims." He replied, "May God bless you.'"

"She went on, 'So we left with him. I was a young girl then and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed me on his mount behind himself, on a bag of provisions. When he dismounted to perform the *al-subḥ* prayer, I got down from the bag. On it I saw blood of mine; this was my first period. I hurried back to the camel, feeling embarrassed. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw I was upset and noticed the blood, he asked, "What is wrong? You probably menstruated." "Yes," I answered. He then said, "Cleanse yourself and then take a vessel of water, put some salt in it and use it to wash the blood off the bag. Then go back to your seat.'"

"She went on, 'When God conquered Khaybar, he awarded us some of the booty. He took this necklace you see around my neck and gave it to me, himself putting it on me. By God, I will never be parted from it.' It was around her neck until she died and she left instructions that it be buried with her.

"She never cleansed herself after her menstruation without putting salt in the water. And she left instructions that it be put in the water to be used to wash her when she died."

Imām Aḥmad and Abū Dā'ūd related this similarly, from the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in his notes, "Al-Wāqidi related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra, from Sulaymān b. Suḥaym, from Umm

‘Alī, daughter of Abū al-Ḥakam, from Umayya, daughter of Abū al-Ṣalt, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Rāfi‘ b. Salama al-Ashja‘ī (who said), “Ḥashraj b. Ziyād related to me, from his grandmother, his father’s mother, who said, ‘We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Khaybar, I being the youngest of six women. When news reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) that there were women accompanying him, he summoned us. We could see from his face that he was angry. He asked us, “Why have you come, and who gave you permission?” We replied, “We have come to hand out the arrows and to pour the *sawīq*;⁷² we have with us medication for wounds and we can spin hair and use it for God’s cause.” “You may proceed,” he told us.’

“She went on, ‘When God conquered Khaybar for him, he drew arrows (to determine shares) for us, just as he did for the men.’ I then asked her, ‘Grandmother, what was allotted to you then?’ ‘Dates,’ she replied.”

I comment that all he gave them was the produce. He certainly did not give to them shares in the land, as he did to the men. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, “In my book, (it states) from the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ‘Abd Allāh, that ‘Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī informed him, as follows, ‘Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Jahm related to us, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj, quoting al-Wāqidi, (who said) “‘Abd al-Salām b. Mūsā b. Jubayr, from his father, from his grandfather, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Anīs, who said, ‘I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar, and my wife, who was pregnant, accompanied me. On the way she had a discharge of blood. I reported this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he told me, “Soak some dates for her and when it all turns liquid, tell her to drink it.” She did so and saw nothing to alarm her. When we had conquered Khaybar, he gave to the women, but did not allot them shares. He gave both to my wife and to my child who was born.’”” ‘Abd al-Salām added, “I don’t know whether it was a boy or a girl.”

An Account of the arrival to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was encamped at Khaybar, of Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, and those who had remained in Abyssinia.

These were Muslims who had emigrated there, along with those from the people of Yemen who had joined them.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. al-‘Alā’, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, “We learned of the departure of the Prophet (ṢAAS) while we were in Yemen and so we left as *muhājirīn* to join him. I was accompanied by my brothers, myself being the youngest. One was called Abū

72. A drink made of wheat or barley.

Burda, the other Abū Ruhm. We were among a number" (or the narrator may have given the figure 53, or 52) "of men of my people.

"We rode aboard a boat that took us to the Negus in Abyssinia. There we met up with Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalib, with whom we stayed before all coming on together. We arrived at the Prophet (ṢAAS) after he had conquered Khaybar. Some people there said to us – meaning those who had travelled by boat – 'We joined in the hijra before you did!'

"Asmā', daughter of 'Umayy – she having come with us, went in to visit Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), she, Asmā', having been one of those who had emigrated to the Negus. 'Umar then came in to Ḥafṣa while Asmā' was with her and when he saw the latter, he asked, 'And who is this?' 'Asmā', daughter of 'Umayy,' she replied. 'Umar then said, 'Is this the "Abyssinian" and the "sailor"?' 'Yes,' Asmā' replied. He then commented, 'Well, we emigrated before you did. And so we have now more right to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than you do!' She became angry and replied, 'That's not so, by God! All the time you were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he was feeding your hungry and instructing your ignorant, while we were in the *dār*, the domain, of the *bu'adā* and the *bughaḍā*⁷³ in Abyssinia! And we were there serving God and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by God, I'll not eat nor drink again before I tell the Prophet (ṢAAS) what you said, and I'll ask him. And I'll not lie or distort or add anything to it!'"

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, she said to him, 'Prophet of God, 'Umar said so-and-such' 'And what did you reply?' he enquired. 'I replied so-and-such,' she told him. He then said, 'No one has greater right to me than you do. He and his associates had one hijra, but you boat people had two!'

"She later said, 'I then saw Abū Mūsā and the boat people stream in to me, asking about this conversation. And nothing in the world could have more pleased and impressed them than what the Prophet (ṢAAS) had said about them.'

"Abū Burda narrated, 'Asmā' commented, "When I saw Abū Mūsā, he asked me to repeat this *ḥadīth*."

"Abū Burda said, quoting Abū Mūsā, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I well know the voices of the '*ash'arī* people', the reciters of the Qur'ān, when they go home at night. And I know their houses from their voices merely reciting the Qur'ān at night, even without seeing their dwellings during the day. One of them is Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who, when he meets the enemy" – or he could have said, "cavalry" – "would say to them (the enemy), 'My companions order you to wait for them.'""

Muslim related this similarly from Abū Kurayb and 'Abd Allāh b. Barrād, from Abū Usāma.

Then al-Bukhārī stated that Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, quoting Burayd (b. 'Abd Allāh) from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "We came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) after Khaybar had been conquered.

73. That is, "those who are far away" and "those who are hateful". Obviously, the Arabic words have similar patterns and sound almost similar.

He did give us a share (of the booty), though he gave none to anyone who had not been present at the victory except for us.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not. Abū Dāʿūd and al-Tirmidhī did relate it, authenticating it from a *ḥadīth* of Burayd.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus to request him for those of his Companions who had remained in Abyssinia. They arrived in the company of Jaʿfar, after the Prophet (ṢAAS) had conquered Khaybar.

He went on, “Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related, from al-Ajlah, from al-Shaʿbī, that Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day when he conquered Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kissed him between his eyes and hugged him, saying, ‘I don’t know which makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar, or the arrival of Jaʿfar!’”

Sufyān al-Thawrī related it thus from al-Ajlah, from al-Shaʿbī, only as *mursal*, with an incomplete chain of transmission.

Al-Bayhaqī recorded a line of transmission through Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn al-ʿArzamī, from al-Ajlah, from al-Shaʿbī, from Jābir, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back from Khaybar, Jaʿfar arrived from Abyssinia. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kissed him on the forehead when he met him, saying, ‘By God, I don’t know what makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Jaʿfar!’”

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, “The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Ismāʿīl al-ʿAlawī, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bayrūtī, quoting Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭayba (who said), ‘Makkī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ruʿaynī related to me, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, “When Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib arrived from Abyssinia, he was met by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When Jaʿfar saw him, he *ḥajala*, he hopped on one leg, to show his respect for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then kissed him between his eyes.”’”

Al-Bayhaqī then commented, “In the chain of authorities back to al-Thawrī there are persons not known.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Those Meccans who remained behind with Jaʿfar until they joined him at Khaybar were 16 men.”

Ibn Ishāq then listed their names and those of their wives. They were: “Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥāshimī and his wife Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmayy, and his son ʿAbd Allāh, who was born in Abyssinia, Khālīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams and his wife Amina, daughter of Khalaf b. Asʿad, and his children, Saʿīd and ʿAmmā, both born in Abyssinia, his brother ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿayyib b. Abū Faṭīma, a member of the Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ family.

“Then there were Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays, ally of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Aswad b. Nawfal b. Khuwaylid b. Asad al-Asadi, Jahm b. Qays b. ʿAbd Shurahbil al-ʿAbdarī, whose wife, Umm Ḥarmala, daughter of ʿAbd al-Aswad,

had died in Abyssinia; his son 'Amr and daughter Khuzayma died along with her, may God have mercy on them all. Then there were 'Āmir b. Abū Waqqāṣ al-Zuhri, 'Utba b. Mas'ūd, an ally of theirs from Hudhayl, al-Ḥārith b. Khālīd b. Ṣakhr al-Taymī, whose wife Rayṭa, daughter of al-Ḥārith, had died there, may God have mercy upon her, 'Uthmān b. Rabi'a b. Aḥbān al-Jumāḥī, Muḥmiyya b. Juz' al-Zabīdī, ally of Banū Sahm, Ma'mar b. 'Abd Allāh b. Naḍla al-'Adawī, Abū Ḥatīb b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams, Mālīk b. Rabi'a b. Qays b. 'Abd Shams, both from Banū 'Āmir. Along with this Mālīk was his wife 'Amra, daughter of al-Sa'īdī. Then there was al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Shams b. Laqīṭ al-Fihri."

Ibn Ishāq did not mention those others of Banū Ash'ar who were with Abū Mūsā and his two brothers Abū Burda and Abū Ruhm, and his paternal uncle Abū 'Āmir; in fact of the Ash'ar he referred only to Abū Mūsā, not even venturing to mention his two brothers, who were older than him, as is stated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

It is as though Ibn Ishāq, may God have mercy upon him, had not seen the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā regarding this. But God knows best.

He went on, "In the two boats with them there were also women who had been the wives of the Muslims who had died in Abyssinia. What he did record here was substantial and good.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān (who said), "I heard al-Zuhri say, when Ismā'īl b. Umayya asked him a question, "Anbasa b. Sa'īd informed me that Abū Hurayra came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and made a request of him – that is, he asked him for a share in the booty. At this a man from Banū Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ said, "No, don't give it to him." Abū Hurayra commented (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "This is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal." The man replied: "That's a strange comment to come from a weasel who has come down from Qadūm al-Ḍa'n!"⁷⁴

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth*; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related from al-Zubaydī that al-Zuhri said, "Anbasa b. Sa'īd informed me that he heard Abū Hurayra informing Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ as follows: 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abān (b. Sa'īd) on an expedition from Medina towards Najd.'

"Abū Hurayra stated, 'And Abān and his companions came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at Khaybar after he had conquered it; the girdles of their horses were made of palm-fibre rope.'

"Abū Hurayra said, 'So I said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "Messenger of God, don't give them a share!" Abān exclaimed, "You're just a weasel that's come down from atop a *ḍa'l*,⁷⁵ a lotus tree!" At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Abān, sit down!" And he did not give them a share.'"

74. Qadūm al-Ḍa'n is the name of a mountain in the territory of Banū Daws, Abū Hurayra's tribe.

75. It will be noticed that in this *ḥadīth* the word for the name of the mountain has been changed to a word meaning a lotus tree.

Abū Dāʿūd gave a line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* from Saʿīd b. Maṣṣūr, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh, from Muḥammad b. al-Walid al-Zubaydī with similar wording.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (who said), “My grandfather, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ informed me that Abān b. Saʿīd came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and greeted him. Abū Hurayra then said, ‘Messenger of God, this is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal!’ Abān retorted to Abū Hurayra, ‘How strange! For you, a weasel coming down from Qadūm Daʿn to complain about me for the death of a man whom God honoured with martyrdom at my hand, a man whom God prevented from overcoming me!’”

He is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* in this position. In his section on *al-jihād*, warfare, after the *ḥadīth* of al-Humaydī, from Sufyān, from al-Zuhri, from ʿAnbasa b. Saʿīd, from Abū Hurayra, he said, “I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was at Khaybar, after having conquered it. I said to him, ‘Messenger of God, grant me a share!’ Some of the family of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ said, ‘Don’t give him a share!’ I then said, ‘Messenger of God, this fellow is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal!’” From this point, the *ḥadīth* is the same as above.

Sufyān stated, “Al-Saʿīdī (by whom he meant ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd) related it to me, from his grandfather, from Abū Hurayra.”

In this *ḥadīth* there is the statement of Abū Hurayra that he was not present at Khaybar, as was asserted in the prior accounts of this engagement. Imām Aḥmad related this through ʿArak b. Mālīk, from Abū Hurayra and that he arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after he had conquered Khaybar and stated, “He addressed the Muslims and they gave us a part of their shares.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd, from ʿAmmār b. Abū ʿAmmār, who said, ‘I was never present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at any distribution of booty without him giving me a share, except at Khaybar; it was specifically for those who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya.’”

I note that Abū Hurayra and Abū Mūsā both arrived between al-Ḥudaybiyya and Khaybar.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr, quoting Abū Ishāq, from Mālīk b. Anas (who said), ‘Thawr related to me, quoting Salīm, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭʿī, who said that he heard Abū Hurayra say, “When we conquered Khaybar, we did not gain any booty of gold or silver. We did take camels, cattle, personal possessions and properties. We then departed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for Wādī al-Qurā. With him was a slave of his called Midʿam, who had been presented to him by some of Banū al-Ḍabīb. While he was mounting the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a stray arrow came in and struck him. People then said, ‘Lucky for him; paradise!’ But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Definitely not; by Him in Whose hands is my soul, the cloak he took at

Khaybar that the divider of the booty never received will light the fires (of hell) for him!"

"“A man then approached, after having heard that from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), carrying one or two sandal straps and said, ‘This is something I captured.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘A sandal strap or two of hellfire!’””

*An Account of the poisoned sheep and the clear proof
and evidence therein.*

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Urwa narrated this from ‘Ā’isha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS). He then stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting al-Layth (who said), Sa‘īd related to me, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘When Khaybar was conquered for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a poisoned sheep was presented to him.’”

Thus he gave it here in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, from Sa‘īd b. Abū Sa‘īd, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘When Khaybar was conquered, a poisoned sheep was presented to the Prophet (ṢAAS). The latter then ordered, “Assemble for me the Jews who were here.” They were brought and the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked them, “I am about to ask you something. Will you respond truthfully about it?” “Yes, we will, Abū Qāsim,” they replied.

“He then asked them, “Who is your father?” They replied, “Our father is so-and-so.” He then said, “You lie; your father is so-and-so!” They responded, “You correctly speak the truth.” He then asked, “Are you truthful about something if you are asked about it?” They replied, “Yes, Abū Qāsim! If we were to lie, you would know of it just as you did about our father.” He then asked, “Who are those in hell?” They replied, “We will be there for a short while, then you will remain there after us.” He responded, “By God, we’ll never be there after you.” He then asked them, “Will you be truthful about something if I ask you?” “Yes indeed, Abū al-Qāsim,” they replied. He went on, “Did you put poison in this sheep?” “Yes,” they replied. “What made you do that?” he asked. “We wanted to be rid of you if you were a liar; and if you were a prophet, it would not have harmed you.””

Al-Bukhārī related this in his section on *al-jizya*, the poll-tax on non-Muslims, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf. He also gave it in the section on *al-maghāzī*, the military expeditions, from Qutayba, both of these quoting al-Layth. Al-Bayhaqī stated, “The ḥāfiẓ Abū ‘Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-‘Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Sa‘īd b. Sulaymān, quoting ‘Abbād b. al-‘Awwām, from Sufyān b. Ḥusayn, from al-Zuhri, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, and Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra, that a Jewish woman presented a poisoned sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He told his Companions,

'Stop! It is poisoned!' He then asked her, 'What made you do this?' She replied, 'I wanted to find out if you are a prophet. Because if so, God would make you aware of it. And if you were an impostor, I'd be ridding people of you.'" The narrator concluded, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not detain her."

Abū Dāʿūd related this from Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Saʿīd b. Sulaymān.

Al-Bayhaqī related it similarly through ʿAbd Al-Malik b. Abū Naḍra, from his father, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Shurayḥ related to us, quoting ʿAbbād, from Hilāl – he being Ibn Khabbāb – from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that a Jewish woman presented a poisoned sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He sent for her and asked, 'What made you do that?' *ʿAḥbaktu*, I wished' – or *aradtu*, I wanted' – '(to establish) that if you were a prophet, then God would make you aware of it. And if you were not a prophet, people would be rid of you.'"

The narrator continued, "Whenever he experienced pain because of that (poison) he would have blood drawn. He went on, 'He made a trip on one occasion and when he had performed the pilgrimage, he experienced pain and had blood drawn.'"

Aḥmad alone gives this *ḥadīth* and its chain of transmission is good.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Hishām b. Zayd, from Anas b. Mālik (it states) that a Jewish woman brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a poisoned sheep and that he ate from it. She was then taken to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked her about this, and she replied, "I wanted to kill you!" He then commented, "God would never have given you power over me." (Or he may have said, "power over that".) People asked him, "Aren't you going to kill her?" "No," he replied.

Anas stated, "I continued thereafter to recognize its effects on the palate of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū Dāʿūd stated that Sulaymān b. Dāʿūd al-Mahrī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said), "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, 'Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh used to relate that a Jewish woman of Khaybar poisoned a roasted sheep then presented it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who took a shoulder and ate from it. A number of his Companions ate along with him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told them, 'Take your hands away!'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent for the woman and asked her, 'Did you poison this sheep?' The Jewess replied, 'Who told you?' 'This in my hand told me,' he answered, referring to the shoulder of meat. She then said, 'Yes, I did.' He asked, 'What did you intend by that?' She replied, 'I told myself that if you were a prophet, it would not harm you. And if you were not a prophet, we would be rid of you.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then forgave her and did not punish her. Some of his Companions who had eaten of the sheep did die. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn from his upper back because of his having eaten

from the sheep. Abū Hind, an *anṣārī* of Banū Bayāḍa, drew the blood with the point and blade of a sword."

Abū Dā'ūd then stated that Wahb b. Baqiyya related to him, quoting Khālīd, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was presented by a Jewess at Khaybar with a roast lamb. The *ḥadīth* proceeds as did the above from Jābir. It goes on, "Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr died and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for the Jewess and asked her, 'What made you do this?'" The *ḥadīth* goes on to recount much the same as did that of Jābir, but states that he then ordered her execution. This account does not refer to the matter of drawing blood.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra."

He went on, "It is probable that he did not execute her initially, but did so when Bishr b. al-Barā' died."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik, that a Jewess presented a roast sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar. He asked her, "What's this?" "A gift," she replied. She was careful not to say a *ṣadaqa*, a charitable donation, for he would not then have eaten it.

(The account went on) "He ate from it, as did his Companions. But then he told them, 'Stop!' He asked the woman, 'Did you put poison in it?' 'Who told you that?' she asked. 'This bone did,' he replied, referring to a leg of it he had in his hand. 'Yes, I did,' she told him. 'Why?' he asked. 'What I wanted was that if you were an impostor, we would be rid of you. And if you were a prophet, it would not harm you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn from his upper back and ordered his Companions to do the same. Some of them died."

Al-Zuhri stated, "She then accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left her alone."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*. Perhaps 'Abd al-Rahmān conveyed it from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Lahī'a reported from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, as did Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhri, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar, killing some of its inhabitants, the Jewess Zaynab, daughter of al-Ḥārith, who was the niece of Marḥab, presented to Ṣafiyya some roast mutton that she had poisoned. She included plenty of shoulder and leg because she had learned that these were the parts of a sheep most liked by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to Ṣafiyya accompanied by Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, of Banū Salama. She offered him the roast mutton and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took some shoulder and bit from it. Bishr took a bone and bit from it. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) swallowed his morsel, Bishr b. al-Barā' swallowed what was in his mouth. The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Take away your hands! The shoulder of this sheep tells me that my death will be announced because of it!' Bishr b. al-Barāʾ then said, 'By Him who honoured you, I found that too in the piece I ate! The only thing that prevented me from voicing it was that I respected you too much to want to make you dislike your food! And when you swallowed what you had in your mouth, I could not allow myself to protect my life to the exclusion of you. I had hoped you would not have swallowed it, for in it is my death too.' And before Bishr could get up, his colour turned ashen and his pains were such that he could not move before he died."

Al-Zuhri quoted Jābir as saying, "That day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn. It was a freed-man of Banū Bayaḍa who drew it using a sword point and blade. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lived on for three more years until he suffered the pain from which he died. He said, 'I have continued to have pains often because of that piece of mutton I ate at Khaybar right on up to now, when my aorta is splitting.'⁷⁶

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died a martyr."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) felt secure, Zaynab, daughter of al-Ḥārith, wife of Sallām b. Mishkam, presented him with a roasted sheep. She had enquired what part of that meat the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preferred, and had been told that it was the shoulder. She put a great deal of poison in the shoulder, as well as in the rest of the sheep, and brought it to him. When she placed it before him, he took the shoulder section and bit from it but did not swallow it. With him was Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr. He had taken some of it just as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done, but Bishr had swallowed his. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat it out and said, 'This bone tells me it is poisoned!'

"He then summoned her and she confessed. He asked her, 'What brought you to do this?' She replied, 'You well know what you did to my people! So I told myself, "If he is an impostor, I'll be rid of him. And if he is a prophet, he will be told of it."'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) let her go, but Bishr died of the piece he had eaten."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Marwān b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallī related to me as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said during that illness from which he died, when the sister of Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr went in to see him, "Umm Bishr, now is the time when my *abhur*, my aorta, is severing from that piece of food I ate in the company of your brother, at Khaybar."'

Ibn Hishām stated, "The *abhur* is the artery attached to the heart."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Muslims consider that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died a martyr as well as having been honoured by God with prophethood."

76. That is, "when my death is imminent".

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "Hilāl b. Bishr and Sulaymān b. Yūsuf al-Harrānī related to us as follows: 'Abū Ghiyāth b. Ḥamad related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Naḍra, from his father, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, that a Jewess presented a roasted sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When people put out their hands (to eat it) he called out, "Stop! One of its limbs is telling me that it is poisoned!" He summoned the woman and asked her, "Did you poison your food?" "Yes," she replied. "Why did you do that?" he asked her. She replied, "If you were an impostor, I would be ridding the people of you; and if you were truthful, then God would tell you of it."

"He then stretched forth his hand, saying, "Eat, *bismi Allāhi*, 'in the name of God'."'"

The narrator continued, "So we did eat, invoking God's name, and it did not harm any one of us."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār then added, "This is only related from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Naḍra, on this one line of transmission."

I note that there are very strange and offensive aspects to this *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidi stated that 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn, before he accepted Islam, saw visions in his sleep while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was besieging Khaybar. These visions inspired in him a desire to battle against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and to conquer him. When he did go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Khaybar, he found he had already taken it. So 'Uyayna said, "Muḥammad, give me some of the booty you have taken from my allies" – meaning the people of Khaybar. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told him, "Your visions lied!" And he then told 'Uyayna what he had seen in his dream.

(The account went on) "Uyayna then went home and was met by al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf, who said, 'Did I not say you were putting your loyalty in the wrong place? By God, Muḥammad will triumph over all between East and West! Jews used to inform me of this. I swear, I heard Abū Rāfi' Sallām b. Abū Ḥuqayq say, "We envy Muḥammad for the prophethood, since it has now left Aaron's people. He has been sent, though Jews will not obey me in this. We will suffer two massacres from him – one at Yathrib, the other at Khaybar.'"

Al-Ḥārith went on, "So I asked Sallām, 'Will he govern the earth?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'he will, by the Torah that was revealed to Moses, but I don't want Jews to be told of what I said of him.'"

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When he had finished with Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Wādī al-Qurā. He besieged its inhabitants for some days and then returned to Medina."

He then went on to relate the story of Mid'am and how he was struck and killed by a stray arrow. (He told) how people then said, "Lucky for him: paradise!" The

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had responded, "Definitely not; by Him in whose hands is my soul, the cloak he took at Khaybar that the distributor of the booty did not receive will light fires (of hell) for him!"

It has been earlier related in similar form as in the account of Ibn Ishāq from the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

An account of his battle at Wādī al-Qurā will follow.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to him, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān, from Abū ʿUmra, from Zayd b. Khālīd al-Juhānī, that one of the bravest of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at Khaybar. When this was related to the Prophet (ṢAAS) he said, "Pray for your comrade!" The faces of those present showed their surprise at his saying this and he went on, "Your comrade strayed from God's path." (The account states) "So we searched his belongings and discovered one of those Jewish shell necklaces not worth more than a couple of dirhams!"

Abū Dāʿūd and al-Nasāʾī related this similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān. Abū Dāʿūd, Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal and Ibn Māja also related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Saʿīd, all three attributing it to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī.

Al-Bayhaqī related that Banū Fazāra wanted to do battle against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his way back from Khaybar and assembled for this purpose. He then sent a messenger to them suggesting a specific site for the battle. Having ascertained this, they fled as fast as they could, moving far outside his path.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded further and when Ṣafiyya was free of her period he consummated his marriage with her at a place called Sudd al-Ṣahbāʾ, on his route to Medina. He served *ḥays* for a wedding feast and stayed there with her for three nights. She accepted Islam and he freed her and married her. He gave her freedom as her dowry. She was one of the *ummahāt al-muʾminīn*, 'mothers of the believers' as his Companions understood when he placed a veil over her when she rode behind him on the same mount. May God be pleased with her.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related in his biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS) as follows, "When he married Ṣafiyya at Khaybar – on the way back – the woman who combed her hair and prepared her for him was Umm Sulaym, daughter of Milḥān, the mother of Anas b. Mālīk. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent the night with her in a pavilion of his, while Abū Ayyūb kept watch over him, wearing his sword, patrolling around the tent until morning. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him there, he asked him, 'What is wrong, Abū Ayyūb?' He replied, 'I was afraid for you from this woman. She is a woman whose father, husband and people you have killed. And until recently she was a disbeliever. So I feared for you from her.' They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'O God, preserve Abū Ayyūb, just as he spent the night watching over me.'"

He went on, "Al-Zuhrī related to me, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, how they had overslept past the morning prayer on their way back from Khaybar. He told how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the first of them to wake up and that he then asked, 'What have you done to us, Bilāl!' He replied, 'Messenger of God,

He who took my soul was He who took yours too!' 'You speak the truth,' he agreed. He then rode his camel a little way off and dismounted, performed the ablution and the prayer as he had done previously."

Mālik related it similarly from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd, but *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission. And this too is *mursal*, from this line as given.

Abū Dāwūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said), "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra (who said), the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished with Khaybar, travelled on by night until we reached al-Kari, and there he had his wedding. He told Bilāl, 'Keep awake for us tonight.' But Bilāl's eyes closed in sleep as he rested against his baggage and neither the Prophet (ṢAAS) nor he, nor any of the others woke up before the sun struck them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the first to wake up. In alarm he called out Bilāl's name. Bilāl replied, 'By my father and mother, Messenger of God, He who took my soul away also took yours!'

"They rode their camels off a little way and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ablution. He gave orders to Bilāl who announced the prayer, and then he led the morning prayer for them. When he had finished it, he said, 'One who forgets a prayer should perform it when he remembers. For God Almighty says, "Perform the prayer for remembrance (of Me)'" (sūrat Ṭā Hā, XX, v.14).

Yūnus stated, "Ibn Shihāb used to recite it (the *ḥadīth*) like that."

Muslim related it the same from Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā, from 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb. Therein is stated that this was on their return from Khaybar.

In the *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Jāmi' b. Shaddād, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū 'Alqama, from Ibn Mas'ūd, it is stated that occurred on their return from al-Ḥudaybiyya. In one report from him (it states) that it was Bilāl who kept awake for them. And there is a report from him (Bilāl) that it was he who used to keep awake for them.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is likely that this happened twice."

He went on, "And in a *ḥadīth* of 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn and Abū Qatāda (there is reference to) their sleeping through the prayer. Also in it is the reference to the water vessel. It is likely that this makes reference to one of the two occasions in question, or it might be a third."

He went on, "Al-Wāqidi related in a *ḥadīth* of Abū Qatāda that that happened on their way back from the expedition against Tabūk. He stated, 'Zāfir b. Sulaymān narrated, from Shu'ba, from Jāmi' b. Shaddād, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Mas'ūd, that that occurred on their way back from Tabūk. But God knows best.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then proceeded to relate what the author of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection reported concerning the anecdote of 'Awf al-A'rābi, from Abū Rajā', from 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn. It tells of their having slept through the prayer and that there was a woman who owned two water skins from which sufficient water was drawn to quench the entire army without diminishing the water in them.

He then recounted what Muslim related from the *ḥadīth* of Thābit al-Bunānī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ribāḥ, from Abū Qatāda. It is a long *ḥadīth* and tells of their sleeping through the prayer and of the great quantity of water taken from that water vessel. ‘Abd al-Razzāq related this from Ma‘mar, from Qatāda.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismā‘īl related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, from ‘Āṣim, from Abū ‘Uthmān, from Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, about the expedition of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Khaybar. Abū Mūsā stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out towards Khaybar and when his men looked down into a valley, they raised their voices in a shout of ‘*Allāhu Akbar! Lā Ilāha illā Allāh!* God is most Great! There is no god but God!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, ‘Restrain yourselves! You are not calling out to someone deaf or far away; you are addressing One who is All-Hearing and near at hand; He is with you!’

“I was directly behind the mount of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he heard me as I said, ‘*Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh*, “There is no strength nor power except with God”.’ He said, ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays.’ I responded, ‘At your service, Messenger of God.’ He then said, ‘Should I not direct you to a phrase from the treasures of paradise?’ ‘Yes, please do, Messenger of God, may my father and mother be your ransom!’ He went on, ‘*Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh*.’”

The other authorities relate this too, along various lines of transmission, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mull, father of ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī, from Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī.

What is correct is that this incident refers to their return from Khaybar. Abū Mūsā only arrived after the conquest of Khaybar, as is related above.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been informed, after he had conquered Khaybar, gave to Ibn Luqaym al-‘Absī its chickens and livestock. On the conquest of Khaybar, Ibn Luqaym spoke the following verses,

‘Naṭāt was attacked by the Prophet with a well-armed
and very powerful squadron;

It was certain for shame when it was divided up and
the warriors of Aslam and Ghifār were there in its
midst.

They attacked Banū ‘Amr b. Zur‘a early in the morning,
and al-Shiqq’s inhabitants had a grim day.

They made its cocks run in its open spaces, and left
only chickens squawking in the trees.

Each fort had someone from Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal or Banū
al-Najjār working with their horses.

And there were *muhijiris*, their badges showing above
their helmets, not considering flight.

I knew that Muḥammad would triumph and would certainly
stay there for many months of Ṣafar.

Jews there opened their eyelids in the warfare that day
beneath the dust.'"

DIVISION.

*An Account of those of the Companions who were martyred at
Khaybar, may God be pleased with them, according to what Ibn
Ishāq b. Yasār, may God have mercy on him, and other
authorities on the military engagements reported.*

Of the best of the *muhājirīn* were Rabī'ā b. Aktham b. Sakhbara al-Asadī, freed-man of Banū Umayya, and Thaqīf b. 'Amr and Rifā'ā b. Masrūh, allies of Banū Umayya, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hubayb b. Uhayb b. Suḥaym b. Ghīra of Banū Sa'd b. Layth, ally of Banū Asad, and their nephew. Of the *anṣār*, there were Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, who ate from the poisoned sheep in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as is told above, and Fuḍayl b. al-Nu'mān, both these men being of Banū Salam. Then there were Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Khālīd b. 'Āmir b. Zurayq al-Zarqī, Maḥmūd b. Maslama al-Ashhālī, Abū Dayyāh Ḥāritha b. Thābit b. al-Nu'mān al-'Āmirī, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṭīb, 'Urwa b. Murra b. Surāqa, Aws b. al-Fā'id, Unayf b. Ḥabīb, Thābit b. Athīla, Ṭalḥa, 'Umāra b. 'Uqba, killed by an arrow, 'Āmir b. al-Akwa', and then Salama b. 'Āmir b. al-Akwa'; he was struck in his knee by the edge of his sword and it killed him, as is told above; may God be pleased with him. Then there was al-Aswad, the shepherd. Ibn Ishāq is alone in telling here the story of the last-mentioned. We already related it early on in the account of the expedition. And to God belong all praise and credit.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "According to Ibn Shihāb, those of Banū Zahra who were martyred were Mas'ūd b. Rabī'ā, an ally of theirs from al-Qāra. And of the *anṣār* of Banū 'Āmir b. 'Āwf there was Aws b. Qatāda, may God be pleased with them all."

THE INCIDENT INVOLVING AL-ḤAJJĀJ B. 'ILĀT AL-BAHZĪ, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Khaybar had been conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) talked with al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt al-Sulamī, of the sub-tribe of Bahz, who asked him, 'Messenger of God, in Mecca I own money in the possession of my wife Umm Shayba, daughter of Abū Ṭalḥa (she had earlier borne him his son Mu'riq b. al-Ḥajjāj) and I also have other funds held by various merchants there. Please allow me to go there.' He did so. Al-Ḥajjāj then said, 'Messenger of God, I'll be forced to speak lies.' 'Do so,' he told him.

"Al-Ḥajjāj stated, 'I travelled to Mecca and at the pass al-Bayḍā' there were men of Quraysh listening for news and asking about the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They had heard that he had gone to Khaybar, which they knew to be the chief village of Ḥijāz, productive, well-fortified and well populated. They were seeking information from travellers.

"When they saw me, they said, 'It's al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāt.' (They did not know of my acceptance of Islam.) 'He'll have news, by God. Tell us, Abū Muḥammad. We have learned that *al-Qāṭi*, 'the breaker of family ties', has gone off to Khaybar, a town of Jews and the 'farm of the Ḥijāz'." I replied, "I heard that too; and I have news that will please you." They crowded at both sides of my camel asking, "Well, what is it, Ḥajjāj!" I replied, "He has been badly defeated, such as you could never imagine. Very many of his men have been killed and Muḥammad has been taken captive. And they (the Jews) have said, 'We'll not kill him; instead, we'll send him in to Mecca where they can kill him among themselves in revenge for those of their men he killed.'" (Hearing this) the Quraysh men went off into Mecca shouting, "News has arrived! You need only wait and Muḥammad will be brought in to be killed among you!"

"Al-Ḥajjāj went on, 'I asked them, "Please help me collect the money I own and is owed me in Mecca; I want to go to Khaybar and acquire the spoils from Muḥammad and his men before some other merchants precede me there." And they did, gathering my assets faster than I had ever heard before. I then went to my wife and said, "I want my money," (I had left money there with her), "for I want to go to Khaybar to seize opportunities to buy before other merchants precede me there."

"When al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib⁷⁷ heard the news and about myself, he came and stood beside me in the tent of a merchant. He asked, "Ḥajjāj, what news is this you bring?" I replied, "Could you keep safe what I might entrust with you?" "Yes," he answered. "Then wait", I told him, "till I can meet you alone; I'm collecting my funds, as you can see; please leave me until I finish." When I had finished getting together everything I had in Mecca and was ready to leave, I met al-ʿAbbās and said, "Abū al-Faḍl, keep private what I tell you for three days, because I fear pursuit. After that, say whatever you like." "I agree," he said. I then told him, "I left your nephew the bridegroom of their king's daughter" – meaning Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy – "after he had conquered Khaybar and had taken away all it contained for himself and his men." "What are you saying, Ḥajjāj?" he asked. "It's true, by God," I assured him, "but keep it confidential about me. I have accepted Islam and only came for my money fearing it might be seized. When three days have elapsed, you can tell what you know as ever you want."

"On the third day, al-ʿAbbās dressed in a fine robe, put on perfume, took his walking stick and went out to the *kaʿba*, which he perambulated. When people

77. An uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS); he had remained in Mecca throughout the conflict between the Muslims and Quraysh.

saw him, they said, "Abū al-Faḍl, this must imply, by God, that you are remaining steadfast in the face of some great misfortune!" "Not at all, by God, by Whom you swear oaths. Muḥammad has conquered Khaybar and has married their king's daughter after seizing all their possessions, which now belong to him and his men." "Who brought you this news?" they asked. "The same man who brought news to you! He came to you as a Muslim, took his money and has gone off to join Muḥammad and his men!" "O servants of God," they exclaimed, "God's enemy has escaped! If we had known this he would have had trouble with us!" Soon after, news came to them confirming this."

It is thus that Ibn Ishāq related this story, without a full chain of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad substantiated it by saying, "Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ma'mar (who said), 'I heard Thābit relating from Anas, as follows, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alā asked him, 'Messenger of God, I have funds and family in Mecca. I would like to bring them. Would I be excused if I maligned you or told lies?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to say whatever he liked. So he went to his wife after his arrival there and said, 'Gather up for me what you have; I want to purchase the booty from Muḥammad and his men. They have been captured and their possessions seized.'

"This news spread throughout Mecca. The Muslims were defeated and the polytheists expressed their jubilation. When the news reached al-'Abbās, he was devastated; he could scarcely stand up."

Ma'mar stated, "Uthmān al-Khazraji informed me, from Miqdam, who said, "He (al-'Abbās) picked up a son of his named Qutham stretched out on the ground and placed him on his chest, reciting the following verse,

'My darling Qutham, who has such a nice little nose,
A child of affluence, despite what is claimed.'"

Thābit stated, from Anas, 'He then sent a young slave of his to Ḥajjāj b. 'Alā with the message, "Woe on you for what you brought! What is it you are saying? What God promised is better than what you brought!" Ḥajjāj b. 'Alā responded, "Give my greetings to Abū al-Faḍl and ask him to let me come to him in one of his houses. I have news that will please him." The slave went back home and when he got there called out, "Rejoice, Abū al-Faḍl!" Al-'Abbās jumped with joy and kissed him on the forehead. When the slave told him what Ḥajjāj had said, al-'Abbās gave him his freedom.

"Then al-Ḥajjāj came to him and told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Khaybar and had captured their possessions, which had been apportioned. He recounted how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had chosen Ṣafīyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, for himself and offered her a choice between having her freedom and marrying him, or joining her family; she had chosen for him to free her and to be his wife. Al-Ḥajjāj went on, "But I've just come for my

funds that are here and I want to take it. I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to come and he gave it to me, telling me to say whatever I liked. So keep this private for three days then tell whatever you want."

"So his wife gathered all his funds, jewellery and others of his possessions she had with her, gave them to him and he moved on with it. Three days later al-ʿAbbās came to al-Ḥajjāj's wife and said, "What happened to your husband?" She related to him that he had left on such-and-such a day. She told him, "May God not sadden you, Abū al-Faḍl. The news you received did upset us." He replied, "Indeed not; God does not sadden me and, praise be to God, nothing has happened to displease me. God has conquered Khaybar for His messenger and its properties have been allotted already. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has chosen Ṣafiyya for himself. If you care for your husband, you should join him." "By God, am I to think you're telling me the truth?" she asked. "Indeed I am and the situation is as I have told you," he assured her.

"Al-ʿAbbās then went to an assembly of Quraysh. As he went by them, they called out, "May nothing but good befall you, Abū al-Faḍl." He replied, "Nothing but good has, praise be to God! Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAlāṭ related to me that God has conquered Khaybar for His messenger. Its properties have been allotted, and he has chosen Ṣafiyya for himself. He asked me to keep this confidential for three days. He came back only to collect his money and possessions here, and then he left."

"God now reverted to the polytheists that depression that had been upon the Muslims. Having previously taken sadly to their homes, the Muslims now came forth and went to al-ʿAbbās and he told them all he knew. They were delighted, their depression, anger and sadness now transferring to the polytheists."

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* meets the criteria of both the great authorities. Yet only al-Nasāʾī of all six authors of the great collections of *aḥādīth* included it. He quoted Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, and his *ḥadīth* is similar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it through Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq. He also related it through Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, from Zayd b. al-Mubārak, from Muḥammad b. Thawr, from Maʿmar in similar form.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba similarly stated in his work on the military engagements that much betting and wagering now arose among Quraysh. Some people said, "Muḥammad and his men will prevail." Others said, "The two allies and the Jews of Khaybar will prevail." Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAlāṭ al-Sulamī, from the sub-tribe of al-Bahz had accepted Islam and witnessed, along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the conquest of Khaybar. His wife was Umm Shayba, sister of ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. Al-Ḥajjāj had much money; he owned mines in Banū Salīm territory. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prevailed over Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to go to Mecca to gather together his funds. He gave permission; the *ḥadīth* proceeds hereafter as above. But God knows best.

Al-Suhayli, may God be pleased with him, stated, "On the reason for al-Ḥajjāj accepting Islam we narrated a strange story concerning the *jinn*, 'the spirits'. He was the father of Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj, who was banished by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, from Medina because he had seduced some of the city's young women. Al-Farī'a, daughter of Ḥammām, mother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, spoke the following line about him,

'Indeed not; no way to wine for me to drink, and no way
to Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj.'

"When he went to Syria, he fell in love with the wife of Abū al-Aswad al-Sulamī, and wasted away for love of her. He was known as al-Ḍinnī, 'he who wasted away'. He died from this."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Among the poetry composed about the expedition to Khaybar are the verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit,

'Those of Khaybar fought only badly for the farms and
date-palms they had accumulated.

They disliked death and so their possessions became
booty; they acted like blameworthy cowards.

Would they flee death? The death of those who starve
is not pretty.'"

Ka'b b. Mālik said, according to what Ibn Hishām related from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī,

"We descended on Khaybar and its wells, the veins of
our heroes' hands standing out,

Men brave in fierce battle, not lacking strength,
daring in every encounter.

Many are the ashes beneath their pots each winter,
men who strike with Yemeni swords made of Indian
steel,

Considering death a reward from God if they achieve
martyrdom; they hope for it, considering it a success
for Aḥmad.

Protecting and guarding Muḥammad's honour, protecting
him with tongue and hand,

Helping him in every matter that concerns him,
generously offering their lives for that of Muḥammad,

Believing sincerely in news of the unknown world,
seeking honour and success in the future thereby."

Section: On the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) past Wādī al-Qurā and his besieging the Jews and how they made peace with him, as related by al-Wāqidi.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz related to me, from al-Zuhri,

from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Khaybar to Wādī al-Qurā. Rifā'a b. Zayd b. Wahb al-Judhamī had presented a black slave named Mid'am to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was he who would set the saddle upon the mount of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we made a halt at Wādī al-Qurā we came up against some Jews, and some bedouin also approached it. While Mid'am was setting the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in position – some Jews having already greeted us with arrow shots when we dismounted and we were therefore not ready packed and loaded, they being above us in their fortresses shouting – a stray arrow came in and struck and killed Mid'am. People said, "Lucky for him: paradise!" But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Definitely not, by Him in whose hands is my soul. The cloak he took at Khaybar from the spoils that the distributor of the booty did not receive will light fires (of hell) for him!" When people heard this, a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with one or two sandal straps. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "A sandal strap or two of hell-fire!"'"

This story is in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from the *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in similar form.

Al-Wāqidī stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) equipped his men for battle and arranged them in lines. He gave his banner to Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, a flag to al-Ḥabāb b. al-Mundhir, another to Sahl b. Ḥanīf and another flag to 'Ibād b. Bishr. He then called the enemy to Islam and told them that if they did they would win their possessions and spare their blood and that God would reward them.

"One of the enemy then came out to challenge for single combat and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām went out against him and killed him. Then another made the challenge and 'Alī went out against him and killed him. This went on till 11 of them had been killed; each time one of them was killed, the rest were invited to accept Islam.

"When prayer times came that day, he would pray with his Companions then return and call upon them to accept Islam and to come to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and His messenger. He went on fighting them till evening. Early next morning he attacked them again and the sun had not risen more than the length of a spear before they surrendered. He conquered it by force and so God gave them their possessions as booty; they won large quantities of furnishings and various goods.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained at Wādī al-Qurā for four days. He divided up what he had taken among his men, leaving the land and palm trees in the hands of the Jews, putting them in charge of it. When news reached the Jews of Taymā' how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had defeated Khaybar, Fadak and Wādī al-Qurā, they made peace with him, agreeing to pay the *jizya*, the poll-tax. They kept their possessions.

"Although 'Umar had later evicted the Jews from Khaybar and Fadak, he did not force out the people of Taymā' and Wādī al-Qurā, because the latter extended into the land of Syria; he considered that what was between Wādī al-Qurā and Medina to be part of Ḥijāz, areas beyond any part of Syria.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left to return to Medina, having now finished with Khaybar and Wādī al-Qurā and God, Almighty and Glorious is He, having given him much booty."

Al-Wāqidi went on, "Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad related to me, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ṣa'ṣa'a, from al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b, from Umm 'Imāra, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jurf saying, "Do not make your way to the women after the *ṣalāt al-'ashā'*, the late evening prayer." One man from the quarter did make his way to his family, but found what he did not like. But he left her free and did not himself leave her. He was reluctant to give up his wife by separating from her. He had children by her and loved her. So by disobeying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he had seen what he did not like."

DIVISION.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that when Khaybar was conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed the Jews in charge of it in return for a half of its dates and other produce.

In some phrases of this *ḥadīth* it is implied that he was removing it from their ownership, while in others it is stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) stated to them, 'We will keep you in them for as long as we wish.'"

In the *Sunan* works it is stated that he would send 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to appraise it for them when he came to take the harvest, holding them responsible for it. When 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was killed at Mu'ta, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Jabbār b. Ṣakhr to do this, as is told above. The place citing these phrases and discussion of their provenance is in the section on temporary sharecropping contracts in the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, if God so wills it, and in Him is our trust.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "I asked Ibn Shihāb how it was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given the Jews of Khaybar their palm-groves. He informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar by force and after fighting. Khaybar was part of what God bestowed upon him as war booty; he divided its proceeds into fifths, distributing it among the Muslims. After the fighting, some of its inhabitants came out to leave and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for them to approach and told them, 'If you wish, I will make over these properties to you on condition that you work them; their proceeds will be divided between us. I will let you stay for as long as God lets you stay.'

"They accepted and worked the land in accord with this agreement. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to send 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to divide up the proceeds, treating them fairly in the appraisal.

"When God took to Himself His Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr affirmed Khaybar in their control on the same basis as that which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had maintained before he died. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reconfirmed them in this from the beginning of his rule. But then ʿUmar learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said during that illness during which God took hold of him, 'Two religions shall not be together in the Arabian peninsula!' ʿUmar examined this issue closely until he became utterly convinced of its authenticity, at which point he sent a message to the Jews saying, 'God has granted me permission to evict you. I have learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Two religions shall not be together in the Arabian peninsula." Anyone with a contract with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should bring it to me and I will enforce it. Those without such contracts should prepare to leave.' And ʿUmar did evict those who had no contracts with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

I comment that the Jews of Khaybar in latter-day times, after 300 (years) claim to have in their possession a document from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in which it states that he exempted them from paying the *jizya*, the poll-tax.

Some scholars have been so deluded by this document as to advocate exempting them from the *jizya*, this being Sheikh Abū ʿAlī b. Khayrūn, of the Shāfiʿī school. The document is spurious and fake, devoid of authenticity; I have demonstrated its foolishness from many viewpoints in a separate book.

A number of colleagues have referred to it and to its foolishness in their writings, such as Ibn al-Ṣibāgh, in his work *Masāʾil* and Sheikh Abū Ḥamid in his commentary. Ibn al-Maslama devoted a separate section to refer to and to refute it. Now, 700 years later, they are all excited about this and have brought out a book with a copy not mentioned by the early authorities. I have examined it and found it to be fake. It contains testimony of Saʿd b. Muʿadh, though he had died before the date of Khaybar. It also gives the testimony of Muʿawiya b. Abū Sufyān, though he had not yet accepted Islam. At its end it states, "And ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib wrote it." This is incorrect, a mistake. It refers to the *jizya*, too, even though this had not yet been legislated. This tax was first introduced and taken from the people of Najrān. They are said to have arrived at the end of 9 AH. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Nāfiʿ, freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to me, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'I, al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām and al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad went out to inspect our properties at Khaybar. When we arrived there, we separated and went to our properties. During the night, while I slept on my bed, an attack was made on me and my wrists were dislocated. When I cried out for my companions, they came and asked me who had done this. I told them I did not know. They administered to my hands and then took me to ʿUmar, who declared, "This is the work of the Jews of Khaybar!"'

"He then stood up before the people to make a speech and said, "People, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had an agreement with the Jews of Khaybar that we

should evict them if we wished. They have attacked 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and dislocated his hands, as you have learned, having attacked one of the *anṣār* before him. We have no doubt that it was they who did it; we have no enemies here besides them. Those who have property at Khaybar should proceed to them; I am going to evict the Jews." And he did evict them."

I note that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had a share of the booty at Khaybar. He left it as a *waqf*, a charitable endowment, in God's cause, stipulating that it be managed in accord with the instruction set by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), recorded in the *ṣaḥiḥ* collections. He directed that it be managed by the most righteous of his male and female descendants.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated (in a heading) in his work *Dalā'il (The Signs)*, "A summary of the chapters on the military expeditions which are mentioned as having occurred after the conquest of Khaybar and before the *ḥumrat al-qaḍā'*, even though the date of some of these is not considered clear by the scholars of the military chronicles."

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ BAKR AL-ṢIDDIQ TO BANŪ FAZĀRA.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, quoting Iyās b. Salama (who said), "My father related to me, saying, 'We went forth with Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having given him command over us. We attacked Banū Fazāra, and when we arrived near the well, Abū Bakr gave us orders and we dismounted to rest for the night. When we had performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, Abū Bakr ordered us to attack. We killed at the well those who passed before us.'

"Salama went on, 'I then looked over at the mass of the enemy which included children and women moving towards the mountain while I pursued them. I was concerned that they would get to the mountain ahead of me, so I cast an arrow which fell between them and the mountain. I then led them back to Abū Bakr whom I reached at the well. Among the enemy there was a woman of Fazāra wearing a worn-out leather garment. With her she had her daughter, an unusually attractive Arab girl. Abū Bakr presented her daughter to me. I did not sleep with her before we reached Medina, then again I went to bed without sleeping with her. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met me in the market and asked me, 'Salama, give the woman to me!' I replied, 'By God, Messenger of God, she attracts me greatly but I've not slept with her.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent and left me. Next day he met me in the market and said, 'Salama, give the woman to me!' I replied, 'By God, Messenger of God, she attracts me greatly, but I've not slept with her!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent and left me. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met me in the market and said, 'Salama, give the woman to me, may God preserve your father!' I replied, 'I swear by God, Messenger of God, I've not slept with her, but she is yours.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent her to the people of

Mecca who had in their hands some Muslim prisoners. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ransomed them with this woman.”

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿUMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, TO TURBA, IN HAWĀZIN TERRITORY, FOUR MILES BEYOND MECCA.

Then al-Bayhaqī related, through al-Wāqidi with the lines of tradition given by him, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, along with 30 riders and a guide of Banū Hilāl. They travelled by night and kept concealed by day. When they reached the enemy territory, they fled and so ʿUmar returned to Medina. He was asked, “Would you like to do battle with Khathʿam?” He replied, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me only to battle Hawāzin in their lands.”

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿABD ALLĀH B. RAWĀḤA TO YUSAYR B. RIZĀM, THE JEW.

He then related, through Ibrāhīm b. Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, and through Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from al-Zuhri, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa with 30 riders – inclusive of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa – to Yusayr b. Rizām, the Jew, whom they reached at Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had heard that he was joining with Ghatafān to attack him along with them. When they (the Muslims) met with him, they told him, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent us to you to place you in charge of Khaybar.” They stayed with him until he eventually followed them with 30 men, each of whom had a co-rider from the Muslims. When they all reached Qarqara Niyār, a place some 6 miles from Khaybar, Yusayr b. Rizām regretted what he had agreed and reached for the sword of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. The latter was aware of this and first held back his mount, then rushed ahead, leading the others. When he could overcome Yusayr, he struck his leg, cutting it off. Yusayr then charged ahead, wielding a cudgel of fir wood and with it struck at the face of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, hitting him on top of his head. Each of the Muslims then turned upon his co-rider and killed him. (All were killed) except one Jew whom they were unable to catch. None of the Muslims were killed; and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spat upon the wound of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. The wound did not fester and it did not hurt him for as long as he lived.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION WITH BASHĪR B. SAʿD.

A *ḥadīth* is related through al-Wāqidi, with its chain of transmission, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Bashīr b. Saʿd with 30 riders to Banū Murra, in

Fadak territory. He drove off their camels and they did battle with him. The Jews killed all the men with him; Bashīr displayed great courage that day and fought most fiercely. Eventually he took refuge in Fadak, spending the night with a Jew there. After that he made his way back to Medina.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent forth Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh against them, along with a group of his chief Companions." He then mentioned Usāma b. Zayd, Abū Mas'ūd al-Badrī, and Ka'b b. 'Ujra.

Thereafter al-Wāqidi went on to relate how Usāma b. Zayd killed Mirdās b. Nuḥayk, an ally of Banū Murra. He told how, when he held his sword over him, Mirdās spoke the words, *Lā ilāha illā Allāh!* "There is no god but God!" and that those with him criticized Usāma since the man had gone on saying this until he had brought his sword down. Al-Wāqidi said that Usāma later regretted what he had done.

Yūnus b. Bukayr related this story from Ibn Ishāq, from a sheikh of Banū Salama, from men of his tribe, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kalbī to the territory of Banū Murra. He captured Mirdās b. Nuḥayk, an ally of theirs from al-Ḥurqa, and Usāma killed him.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Usāma b. Muḥammad b. Usāma related to me from his father, from his grandfather Usāma b. Zayd, who said, 'I and one of the *anṣār* captured him' (meaning Mirdās b. Nuḥayk). 'And when we drew our swords over him, he said, "I testify that *lā ilāha illā Allāh!*" But we did not put down our swords and killed him. When we went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and related this to him, he asked, "Usāma who will be for you (regarding such a case where it has been testified) that *lā ilāha illā Allāh* 'there is no god but God'?" I replied, "But Messenger of God, he only said it to avoid being killed." He repeated, "Usāma, who will be for you (regarding such a case where it has been testified that) *lā ilāha illā allāh?*" And, I swear, he kept on repeating this to me until I wished I had not previously been a Muslim, that I had only become one that day and that I had not killed him. So I told him, "Messenger of God, I give my word that I will never kill any man who says, '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*'." He then asked me, "And what about after me?" "And after you (your death) too," I replied."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym b. Bashīr related, quoting Ḥuṣayn, from Abū Zubyān, who said, "I heard Usāma b. Zayd relate as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out to al-Ḥurqa of Juḥayna. We attacked them in the morning. One of their men fought extremely well against us, and when they retreated, it was he who defended their rear. I and an *anṣārī* overcame him and as we did so, he said, "*lā ilāha illā Allāh*". The *anṣārī* stood back from him, but I killed him. News of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he asked, "Usāma, did you kill him after he said, '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*'?" I replied, "But Messenger of God, he only said that to avoid death." But he kept on asking me the same until I wished I had only become a Muslim that day."

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this account from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym in similar terms.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ya'qūb b. 'Utba related to me, from Muslim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Juhānī, from Jundub b. Makīth al-Juhānī, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kalbī, Kalb of Layth, to Banū al-Mulawwah at al-Kadīd with orders to attack them. I was with his expedition and we went out as far as al-Qudayd, where al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barqā' al-Laythī met us and we took him prisoner. He said, 'I came out only to accept Islam.' Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh told him, 'If you were on your way to accept Islam, then it won't hurt you to be tied up for a day and a night. And if you really had some other purpose, then we'll have you secured.'"

"So he tied him up and left him under the charge of a young black man we had with us, whom he told, 'Stay with him until we come back for you; if he gives you trouble, cut off his head!' So we went on to the al-Kadīd valley, where we made a halt in the early evening and my companions sent me on towards al-Kadīd. I made my way to a hill that would allow me to overlook the village. I stretched out on the ground. It was before sunset. One of their men came outside and saw me stretched out on the hill. He told his wife, 'I can see something dark on this hill that I did not notice earlier in the day. Look and see whether the dogs have dragged out some of your utensils.' She did look, then said, 'I swear, I'm not missing anything.' The man then said, 'Hand me my bow and two arrows from my quiver.' She did so and he shot an arrow at me that struck me in the side' (or he may have said, 'on my forehead'). 'I pulled it out and put it aside, without moving. He then shot the other arrow at me, piercing the top of my shoulder. I withdrew it too and put it aside without moving. The man then told his wife, 'I'm sure my arrows would have hurt him; if he were a scout, he would have moved. In the morning, go out and retrieve my arrows; I don't want the dogs to chew them up.'"

He went on, "We left them alone until their herd had been milked and were lying down quietly and a part of the night had passed. We then launched an attack upon them. We killed some and drove off their herd, heading away with them. Their shouts soon aroused others of them nearby. We raced off, eventually passing by al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barqā' and his companion. We continued on, with him accompanying us, until we heard the shouts of our pursuers who were too numerous for us to tackle. Soon all that separated us from them was the Qudayd valley. Then God sent down a flood of water from wherever He wished; we had not previously seen any rain, nor conditions for it. It came down so hard that no one could withstand it. I saw the enemy force standing there staring at us, unable to get at us, while we drove off their animals" – or "led them off" (al-Nufaylī was uncertain). "We hurried away with them until we reached the track; when we had proceeded down it, they were unable to retrieve what we had taken."

Abū Dā'ūd related it from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq; in his account the narrator's name is given as 'Abd Allāh b. Ghālib, whereas the correct name is Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh, as above.

Al-Wāqidi gave this story with a different line of authorities and in his version it was stated that he was accompanied by 130 men.

Al-Bayhaqī at this point narrated, through al-Wāqidi, the expedition of Bashīr b. Sa'd also in the vicinity of Khaybar. They encountered a large force of Arabs and seized much livestock. His dispatch on this expedition had been at the suggestion of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with both. With him there were 300 Muslims, along with their guide Ḥusayl b. Nawbara; it was he who had been the guide of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar. Al-Wāqidi stated this.

THE EXPEDITION OF ABU ḤADRAD TO AL-GHĀBA.

Yūnus stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, "It was Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aslam who related to me the story of Abū Ḥadrad to al-Ghāba. He quoted Abū Ḥadrad as saying, 'I arranged marriage with a woman of my tribe, promising her a dowry of two hundred dirhams. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to seek his help in my wedding. He asked me, "How much dowry did you promise her?" "Two hundred dirhams," I told him. He exclaimed, "Goodness gracious, I swear by God, if you were just picking up the money from a valley floor, you couldn't have given more! I swear, I don't have enough to help you." A few days later a man from Jasham b. Mu'āwiya approached; his name was Rifā'a b. Qays – or Qays b. Rifā'a. He was accompanied by a large group of Jasham men, with whom he encamped at al-Ghāba, with the intention of combining with Qays to fight against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was a man of fine birth and reputation among Jasham.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned myself and two other Muslims and said, "Go out and get some information about this man." He then gave us a decrepit old she-camel, mounting one of us on it. I swear, it was so weak it could only get up with him, when some men pushed it up from behind. It could scarcely stand up. He told us, "Make do with her."

"So we left bearing arms consisting of swords and arrows. When we arrived at sunset close to the village, I hid on one side and told my companions to hide on another. I told them, "If you hear me crying *Allāhu Akbar!* and running to their camp, then you shout the same and follow me."

"We remained waiting to attack them by surprise until night overcame us. The darkest part of the night passed. They had a shepherd who had gone out to graze their flock. He was late in returning and they were worried about him. Their leader, Rifā'a b. Qays eventually got up and took his sword, which he hung around his neck, saying, "By God, I'm going out to find out about our shepherd; something must have happened to him." Some of those with him said, "By God, don't you go; we'll do it for you." "No," he replied. "Only I will go. I don't want any of you to follow me."

"He then came out and passed by me. When he was in my range, I shot an arrow at him, piercing him in the heart. I swear, he did not utter a sound!

I jumped out at him and cut off his head, then raced towards their camp, shouting *Allāhu Akbar!* My companions did the same. I swear, they fled in disorder, taking with them their women, children and those possessions they could. We drove off large numbers of their camels and livestock which we took back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I went to him carrying the man's head. He gave me 13 baggage camels from those we captured as my dowry. So I concluded my marriage.'"

*THE EXPEDITION IN WHICH MUḤALLIM B. JUTHĀMA
KILLED 'ĀMIR B. AL-AḌBAṬ.*

Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Qusayṭ related to me, from Ibn 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out against Iḍam. Our group of Muslims included Abū Qatāda al-Ḥārith b. Rib'ī and Muḥallim b. Jaththāma b. Qays. We went on until we were in the Iḍam valley. There 'Āmir b. al-AḌbaṭ al-Ashja'ī passed us by; he was riding a young camel, carrying a few provisions and a vessel of yoghurt. He saluted us with the Muslim words of greeting and so we refrained from attacking him. But Muḥallim b. Jaththāma attacked and killed him because of some earlier unresolved problem and seized his camel and provisions. When we reached the Messenger of God, (ṢAAS) we told him our news and it was about us that the following verses of the Qur'ān were revealed, 'O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect. Do not say to those who greet you in peace, "You're no Muslim!" and seek for worldly gain. With God there will be many rewards. That is the way you behaved previously, but God has now favoured you. Be aware that God has knowledge of what you do'" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.94).

Imām Aḥmad related this from Ya'qūb, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Qusayṭ, from al-Qa'qa' b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad, from his father.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to me, saying, 'I heard Ziyād b. Ḍumira b. Sa'd al-Ḍamrī narrating a *ḥadīth* from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from his father and from his grandfather, both of whom said – they had both been present at Ḥunayn – "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ḡuhr*, noon prayer, then went under the shade of a tree where he sat. 'Uyayna b. Badr went over to him and demanded the blood of 'Āmir b. al-AḌbaṭ al-Ashja'ī, chief of (Banū) 'Āmir. 'Would you agree to now accept 50 camels and another fifty when we return to Medina?' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked. 'Uyayna b. Badr responded, 'By God, I'll not leave him alone till his women experience the same sorrow my women have.'

"“A man from Banū Layth named Ibn Mukayl, a short man, arose. He said, 'Messenger of God, I find nothing comparable to this death since the beginnings of Islam. All I can compare it to is the rear sheep that flee when their leader out in front is shot. Keep to the traditional ways today and bring change tomorrow!'

““The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reiterated, ‘Will you agree to accept 50 camels now and 50 when we return to Medina?’ He kept on at them till they accepted the blood-wit. The family of Muḥallim b. Jaththāma now asked, ‘Bring him over so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) may forgive him.’

““They brought a tall, thin man dressed in a gown in which he was prepared to be executed, and he stood before the Prophet (ṢAAS), who then spoke, ‘O God, do not pardon Muḥallim!’ He repeated this three times. Muḥallim arose, wiping away his tears with the hem of his gown.””

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “His people claim that after that he did forgive him.”

Abū Dāʿūd related this similarly through Ḥammād b. Salama from Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from Ibn Ishāq, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Zayd b. Ḍamira, from his father and his uncle. His account contains part of the *ḥadīth*.

The correct version is as Ibn Ishāq related, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ziyād b. Saʿd b. Ḍamira, from his father and his grandfather. Abū Dāʿūd related it similarly through Ibn Wahb, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ziyād b. Saʿd b. Ḍamira, from his father and his grandfather approximately as above.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Salim Abū al-Naḍr related to me that the account states, ‘They did not accept the blood-wit until al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis addressed them privately, saying, “People of Qays, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked you to give up a dead man to make peace between people thereby, but you refused him this. Are you secure against the possibility that he will be angry at you, and that God will be angry at his anger? Or that he will curse you and that God will curse you because of his curse? Give him over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or I will bring 50 men of Banū Tamīm who will all swear that the dead man was an unbeliever who never performed the prayer, and that therefore no compensation for his death should be sought.” When he said this to them they accepted the blood-money.”

This *ḥadīth* is *munqaṭiʿ*, “without a complete chain of transmission”, and is *muʿdīl*, “problematic”.

Ibn Ishāq related from a reliable source, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, that when Muḥallim sat before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the latter asked him, “Did you offer him security then murder him?” and that he then cursed him.

“Al-Ḥasan said, “And I swear Muḥallim lived only seven days more thereafter before he died. The earth spat him out. Then they buried him again, but the earth again spat him out. When this happened yet again, they covered him over with stones to hide him. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, ‘The earth covers over worse than him, but God wishes to warn you of what conduct is impermissible, by showing you this.’”

Ibn Jarīr said, “Wakīʿ related to us, quoting Jarir, from Ibn Ishāq, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out Muḥallim

b. Juththāma on a mission. ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ encountered them and saluted them with the Muslim greeting. But there had been a dispute between them before the coming of Islam and Muḥallim shot an arrow at him and killed him. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he spoke with ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ about it. Al-Aqraʿ said, "Messenger of God, keep to custom today and make changes tomorrow." ʿUyayna said to him, "No, by God, not until his women taste the same bereavement." Muḥallim approached, dressed in two outer garments, and sat before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking his forgiveness, but the latter told him, "May God not forgive you!" They related that to him and he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) said, "The earth accepts those worse than your companion, but God wished to warn you of what is impermissible to you." They then threw him down and dumped him on a mountain side, covering him with stones. And there was revealed, "O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect."'''

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related this from al-Zuhri. Shuʿayb related it from al-Zuhri, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb from Qubaysa b. Dhurʿayb, his story being similar to this. However, his account does not name Muḥallim b. Juththāma, nor ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ. Al-Bayhaqī related it in a similar account from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. That account stated, "And it was about him that the words of the Almighty were revealed, 'O you who believe! When you go forth in God's cause, be circumspect.'"

I note that I have sufficiently discussed the reasons for the revelation of this verse and its import in my *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿABD ALLĀH B. ḤUDHĀFA AL-SAHMĪ.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through al-Aʿmash, from Saʿd b. ʿUbayda, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubālī, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave charge of an expedition to one of the *anṣār*, telling those men he sent with him to listen well and to obey him. For some reason they angered him, so he said, 'Get some firewood!' They did so. He then said, 'Light it!' They did so. He then said, 'Enter the fire!' The men looked at one another and said, 'But the only reason we fled to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was to avoid the fire!' His anger subsided and the fire was extinguished.

"When they came back to the Prophet (ṢAAS) they related this to him and he said, 'If they had entered it, they would never have come out of it, for obedience is only in that which is good.'"

This anecdote is also firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through Yaʿqūb b. Musallam, from Saʿd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. We have discussed this sufficiently in the *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE 'UMRAT AL-QAḌĀ', THE 'FULFILMENT PILGRIMAGE'.

It is (also) known as *al-qīṣāṣ*. Al-Suhaylī preferred this. It is otherwise called *'umrat al-qāḍiya*, "the decision pilgrimage". The first name relates to fulfilment of what was arranged at al-Ḥudaybiyya. The second name is taken from the words of the Almighty, *wa al-ḥurumātu qīṣāsun*, "Those things forbidden are subject to retaliation" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.194). The third name comes from the decision he made with them based on his retiring from them that year provided that he would return the next, and that he would enter Mecca only with his sword still sheathed and that he not stay longer than three days.

This *'umra* is the one referred to in the words of the Almighty in the sacred *sūrat al-Fath*: "God will fulfil the true visions of His messenger: you will certainly enter, if God wills it, the holy mosque in safety, with your heads shaved and cut, not fearing" (*sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII, v.27). We have examined this verse sufficiently in our work, *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*.

It was this that was promised in the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Responding to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's question, "Did we not say that we would come to the house and would circumambulate it?" he replied, "Yes indeed; but did I tell you you would go there this year?" "No," 'Umar replied. "Well," he reiterated, "you will go there and you will circumambulate it."

It was also referred to in the verses of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa when he entered Mecca before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the day of the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*, saying,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we will
fight you about its interpretation
Just as we already fought you about its revelation."

This refers to interpretation of the vision the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to see that came to pass like the break of day.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Khaybar to Medina, he remained there for Rabī' al-Awwal and Rabī' al-Thānī, Jumāda al-Uwla, Jumāda al-Ākhira, Rajab, Sha'bān, Ramaḍān and Shawwāl. Meanwhile, he sent out his various expeditions.

"He then set forth on the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*, in Dhū al-Qa'da, that same month when the polytheists had previously blocked his path; this was in place of the *'umra* they had denied him."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He placed 'Uwayf b. al-Aḍbaṭ al-Duwali in command of Medina. It is also called the *'umrat al-qīṣāṣ* because they blocked the way of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Dhū al-Qa'da, the holy month of 6 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) retaliated against them by entering Mecca in Dhū al-Qa'da, the holy month when they had blocked him, in 7 AH. We have been informed that Ibn 'Abbās said, 'It was concerning that that God Almighty revealed the words, "Those things forbidden are subject to retaliation."'"

Muṭamir b. Sulaymān quoted his father as saying about the *maghāzī*, the military expeditions, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Khaybar, he remained in Medina, sending out his expeditions until Dhū al-Qa'da arrived. He then called out to the people, 'Get ready for the *ʿumra*.' They gathered their baggage and left for Mecca."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Muslims whose way had been blocked went forth with him on that *ʿumra* of his, it being 7 AH. When the Meccans heard of this, they kept out of their way. Quraysh meanwhile told one another that Muḥammad was in great difficulty and distress."

"A reliable source related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, 'They lined up at the assembly hall to look at him and those with him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside the mosque, he tossed the hem of his mantle over his left shoulder, exposing his right arm and said, 'May God have mercy upon a man who today demonstrates his strength to them.'"

"He then saluted the *al-rukn*, the "corner", and came outside again, jogging, as did his Companions with him. He continued on until the *kaʿba* concealed him from them; he saluted the *rukn al-yaman*, the "south" or "Yemen" corner. Then he walked on and saluted the *rukn al-aswad*, the "black stone" corner.⁷⁸ He then jogged three circuits and walked the rest.' Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, 'People used to think that this (procedure) was not incumbent upon them. They thought this on the grounds that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only did this because of that tribe of Quraysh and what he had heard of them, until the *ḥijjat al-wadaʿ*, the "farewell pilgrimage"; the *sunna*, the normative Muslim practice, continued it.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād – he being Ibn Zayd – from Ayyūb, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, the polytheists said, 'Here comes a delegation of people whom the Yathrib fevers have weakened!' And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered them to jog for the three courses and to walk between the two corners. All that prevented him telling them to jog throughout all the circuits was his wish to spare them (the effort)."

Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated, "Ibn Salama – meaning Ḥammād b. Salama – added, from Ayyūb, from Saʿīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the latter said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came (to Mecca) that year when it was safe, he said, "Jog, so that the polytheists can see your strength. The polytheists will be positioned in front of Mt. Quʿayquʿān.'"

Muslim related this from Abū al-Rabiʿ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd. Al-Bayhaqī traced the *ḥadīth* through Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, (who said) that he heard Ibn Abū Awfā say, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra*, we shielded him from the polytheist youngsters and from the polytheists themselves in case they might harm him."

78. A black spherical stone, thought to be a meteorite; it is still embedded in a corner of the *Kaʿba*.

There will come hereafter the rest of the commentary concerning that event.

Ibn Ishāq stated, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca to perform that pilgrimage, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa kept hold of his camel's halter and recited,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; clear out, for
all good is in His messenger.

O Lord, I am a believer in his words; I know God's
truth in accepting it

We fought you about its interpretation, just as we
fought you about its revelation,

With blows that remove heads from necks and divert
friend from friend."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The words, 'We fought you about its interpretation' to the end of the lines are verses of 'Ammār b. Yāsir relating to a different occasion – meaning the battle of Ṣiffin." Al-Suhaylī stated this.

Ibn Hishām further stated, "The proof of this is that Ibn Rawāḥa was referring only to the polytheists, who never had accepted the (fact of) revelation. And only those who accept the revelation would do battle over the interpretation."

Ibn Hishām's statement is open to dispute. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related, from a different line of transmission, from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the *'umrat al-qāḍā'*, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa walked in front of him; in one account he did so while he held his leather stirrup. As he walked, he spoke the lines,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; the al-Raḥmān,
the Most Merciful, has given revelation in revealing
it;

That the best fight is in His cause; we have fought
you over its interpretation."

In another version, with precisely the same chain of transmission, the words are,

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we fight you
over its revelation,

With blows that will remove heads from necks and divert
friend from friend.

O Lord, I believe in what he says."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Hishām b. Sa'd, from Zayd b. Aslam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca the year of *al-qāḍiya*, the *'umra* in question, and circumambulated the *ka'ba* mounted on his camel. He saluted the *al-rukn*, "the corner (with the Black Stone)", using his staff. Regarding this, Ibn Hishām said, "He did so not due to any illness, while the Muslims were crowding around him, and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was reciting,

‘In the name of Him besides whose religion there is
none, in the name of Him whose messenger is
Muḥammad,
Clear out of his path, unbelievers!’”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri as follows, “Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth the year following that of al-Ḥudaybiyya on the *‘umra* pilgrimage, in Dhū al-Qa‘da of 7 AH. This was the same month that the polytheists blocked him from entry to the sacred mosque. When he reached Ya‘jij, he laid down all their weapons – leather shields, armour, spears and arrows. They then entered carrying the swords borne by mounted men. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭālib on ahead of himself to Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, the al-‘Āmiri woman, and proposed marriage to her. She appointed al-‘Abbās in charge of her affairs; his wife, Umm al-Faḍl, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was her sister. Al-‘Abbās then agreed to her marriage to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, he ordered his Companions, ‘Uncover your shoulders, and be vigorous as you circumambulate.’ This was so that the polytheists would see their skin, and their strength. He outwitted them all he could. The people of Mecca, men, women, and children, gathered around him, staring at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, as they circumambulated the *ka‘ba*. Meanwhile, ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa walked ahead of him, speaking verse and brandishing his sword, saying,

‘Unbelievers, clear out of his path; I am a witness
that he is His messenger;
The al-Raḥmān, the Most Merciful, sent down about His
revelation, in sheets that are recited to His messenger.
Today we will fight you over its interpretation, as we
fought you over its revelation,
With blows that will remove heads from necks and divert
friend from friends.’

“Some polytheist chiefs remained away rather than look on with anger, resentment and envy towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They went off to Mt. al-Khandayna. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca for three nights, at which point the period of safe access agreed upon at al-Ḥudaybiyya ended.

“When morning of the 4th day came, Suhayl b. ‘Amr and Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā arrived, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated with his Companions, conferring with Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda. Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā shouted, ‘We invoke God and the pact to you, because you have not left our land and the three nights are over!’ Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda replied, ‘You lie, may you have no mother! It is not your land, nor that of your forefathers. By God, he will not

leave!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called out to Suhayl and Ḥuwaytib, saying, 'I have arranged marriage with one of your women. It will not harm you for me to stay until I consummate the marriage with her. We can prepare food and you can eat with us.' They replied, 'We will insist on invoking God and the pact unless you leave us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Abū Rāfi' and he announced the departure. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode off and halted in the valley of Saraf. The other Muslims had remained behind; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had entrusted Abū Rāfi' with bringing Maymūna. He stayed at Saraf until Maymūna arrived to him there. Maymūna had been caused great distress and been harmed by the foolish polytheists and their children. When she arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Saraf, he consummated his marriage with her. Thereafter, at night, he travelled on and reached Medina.

"God decreed that Maymūna's death should occur at a later day at Saraf; she died where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had consummated marriage with her."

He then went on to relate the story of the daughter of Ḥamza and concluded by saying, "God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed concerning that *ʿumra*, the words, 'The holy month for the holy month, and the things forbidden are subject to retaliation.'" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made the pilgrimage in that same holy month in which they had blocked his path.

Ibn Lahī'a related from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr approximately this same text, which is further substantiated by numerous witnesses in many *ahādith*.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated, through Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to make the *ʿumra* pilgrimage, but the Quraysh unbelievers blocked his path to the *ka'ba*. He made sacrifice and shaved his head at al-Ḥudaybiyya and made a pact with them that they would make the *ʿumra* the following year; the only arms (the Muslims) would bear would be swords and he would remain only so long as they agreed.

He did perform the *ʿumra* the following year and entered it in accord with the pact he had made. After he had been there for three days, they told him to leave, and he did so.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Abd Allāh b. Nāfi' related to me, from his father, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'This pilgrimage was not retaliatory but accorded with the conditions placed upon the Muslims; that in exchange they would perform the *ʿumra* in that same month that the polytheists had previously blocked them.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "Al-Nufaylī related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from 'Amr b. Maymūn (who said), 'I heard Abū Ḥādir al-Himyari relate that Maymūn b. Muhrān said, "I went out to make the

ʿumra pilgrimage the year the Syrians besieged Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. Men of my tribe sent some animals with me for sacrifice.

“When we encountered the Syrians, they prevented us from going inside the sacred area. So I sacrificed the animals where I was, performed the other pilgrimage rites and then returned home. When I went out the following year to complete the ʿumra, I went to see Ibn ʿAbbās and I asked him and he replied, “You should change the animals for sacrifice; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his Companions to sacrifice different animals than they had in the year of al-Hudaybiyya on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*.””

Abū Dāʿūd was alone in giving this, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ḥādir ʿUthmān b. Ḥādir al-Himyārī, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, “Al-Ḥākim narrated to us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, who said, “Amr b. Maymūn related to me as follows, “My father used to ask often, ‘Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) change the animals he sacrificed when the polytheists blocked him from the *kaʿba*?’ He never got any information on this until I heard him ask Abū Ḥādir al-Himyārī about that and he told him, ‘You’ve found an expert! I went on the pilgrimage the first year Ibn al-Zubayr was engaged in the siege. I was given some animals to sacrifice, but they (the Syrians) came between us and the *kaʿba*. So I slaughtered them in the sacred area and returned to Yemen where I told people, “I have in the Messenger of God an example!” The following year I again went on the ʿumra; I encountered Ibn ʿAbbās and asked him whether or not I should change the animals for sacrifice. He replied, “Yes; do change. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions did change the sacrificial animals from those they slaughtered when the polytheists blocked their path to different ones on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*. They found camels expensive for them, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission to sacrifice cattle.”””

Al-Wāqidi stated, “Ghānim b. Abū Ghānim related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dinār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Nājiyya b. Jundab al-Aslamī in charge of the animals to be sacrificed. He would go on ahead searching for fodder among the trees, accompanied by four young men of Aslam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took out 60 head on the *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya*.”

Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym al-Mujammir related to me, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “I was with the man in charge of the sacrificial animals, driving them.”

Al-Wāqidi stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth reciting *Labbayka!* ‘I am at Your service!’ and the Muslims with him recited the same. Muḥammad b. Maslama went on with the cavalry to Marr al-Zahrān, where he encountered a few men of Quraysh. They asked Muḥammad b. Maslama some questions and he replied, ‘This is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he will arrive at this place tomorrow morning, if God wills it.’ They (the Quraysh) noticed that

Bashīr b. Sa'd had many weapons with him and so they left in a hurry and went to Quraysh whom they informed of the weapons and cavalry they had seen. Quraysh were scared by this. They told one another that they had not stirred up any trouble and they were maintaining their pact of a truce, and they wondered why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men were attacking them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt at Marr al-Zahrān. He sent on the weapons to the Ya'jij valley, from where they could see the stones marking the limits of the sacred territory. Quraysh sent out Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Aḥnaf with a party of Quraysh and they encountered him at the valley of Ya'jij; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there with his men having met up with the animals to be slaughtered and the weapons. The Quraysh asked, 'Muḥammad, you've never been known to break your word for any excuse, whether the issue is major or minor; are you now entering the sacred territory with your men bearing arms, even though you agreed to enter only with weapons such as travellers carry, swords in sheaths?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, 'I will not bring in weapons against them.' Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ commented, 'This is what you are known for – piety and trustworthiness.' He then hurried back to Mecca with his Companions.

"When Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ brought the news of the Prophet (ṢAAS), Quraysh left Mecca for the mountain heights. As they left Mecca, they told one another that they would not look at him or his Companions.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ordered the animals for slaughter to be driven ahead and they were corralled at Dhū Ṭuwā. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on with his men; he was riding his camel at-Qaṣwā' and they kept their eyes on him, calling out *Labbayka!* 'At Your service, O Lord!' and brandishing their swords. When they arrived at Dhū Ṭuwā, he stood up on his mount al-Qaṣwā', while Ibn Rawāḥa took its reins and spoke lines of impromptu poetry, saying,

'Unbelievers, clear out of his path.'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās in which he stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men arrived in the morning of the 4th – meaning of Dhū al-Qa'da, 7 AH – and the polytheists said, 'A delegation is approaching you who have been rendered weak by the fevers of Yathrib.' So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his men to jog for the three circuits and to walk between the two corners. All that prevented him having them jog throughout all the circuits was his wish to spare them (the effort)."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabāḥ related to us, quoting Ismā'īl b. Zakariyyā', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn 'Abbās, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Marr al-Zahrān on his *'umra*, his men learned that Quraysh were saying, 'They'll never recover from their emaciation.' His Companions told him, 'If we were to butcher our mounts and eat their meat and sip soup made from them, we'd gain

some strength for when we go out among people tomorrow.' He replied, 'No; don't do that; gather up all the provisions you have.' They did so, spread out the scraps of food and ate until satisfied; each of them stuffed the remainder in their bags.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went out and entered the mosque, while Quraysh squatted over towards the Black Stone. He gathered up the left sleeve of his gown, then said, 'Do not let the enemy see any insufficiency in you.' He saluted the *rukn*, the corner, ran until hidden behind the south corner, then walked to the *rukn al-aswad*, the corner with the Black Stone. Quraysh commented, 'They're not satisfied with walking; they race around like gazelles!' He did this for three circuits and it became *sunna*, orthodox practice."

Abū al-Ṭufayl went on, "Ibn 'Abbās informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also did this on the *ḥijjat al-wada'*, 'the farewell pilgrimage'."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* through this line.

Abū Dāūd stated that Abū Salama Mūsa related to him, quoting Ḥammād — meaning Ibn Salam — quoting Abū 'Āṣim al-Ghanawī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "I commented to Ibn 'Abbās, 'So your people say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran at the *ka'ba*, and that that practice is *sunna*, "customary orthodox practice".' He replied, 'They both spoke the truth and lied.' 'What was true and what lies?' I asked. He replied, 'They did speak the truth when they said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran. They also lied; it is not *sunna*. At the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya, Quraysh said, "Let Muḥammad and his Companions alone until they die of worms!" Then they made a truce on the understanding that he would return the following year and stay in Mecca for three days. When he came, the polytheists went over towards Mt. Qu'ayqī'an. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, "Run three times at the *ka'ba*. But that is not *sunna*.'""

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sa'īd al-Jarīrī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥusayn and 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd b. Abjar, all three of them quoting Abū Ṭufayl 'Āmir b. Wāthila, from Ibn 'Abbās, in much the same words.

The act of running while circumambulating is considered *sunna* by most scholars. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did run during the *ḥumrat al-qaḍā'*, and also at the *ḥumrat al-ḥirāna*, as Abū Dāūd and Ibn Māja related, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn 'Abbās, who so stated.

It is clearly established in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir given by Muslim and others, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ran at the *ḥijjat al-wada'*, the "farewell pilgrimage", as he made the circumambulations. This is why 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated, "Why run, when God has made Islam long-lasting?" However, we should not abandon any practice performed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is fully substantiated in my book *kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

It is very well known that Ibn 'Abbās did not consider this practice *sunna*, as is substantiated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna,

from 'Amr b. Dīnār, from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) only hurried at the *ka'ba*, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa to demonstrate his strength to the polytheists."

This is the terminology given by al-Bukhārī.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished his duties at the *umrat al-qaḍā'*, he went inside the *ka'ba*. He remained inside until Bilāl, from atop the *ka'ba*'s roof, made the call to the *al-ḡuhr*, noon, prayer; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given him orders to do this. 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl commented, 'God honoured Abū al-Ḥakam⁷⁹ by not having him hear this slave say what he is saying!' Ṣafwān b. Umayya said, 'Praise be to God who took away my father before he saw this!' Khālīd b. Usayd agreed, 'Praise be to God who took the life of my father so that he did not witness this day when Bilāl climbs on top of the *ka'ba* and brays!' Suhayl b. 'Umar and the men with him covered their faces when they heard this."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "God honoured most of them with Islam."

I note that the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated this through al-Wāqidi to the effect that this took place on the *umrat al-Qaḍā'*, even though it is well-known that this happened in the year of the conquest of Mecca. But God knows best.

The Story of the Marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Maymūna.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abān b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me, from 'Aṭā' and Mujāhid, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, on that journey of his when he was *ḥarām*, in a state of ritual purity. It was al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who married him to her."

Ibn Hishām stated, "She had appointed her sister, Umm al-Faḍl, to represent her and she in turn entrusted the task to her husband al-'Abbās. It was he who married her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and gave her from him a dowry of 400 dirhams."

Al-Suhaylī reported that when the proposal of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached her, she was mounted on a camel. She said, "Both the camel and what is on it belong to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

He also stated, "It was about her that the verse was revealed, '(We have made lawful to you) a believing woman! If she gives herself to the Prophet, if the Prophet wished to marry her. This provision is only for you, apart from all the believers.'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.50).

Al-Bukhārī related on a line of transmission through Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *muḥrim*, in a state of ritual conservation. When he consummated marriage with her, he was *ḥalāl*, free of the *iḥrām*. She died at Saraf. Al-Suhaylī stated and

79. That is, the speaker's father, Abū Jahl, killed at Badr.

al-Dārquṭnī related through Abū al-Aswad, the orphan of ʿUrwa, and through Maṭar al-Warrāq, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *ḥalāl*.

He said, "And they interpreted the first version of the account from Ibn ʿAbbās – that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was *muḥrim*, 'in a ritual state', to mean that it was in the holy month. As a poet said,

"They killed Ibn ʿAffān, the Khalifa, when he was
muḥrim and prayed; and I never saw the like of him
abandoned."⁸⁰

"That is, this occurred in the holy month."

I note that this interpretation is open to dispute, because the accounts from Ibn ʿAbbās contrary to that predominate, especially since he said, "He married her while he was *muḥrim* and consummated marriage with her when he was *ḥalāl*." This also occurred in the month of Dhū al-Qaʿda, another holy month.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhli stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, "Al-Thawri said to me, 'No attention should be paid to the words of the people of Medina. ʿAmr informed me, from Abū al-Shaʿthā', from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married while *muḥrim*.'"

Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated that he told ʿAbd al-Razzāq, "Sufyān related both *aḥādīth* from ʿAmr, from Abū al-Shaʿthā', from Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Yes; regarding the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Khaytham, he related it here' – meaning in al-Yaman. 'Regarding the *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr, he related it there' – meaning in Mecca."

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections included this tradition, from ʿAmr b. Dinār.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, through al-Awzāʿī, it states, "Aṭā' related to us, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while *muḥrim*." Saʿīd b. al-Mussayyib stated, "Ibn ʿAbbās made a mistake, even though she was his aunt; he did not marry her until after he had become *ḥalāl*."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "Baqiyya quoted Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib as having said, 'This ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while he was *muḥrim*'. And he (Saʿīd) went on to relate what he had said. He (Saʿīd) continued, 'However, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to Mecca, both the *ḥill*⁸¹, and the marriage were at the same time. Ibn ʿAbbās was confused about this.'"

Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan* related from lines of transmission from Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm al-ʿĀmirī, from his aunt Muymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married me while we were both *ḥalāl*, at Saraf." However, al-Tirmidhī stated, "Several authorities related this *ḥadīth*

80. This refers to the assassination of ʿUthmān; his death is said to have come while he was in prayer.

81. The state of being *ḥalāl*.

regarding the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Maymūna, from Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm *mursal*, 'with an incomplete chain of transmission'."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh informed him, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣfahānī al-Zāhid, quoting Ismā'īl b. Ishāq al-Qāḍī, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Maṭar al-Warrāq, from Rabī'a b. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Abū Rāfi', who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while he was *ḥalāl* and he consummated the marriage when he was *ḥalāl*. I was the messenger between them."

Both al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related this, from Qutayba, from Ḥammād b. Yazīd. Al-Tirmidhī went on to state, "It is *ḥasan*, 'good'; we know of no other authority who gave its line from Ḥammād, from Maṭar." Mālik related it from Rabī'a, from Sulaymān, but as *mursal*, incomplete in its chain".

And Sulaymān b. Bilāl related it from Rabī'a, as *mursal*.

I note that her death came at Saraf in 63 AH, or, according to others, in 60 AH. May God be pleased with her.

An Account of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca after the completion of his 'umra pilgrimage.

It has been narrated above by Mūsā b. 'Uqba how Quraysh sent Ḥuwaytib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) four days later so that he would leave, as had been stipulated in the agreement. He offered to hold a feast for them in honour of his marriage to Maymūna, his only purpose having been to reconcile with them thereby. They refused him, telling him to leave. And he did. Ibn Ishāq related it similarly.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) made the *'umra* pilgrimage in Dhū al-Qa'da. The people of Mecca refused to invite him to enter Mecca until he compacted with them that he would stay there three days. When they drew up the document, they wrote, 'This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has agreed.' They (the Meccans) commented, 'We don't agree to this. If we knew you to be God's messenger, we would not have opposed you at all. You are, however, Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh.' He stated, 'I am the Messenger of God, and I am Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd Allāh.' He then told 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, 'Erase the words "Messenger of God".' He replied, 'No, by God, I'll not erase you, ever!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took the document – he could not write well – and wrote, 'This is what Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh, has agreed to. No weapons will enter Mecca except swords in sheaths. And he will not take away any one of its people who wishes to follow him. Also, he will not prevent any of his men from staying if they wish to do so.'

"When he did enter and the period for the stay was over, they came to 'Alī and said, 'Tell your master to leave us, since the time is over.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) therefore went to leave, but he was followed by Ḥamza's daughter calling out, 'Uncle! Uncle!' 'Alī took her by the hand and told Fāṭima, 'Take care of your cousin.' She carried her away. 'Alī, Zayd and Ja'far then began quarrelling over her. 'Alī said, 'I should take her; she is my uncle's daughter.' Ja'far said, 'She's the daughter of my uncle too, and her aunt is my wife.' Zayd said, 'She's my brother's daughter.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) decided that she should go with her aunt, saying, 'An aunt has the same standing as a mother.' He then said to 'Alī, 'You are from me, and I am from you.' To Ja'far, he said, 'You resemble me in appearance and character.' To Zayd, he said, 'You are our brother and our companion.' 'Alī then asked, 'Will you not marry Ḥamza's daughter?' He replied, 'She is the daughter of my foster-brother.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this *ḥadīth* with this line of transmission.

Al-Wāqidi narrated the story of Ḥamza's daughter. He stated, "Ibn Umm Ḥabība related to me, from Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, that 'Umāra, daughter of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and her mother Salmā, daughter of 'Umays, were at Mecca.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalib spoke with him, saying, 'How can we abandon the daughter of our uncle, an orphan, amidst the polytheists?' The Prophet (ṢAAS) did not forbid bringing her out, and he ('Alī) did so. Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the *waṣī*, the executor, of Ḥamza, now spoke up; the Prophet (ṢAAS) had made Zayd and Ḥamza brothers when he had established brotherly relationships between the emigrants (and the *anṣār*). Zayd said, 'I have the greater right to her; she is my brother's daughter.' When Ja'far heard that, he said, 'An aunt is (as) a mother. I have more right to her because her aunt, Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, is with me.' 'Alī commented, 'Do I really see you fighting? She is my uncle's daughter and I brought her out from among the polytheists. You have no claim better than mine; I have more right to her than you do.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'I will judge between you. As for you, Zayd, you are the agent of God and of His messenger. You, Ja'far, are similar to me as my features and my disposition. You, Ja'far, have most right to her; your wife is her maternal aunt, and a woman cannot be wed along with her maternal or her paternal aunt.' And he judged that she should go to Ja'far."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "When he awarded her to Ja'far, Ja'far arose and skipped around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter asked, 'What's this then, Ja'far?' He replied, 'Messenger of God, whenever the Negus was pleased with someone, he would get up and skip around him.' Then he said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), 'You marry her.' He replied, 'She's the daughter of my foster-brother.' So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married her to Salama b. Abū Salama. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'Did I reward Abū Salama?'"

I note that al-Wāqidi and others report that it was because he had arranged the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to his mother, Umm Salama. This was because he was older than his brother 'Umar b. Abū Salama.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned to Medina in Dhū al-Hijja, and the polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage (that year)."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It was regarding that *ḥumra*, so Abū 'Ubayda related to me, that the words of the Almighty were revealed, 'God will fulfil the true visions of His messenger: you will certainly enter, if God will it, the holy mosque in safety, with your heads shaven or shorn, not fearing. He knew what you did not know and vouchsafed for you a victory close at hand'"⁸² (*sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII, v.27).

DIVISION.

Al-Bayhaqī related here the expedition of Ibn Abū al-'Awja' al-Sulamī to Banū Sulaym.

He then traced the line of transmission from al-Wāqidi, "Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim related to me, from al-Zuhri, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the *ḥumrat al-qadiya* in Dhū al-Hijja, 7, AH. He then sent forth Ibn Abū al-'Awja' al-Sulamī along with 50 horsemen. But the scout sent out by that tribe warned them and gave them information. They gathered a large force and so when Ibn Abū al-'Awja' came to them, they were well prepared. When the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw their force, they invited them to accept Islam. The enemy pelted them with arrows, refusing to listen to them, saying, 'We don't need what you're offering.' They shot at them for a while then called up reinforcements that overlooked them (the Muslims) from all sides. The (Muslim) force fought fiercely until most of them had been killed. Ibn Abū al-'Awja' suffered numerous wounds. He withstood his pain and returned to Medina with his remaining men, arriving there on the 1st of Ṣafar, 8 AH.'"

DIVISION.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "In the pilgrimage of that year – that is, 7 AH – the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned his daughter Zaynab to her husband Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī'. We have made reference to this above. That same year Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balta'a arrived from having been with al-Muqawqis; with him were Māriyya, and Sirīn. They both accepted Islam *en route*, as did a eunuch."

Al-Wāqidi went on, "That same year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) adopted as his *minbar* a seat above two steps." He went on, "However, what we are certain is that he did this in 8 AH."

82. This is in reference to the conquest of Khaybar.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MOST MERCIFUL, THE MOST COMPASSIONATE. O LORD, GIVE RELIEF AND HELP THROUGH YOUR POWER AND STRENGTH! THE YEAR 8 AH. THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY ‘AMR B. AL-‘ĀṢ, KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD AND ‘UTHMĀN B. ṬALḤA B. ABŪ ṬĀLIB, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH THEM ALL.

Their arrival occurred early in 8 AH, according to what follows.

Part of this has been referred to heretofore in the account given by Ibn Ishāq following the execution of Abū Rāfi‘, the Jew; this took place in 5 AH.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave this information here, following his account of the *‘umrat al-qaḍā’*. He narrated through al-Wāqidi, “‘Abd al-Ḥamid b. Ja‘far informed us, from his father (who said) that ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ stated, ‘I was stubbornly opposed to Islam. I was present at Badr with the polytheists and escaped. Then I was present at Uḥud and escaped. Finally I was present at al-khandaq and escaped.

“‘I told myself, ‘What suffering! I swear by God, may Muḥammad prevail over Quraysh!’ So I took my assets and moved to al-Raḥṭ. And I diminished my contacts with people. When the al-Ḥudaybiyya pact was agreed and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in peace and Quraysh returned to Mecca, I began saying, ‘So Muḥammad is going to come to Mecca with his men; Mecca is no place to be in, nor is al-Ṭā‘if. The best thing to do is to leave.’ I was then still hostile to Islam. I think that if all Quraysh accepted Islam, I would not do so.

“‘I went to Mecca and gathered together some men of my tribe who saw things as I did, repeated my views and sought my advice in matters concerning them. I asked them, ‘How am I in your view?’ They replied, ‘As our adviser and our protector, a man of fine character and wise decision.’”

“He went on, ‘I then told them, ‘You well know, by God, that I consider this matter of Muḥammad as serious and reprehensible; I have reached a decision.’ ‘What is that?’ they asked. ‘We should go and join the Negus’, I told them, ‘and live with him. If Muḥammad prevails, we will be there with the Negus; and we would be far better off under his control than under that of Muḥammad. And if Quraysh prevail, they already know us well.’

““‘This is the right decision (they responded).’ I told them, ‘Then gather up presents for him.’ The gift he most appreciated from our land was leather. So we gathered much leather for him, then left and went to the Negus. While we were there, who should arrive but ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him with a document he had prepared marrying him to Umm Ḥabiba, daughter of Abū Sufyān. He went in to see the Negus and then came out again. I told my companions, ‘That is ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī. If I had gone in to the Negus and asked him for him, and he had given him to me and I had cut off his head, then Quraysh would have been delighted and I would have been rewarded for killing Muḥammad’s emissary.’

“‘I did go in to the Negus and bowed down before him as I was accustomed to do. He said, ‘Welcome to my friend! Have you brought something as a gift

for me from your country?" "Yes, O king," I told him. "I have much better leather to give to you." I then presented it to him and he was delighted. Some of it he distributed to his generals and the rest he had stored away and had a record of it written and kept.

"When I saw he was in a good mood, I asked, "Your majesty, I just noticed a man leaving your presence. He is the messenger from an enemy of ours. He has caused us much trouble and has killed some of our leaders and best men. Please hand him over to me, so that I may kill him." He became angry at this, raised his fist and brought it down so hard on my nose that I thought he had broken it. My nostril soon flowed with blood that dripped on to my clothing. I felt so humiliated I wished the earth would open up and swallow me.

"I eventually said, "Your majesty, if I had known you would be upset at what I said, I would not have asked you."

"He went on, 'He then became embarrassed and said, "Amr, how could you ask me to hand over to you for execution the messenger of the man to whom the *al-nāmūs al-akbar*, the Archangel Gabriel, comes, just as he did to Moses and to Jesus?"'

"Amr went on, 'God then changed my attitude from the way it had been, and I asked myself, "When the Arabs and non-Arabs alike recognize this truth, how can you oppose it?" I then said to the Negus, "Your majesty, do you really testify to that?" "I so testify to God, 'Amr," he replied. "Obey me and follow him. I swear by God that he is right and that he will definitely prevail over those who oppose him, just as Moses prevailed over Pharoah and his armies."

"I asked him, "Will you accept my allegiance to him in Islam?" "Yes," he replied. He then stretched forth his hands and accepted my allegiance. He called for someone to bring a wash basin and the blood was washed from me and he presented me with garments in which to dress. My own clothing was soaked in blood and I cast it aside. Then I went out to my companions and when they saw the garments from the Negus they were delighted. They asked, "Did you receive what you wanted from your friend?" I told them, "I was reluctant to talk about it with him on the first occasion; I told him I would come back." "We agree with that," they said.'

"Amr went on, 'So I left them, as if I had something specific to do and made my way to where the boats were moored. I found one ship that was loaded and about to leave. I embarked with them and they sailed it away to al-Shu'ba, where I went ashore, carrying my money. I bought a camel and headed for Medina, passing by Marr al-Zahrān. I then went on until I reached al-Hadda, where I met two men who had preceded me there shortly before. They were looking for accommodation, one man entering a tent, while the other held their mounts. Then I saw that one of them was Khālid b. al-Walid! I asked him, "Where are you headed?" "To Muḥammad," he replied. "The people are all joining Islam and there's no one left with any power. I swear by God, if I were to oppose, he'd have us by the neck, like a hyena's neck is caught in his cave."

““I swear by God,” I told him, I too am headed for Muḥammad and am accepting Islam.” Then ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa emerged and welcomed me. We all three lodged together.

“We then reached an agreement and went to Medina. I’ll never forget what a man said whom we met at the Abū ‘Utba well who shouted out, “*Yā rabāḥ! Yā rabāḥ! Yā rabāḥ!*”⁸³ We were much cheered by this and proceeded further. Then the man looked closely at us and I heard him say, “After (losing) these two, Mecca has given up the leadership!” I assumed he was referring to myself and to Khālīd b. al-Walīd. He then turned and hurried off into the mosque; I assumed that he was going in to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of our arrival and it was as I thought.

“We dismounted at al-Ḥarra and dressed in our best clothes. Then the call was made for the *‘aṣr* prayer and we went off to see him. His face was exultant, and the Muslims around him were delighted at our acceptance of Islam. Khālīd b. al-Walīd went forward and gave his allegiance. Then ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa advanced and gave his. I then went forward but, I swear by God, no sooner had I sat down before him than I could not raise my gaze towards him, I felt so ashamed. I then expressed my allegiance to him, provided that I be forgiven my prior sins and that he would not bring up the past. He said, “Islam cuts off what preceded it and the *hijra* cuts off what preceded it.”

“And I swear by God, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to none of his Companions consideration equal to that he gave myself and Khālīd b. al-Walīd after we had accepted Islam. We had the same status with Abū Bakr and I enjoyed the same with ‘Umar; ‘Umar was somewhat critical towards Khālīd.”

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ja‘far, al-Wāqīdī’s *sheikh*, teacher, stated, “I narrated this *ḥadīth* to Yazīd b. Ḥabīb, and he said, ‘Rāshīd, the freed-man of Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Thaqafī, quoted his master Ḥabīb as relating much the same from ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ.”

I note that Muḥammad b. Ishāq related it similarly, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Rāshīd, from his freed-man Ḥabīb, who said, “Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in person related to me.” And he then narrated the above as occurring in 5 AH, after the killing of Abū Rāfi‘. The text of al-Wāqīdī is more simple and better.

Al-Wāqīdī quoted his *sheikh* ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd as saying, “I asked Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, ‘Did he say when ‘Amr and Khālīd accepted Islam?’ ‘No’, he replied, ‘except that he did say it was before the conquest of Mecca.’ I then said, ‘My father told me that ‘Amr, Khālīd and Ṭalḥa came forward at the beginning of Ṣafar in 8 AH.’”

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is material testifying to the course of his acceptance of Islam, his fine companionship with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) during his life, and how he died repenting his conduct during the period of his leadership after that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with a description of his death. May God be pleased with him.

83. A cry of surprise and delight.

THE PATH BY WHICH KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD ACCEPTED ISLAM.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Yaḥyā b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām related to me, "I heard my father quote Khālīd b. al-Walīd as saying, 'When God wished for good for me, he instilled Islam into my heart and gave me good sense. I then told myself, "I have witnessed how all these lands are against Muḥammad (ṢAAS); yet whatever I witness in these places makes me want to leave them, feeling that I am out of place in them and that Muḥammad will prevail."

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for al-Ḥudaybiyya, I went forth with some of the polytheist cavalry and encountered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men at 'Uṣfān. I positioned myself directly facing and opposing him. He and his men performed the *al-ḡuhr*, the noon prayer, before us and we thought we should attack him then, but could not make up our minds to do so; which was a very good thing! He saw what we were about to do and he and his men performed the *al-ʿaṣr*, late afternoon prayer, as a *ṣalāt al-khawf*, "prayer in fear of attack".⁸⁴ This made an impression on us and I said, "The fellow is denied us!" We moved back and he avoided our horsemen by taking the route to the right.

"When Quraysh made peace with him at al-Ḥudaybiyya and put him off till the following year, I asked myself, "What is left? Where can I go? To the Negus? He follows Muḥammad, whose men are safe with him. Shall I go to Heraclius and abandon my faith for Christianity or Judaism? Should I go and live with foreigners, or stay at home with those who remain?"

"While I was in this quandary, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca to perform the *ʿumrat al-qadiyya*. I pretended to be absent and did not witness his entry. My brother, al-Walīd b. al-Walīd, had come in with the Prophet (ṢAAS) on the *ʿumrat al-qadiyya* and he asked after me but could not locate me. He wrote me a letter in which he said, "In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate. I know of nothing more strange than your antipathy for Islam, being as intelligent as you are. Could anyone disregard something like Islam? The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has asked me about you. He said, 'Where is Khālīd?' I replied, 'God will bring him.' He then asked, 'Could someone like him disregard Islam? If he were to put his energy and bravery to work with the Muslims it would be better for him. We would certainly give him precedence before others.' Take note, brother, of what good things you are missing."

"When his letter reached me, I got ready to come out and experienced a strong desire for Islam. The question the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked about me pleased me greatly. I dreamt of being in a constrained and barren land and emerging into one that was spacious and fertile. I told myself that this was a vision. And when I went to Medina, I decided to relate it to Abū Bakr. He said, "Your exiting to which God led you was to Islam. The constrained land where you had been was polytheism."

84. See above, pp.

“And so when I made up my mind to come out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I wondered in whose company I would go to him. Then I met up with Ṣafwān b. Umayya and asked him, “Abū Wahb, don’t you see what we are doing? We’re (as useless) as molars! Muḥammad may defeat the Arabs and the non-Arabs alike. If we joined and followed Muḥammad, then honour gained by him would be honour for us all.” But Ṣafwān rejected this vigorously, saying, “If I were the very last, I’d never follow him!”

“We parted and I told myself that this was someone whose brother and father had been killed at Badr. Then I met ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl to whom I said the same as I had to Ṣafwān b. Umayya. He responded just as Ṣafwān had done. I asked him to keep confidential what I had said, and he agreed.

“I went off home, had my camel readied and left on it. On the way I met ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa; knowing him to be a friend, I thought I would tell him my plan. I then recalled the names of some of his elders who had been killed and I thus became reluctant to mention this to him. But I said to myself, “What does it matter to me now that I’m about to leave?” So I told him what had transpired and said, “We’re like a fox in a hole that would be sure to come up if doused with buckets of water.” I said to him what I had earlier told my other two friends and he responded positively at once. I told him, “I got up this morning ready to proceed forth; over there at the road, kneeling down, is my mount.” We then agreed to meet at Yaʿjij. If he got there first, he would wait; if I arrived there before him, I would wait there.

“We set off at night, before dawn, and we met at Yaʿjij. We proceeded on together to al-Hadda, where we found ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. He welcomed us warmly, as we did him. He asked us where we were headed and we asked him why he had left. He wanted to know our purpose in leaving, and we replied, “To enter Islam and follow Muḥammad (ṢAAS).” He said that that was his purpose too.

“So we travelled on together into Medina and dismounted at the back of al-Ḥarra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed of our arrival, and he was delighted with us. I dressed in my best clothes and headed for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). My brother met me and said, “Hurry along; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been told about you, is delighted at your arrival and is awaiting you.”

“We stepped up our pace and when I looked at him I saw him smiling all the time until we stopped before him. I addressed him as “Prophet” and he returned a greeting, his face beaming. I said, “I bear witness that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God.” He then said, “Come here.” And then he said, “Praise be to God who guided you. I considered you to have intelligence that I hoped would only lead you to good.” I replied, “Messenger of God, I used to agree with those others I have seen to be stubbornly opposed to the truth; please pray to God that He will forgive me this.” He replied, “Islam cuts off what preceded it.” I asked, “Messenger of God, and so hence ...” He then said, “O God, forgive every action Khālīd b. al-Walīd took to block God’s cause.””

"Khalid went on, "Uthmān and 'Amr then came up and expressed their allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Our arrival was in Ṣafar of 8 AH. And, I swear by God, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave precedence to none of his Companions over myself."

THE EXPEDITION OF SHUJĀ' B. WAHB AL-ASADI TO SOME MEN OF HAWĀZIN.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ibn Abū Sabra related to him, from Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from 'Umar b. al-Ḥakam, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Shujā' b. Wahb with 24 men out against a group of Hawāzin with orders to attack them. He left, travelling by night and remaining hidden by day. When he came to them, they were taken by surprise. He, Shujā', had told his men not to pursue them vigorously. They seized many camels and goats. They drove them off to Medina, where each man received 15 camels as booty."

Others maintain that they also took many captives and that the leader (Shujā') chose from them one modest girl and that their people then accepted Islam. The Prophet (ṢAAS) advised their leader to return the women to them, and he agreed. He gave a choice to the girl he had with him, and she chose to stay.

This expedition may be the one to which al-Shāfi'i referred, quoting Mālik, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition towards Najd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar being among them. The latter said, "We captured many camels and our share of the booty was 12 camels apiece, which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded us camel by camel."

This is included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections in a *ḥadīth* from Mālik. Muslim also related it in a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, and from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh. All of these quoted Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, in similar words.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Hanād related to him, quoting 'Abda, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition out to Najd and I took part in it. We captured many camels and our leader divided them up to each of us, camel by camel. Then we went on to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he divided up our booty between us, so that each of us acquired 12 camels, after the *khumus* (the one-fifth for the *bayt al-māl*, the treasury) had been set aside. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not include in our counts the camels our leader had given us, nor did he criticize him for what he had done. Each one of us received 13 camels, after he had made his distribution."

THE EXPEDITION OF KA'Ḍ B. 'UMAYR TO BANŪ QUḌĀ'A, IN SYRIA.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, from al-Zuhri, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ka'Ḍ b. 'Umayr al-Ghifārī with 15 men out as far as Dhāt Aṭlāḥ, in Syria. There they found a very large body of

men. The Muslims invited them to accept Islam, but they did not agree and showered them with arrows. When the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw this, they fought the enemy fiercely until they (the Muslims) were killed. One of their men was wounded badly and lay among the dead. In the cool of the night he managed to make his way back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was about to send out an expedition against them when news reached him that they had gone elsewhere."

THE EXPEDITION TO MUṬA.

This is the expedition of Zayd b. Ḥāritha with approximately 3,000 men to al-Balqā' territory in Syria.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, following his account of the *ʿumrat al-qadiyya*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for the duration of Dhū al-Ḥijja – the polytheists having controlled that pilgrimage – throughout al-Muḥarram, Ṣafar and both Rabīʿ al-Awwal and al-Thānī. In Jumāda al-Uwla he sent out into Syria those who were afflicted at Muṭa.

"Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out his expedition to Muṭa in Jumāda al-Uwla, 8 AH. He appointed as their leader Zayd b. Ḥāritha, saying, "If Zayd should be killed, then Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib will take command. If he should fall, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will lead.'"

"The army, consisting of 3,000 men, then prepared to leave."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Rabīʿa b. ʿUthmān related to him, from ʿAmr b. al-Ḥakam, from his father, who said, "Al-Nuʿmān b. Fanḥas, the Jew, came and stood with the men looking over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha will be commander and if Zayd should be killed, then it will be Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib. If Jaʿfar is killed, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will be commander. If he should be killed, then the Muslims should choose one from among themselves to appoint over them.'

"Al-Nuʿmān then said, 'Abū al-Qāsim, if you are a prophet and were to so name them, few or many in number, they would all be killed. When the prophets of Banū Isrāʾīl named a commander and then went on to name his successor if he should be killed, then they would all be killed, even if they named 100.' He told Zayd, 'Attend to your affairs. For you will never return, if Muḥammad is a prophet.'

"Zayd replied, 'I do testify that he is a prophet, a man of truth and piety; may God's peace and blessings be upon him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When time came for their departure, the men said farewell to the commanders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said goodbye with the rest, he wept. When people asked him why, he

replied, 'I swear by God, it's not because of my love for this life or my affection for you; I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reciting a verse from God's Book which mentions hell-fire and says, "All of you will go to it; this is determined and decreed by your Lord" (*sūrat Maryam*; XIX, v.71). And I don't know how I'll be able to escape from it after I've gone into it!'

"The Muslims then said to him, 'May God accompany you, protect you and return you all to us in safety.'

"Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following lines,

'But I ask the All-Merciful for forgiveness, and a large wound that bleeds profusely

Or a spear from a warrior armed with one that goes through my intestines and my liver.

So that it will be said when people pass by my grave,
"God gave him guidance as a warrior, and he behaved well."'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The men then were about to leave when 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa came over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said farewell to him and recited the following verses,

'May God affirm the good He presented you, as he gave affirmation to Moses, and a victory like they won.

I sensed the goodness in you to be a gift; and God knows me to have fine sight.

You are the Messenger and whoever is deprived of your gifts and sight of you has been diminished by fate.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The army then set forth and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out with them to bid them farewell. When he had said goodbye to them and turned away, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following verse,

'May peace persist for a man to whom I have said farewell amidst the palm trees, the best friend and escort.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū Khālīd al-Aḥmar, from al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakm, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched a mission out to Mu'ta, appointing Zayd as its leader. If Zayd were killed, then Ja'far was to take charge and if he were killed Ibn Rawāḥa would be in command. Ibn Rawāḥa stayed back and went into the mosque with the Prophet (ṢAAS), who saw him and asked, 'What keeps you back?' 'I wanted to attend the prayer with you,' Ibn Rawāḥa replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'To go forth (to battle) in the morning or the evening is better than the world and all in it.'"

Aḥmad stated that Abū Muṭāwiya related to him, quoting al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa on an expedition, and that day coincided with a Friday. His companions went on ahead, while ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said, ‘I’ll stay back and perform the Friday prayer with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then rejoin them.’ When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer, he saw ‘Abd Allāh and asked him, ‘What prevented you leaving with your comrades?’ He replied, ‘I wanted to perform the Friday prayer with you, then catch them up.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Were you to spend all there is on earth you would not attain their departure.’”

Al-Tirmidhī related it similarly, from Aḥmad b. Munīʿ, from Abū Muṭāwiya. He then added, “We know of this tradition only from this line.”

Shuʿba observed, “Al-Ḥakam only heard five *aḥādīth* from Miqsam.” He enumerated them and concluded, “And this *ḥadīth* is not one of them.”

I observe that the al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt in his account is controversial. But God knows best.

The purpose of giving this *ḥadīth* is that it establishes that the leaders left for Muṭa on a Friday. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “They then proceeded and encamped at Maʿan in Syria. There news reached them that Heraclius had encamped at Maʿab, in al-Balqāʾ territory, with a force of 100,000 *rūm*, ‘Byzantines’. To them were joined another 100,000 men of Lakhm, Judhām, al-Qayn, Bahrāʾ and Balī, commanded by a man from Balī tribe and the Irāsha clan named Mālik b. Zāfila.”

In an account of Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq, it is stated, “News reached them that Heraclius had encamped at Maʿab with 100,000 Byzantines and 100,000 *must-riḥa*⁸⁵ Aʿrabs.”

It is also stated that the Byzantines numbered 200,000, along with 50,000 others. The smallest figure given is that the Byzantines numbered 100,000, while there were also 50,000 Arabs (allied to them). Al-Suhaylī related this.

(Ibn Ishāq went on) “When this news reached the Muslims, they remained at Maʿan for two nights to discuss the matter. Some said, ‘We should send a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and tell him of the size of our enemy force. He will then either reinforce us or give us some order we can carry out.’ But ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa encouraged the troops, saying, ‘Men, what you dislike is what you have come forth to seek – martyrdom! We are not fighting by means of our numbers or strength; we are combating them only with this religion with which God has honoured us. Go forth; it will only result in one of two good outcomes – either victory or martyrdom!’

“The others said, ‘By God, Ibn Rawāḥa is right.’ And so the army went forth.

85. The word implies persons of Arabic language but mixed ancestry. The tribes named in the passage were quasi-Christian.

“‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following lines regarding this interruption of theirs,

‘We brought our horses forward from Mt. Aja’ and Mt. Far’, their bellies distended with grass.

The shoes with which we shod them were of stones as smooth as leather.

They remained for two nights at Ma‘ān and after their period of rest they were fully restored.

When we went ahead our horses had free rein, the veins in their nostrils pulsing hard.

I swear by my father, we will go on to Ma‘āb, even though both Byzantines and Arabs are there.

We gripped their reins and they galloped ahead vigorously, their dust swirling up,

Their noise loud and the points of their helmets glinting like stars.

Many a contented woman our spears rendered divorced, women who can remarry or stay widowed.”

Ibn Ishāq stated further, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, ‘I was an orphan living in the care of ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He took me forth on that journey, riding behind him on his saddle bag. I swear that by night I heard him recite the following lines,

“Since you (my mount) have brought me near and borne my baggage for four nights’ distance from the marshes,

Then you deserve pleasure and freedom from blame; and I will not return hereafter to my people.

The Muslims having come will leave me in Syria where I long to stay

And those with whom I am joined in relationship to the Most Merciful, though not my brothers, will take you back.

There I will not worry about plants sprouting, nor about palm trees whose roots need water.”

“When I heard these words from him I cried and he tapped me with his whip and said, “Why be sad, silly boy, if God grants me martyrdom and you ride home on a saddle?””

“‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa also spoke the following line of verse on one of his journeys,

‘Zayd, Zayd of the lean, fast camels, you have been led forward throughout a long night, so dismount now.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The army then advanced to the outskirts of al-Balqā'. There they were met by the Roman and Arab troops of Heraclius, at one of the villages of al-Balqā' called Mashārif. The enemy advanced and the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'ta. There the forces clashed. The Muslims arranged their forces to meet the enemy, putting a man of Banū 'Udhra named Qutba b. Qatāda in command of the right flank and an *anṣārī* named 'Ubāya b. Mālik in charge of the left flank."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Rabī'a b. 'Uthmān related to me, from al-Maqburī, who quoted Abū Hurayra as saying, 'I was present at the Battle of Mu'ta. When the polytheists approached, we saw such equipment, weapons, horses, brocade, silk and gold as no one ever before witnessed! I was dazzled. Thābit b. Arqam said to me, "Abū Hurayra, don't you think that's a huge force?" "Yes," I replied. "But you weren't present at Badr with us. Superiority in numbers won't defeat us."'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The forces then engaged and battle commenced. Zayd b. Ḥāritha fought, bearing the banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he perished amidst the enemy spears. Ja'far then picked it up and fought on until he was killed. Ja'far was the first Muslim to hamstring his mount in battle."

He continued, "Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr quoted his father 'Abbād as saying, 'My foster-father, of Banū Murra b. 'Awf, who was present at the Battle of Mu'ta, related to me, "I swear I can see Ja'far jumping off his sorrell mare, hamstringing her and fighting on until he was killed, reciting the lines,

'Hail to paradise approaching, its waters fine and cool
The punishment of the Byzantines is near, unbelievers
of doubtful descent.

It's up to me to strike them when we clash.'""

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ishāq, but he did not quote the poetry.

Those who permit the slaughter of animals if there is concern that the enemy may make use of them make reference to this *ḥadīth*. Similarly, Abū Ḥanīfa states, concerning *al-aghnam*, sheep or goats, that if they cannot keep up with the pace and it is feared that the enemy will capture and use them, they may be slaughtered and burned to prevent this. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "No one criticizes Ja'far for this. This action is permissible unless (the animals) are safe from seizure by the enemy. This has nothing to do with the prohibition of killing animals for amusement."

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable source, a scholar, related to me that Ja'far took the banner in his right hand which was cut off. He then took it in his left hand, and it was cut off. He then hugged it to himself with his upper arms until he was killed. He was 33 years of age. God rewarded him for his valour by giving him two wings in heaven with which he could fly wherever he wished.

It is said that one of the Byzantines gave him a blow that day that cut him in two."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, quoting his father 'Abbād, as follows, 'My foster-father, a man of Banū Murra b. 'Awf, related to me, saying, "When Ja'far was killed, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took up the banner and advanced with it, on his horse. Then he began to waver and to hesitate somewhat and so he spoke the following verses,

'I swear, my soul, that you will indeed do battle or be
forced to do battle

Even though the men are shouting and screaming; why is
it I see you hating paradise?

For long you have been at ease; are you anything but a
drop of liquid inside a skin bag?"

"“He also said,

'My soul, even if you're not killed you'll die any way;
this is the fate of death you are exposed to.

What you hoped for has been given to you; if you do
what they both did, you will have been well directed.'

"“The reference here is to his two companions, Zayd and Ja'far. Then he dismounted. When he did so a cousin of his came up carrying a meat bone and said, 'Take strength from this; you have suffered much recently.' He took it from his hand and took a bite out of it. Then he heard a great commotion among the men. He said (to himself), 'And are you still alive!' He threw away the bone, took up his sword and advanced, fighting until he was killed. May God be pleased with him!

"“Thābit b. Aqram, brother of Banū al'Ajlan, then took the banner. He said, 'Muslims, form around one of you!' 'Let it be around you,' they shouted. 'No, I will not do it,' he replied. So they formed around Khālid b. al-Walid. When he (Khālid) took the banner he defended his men, keeping them safe, then withdrew and the enemy distanced from him so that he could leave with the men.'”"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the army suffered great loss, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – so I have been told – said, 'Zayd b. Hāritha took the banner and fought with it until he was martyred. Ja'far then took it and fought, bearing it until he was martyred.' After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became silent and the faces of the *anṣār* changed as they wondered whether there was something terrible about 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. Then he said, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa has taken it now and fought with it until martyred.'

"He then said, 'They have been raised up to heaven – I saw in a vision – upon couches of gold. I noticed that the couch of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was slanting away from those of his comrades and I asked, "Why is this?" I was told, "They

went straight ahead, whereas ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa hesitated somewhat before proceeding.””

This is related thus by Ibn Ishāq *munqaṭiʿ*, with an incomplete chain of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Wāqid related to him, quoting Hammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Ḥamid b. Hilāl, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to the people the deaths of Zayd, Jaʿfar and Ibn Rawāḥa before they received the news. He said, “Zayd took the banner, then was struck down. Jaʿfar took it and was struck down. Ibn Rawāḥa took it and was struck down.” His eyes then brimmed with tears. He went on, ‘And then one of the Lord’s swords’ (Khālīd b. al-Walīd, that is) “took it until God gave them victory.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this. He also related it elsewhere saying that he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) was on the *minbar* when he said, “And it would not please them to be with us.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr related to him, quoting Mughīra b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, not al-Ḥazāmī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Saʿīd, from Nāfiʿ, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd b. Ḥāritha in command of the expedition to al-Muʿta. He also said, ‘If Zayd should be killed, then Jaʿfar (will take over); if Jaʿfar is killed, then ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.’ ‘Abd Allāh said, ‘I was among those at Muʿta. We searched for (the body of) Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalīb and found him among those slain. On his body we found some 90 sword wounds or arrow holes.’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone also in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī went on, “Aḥmad related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, from ‘Amr, from Ibn Abū Hilāl, he being Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl al-Laythī, who said, ‘Nāfiʿ informed me that Ibn ‘Umar informed him that he stood over Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalīb on that day, he having been killed, (and that Ibn ‘Umar said), “I counted 50 wounds made by spears or swords, and none were in his back.””

This too is a *ḥadīth* only given by al-Bukhārī.

This account may be reconciled with the previous one; Ibn ‘Umar saw that number of wounds, whereas others saw more than that. Or that those he saw on his front were inflicted before his death and that when he fell to the ground, they also gave him blows in his back. Ibn ‘Umar counted those in his front suffered while he faced the enemy, before he was killed. May God be pleased with him!

The testimony quoted by Ibn Hishām, regarding his right arm being severed while it held the banner and then the same happening to his left, is upheld by what al-Bukhārī related: “Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting ‘Umar b. ‘Alī, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālīd, from ‘Āmir, who said, ‘When Ibn ‘Umar greeted Ibn Jaʿfar, he would say, “Peace be upon you, O Son of him who has two wings!””

He related it also in *al-Manāqib* (*Virtues*). Al-Nasāʾī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālīd.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Ismā'īl, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who said, "I heard Khālīd b. al-Walīd say, 'At the battle of Mu'ta, nine swords were broken in my hand; I finally held only a Yemeni broad-sword.'"

He then narrated it from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yahyā, from Ismā'īl, who quoted Qays as having said, "I heard Khālīd b. al-Walīd say, 'At the battle of Mu'ta, nine swords were broken in my hand; a Yemeni broad-sword was left in my hand.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda related to him, quoting Abū 'Amr Maṭar, quoting Abū Khalīfa al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥabāb al-Jumāhī, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting al-Aswad b. Shaybān, from Khālīd b. Samīr, who said, "'Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ al-Anṣārī came to us; the *anṣār* themselves would ask him for legal opinions. The people swamped him; I was among them as they did so. He said, 'Abū Qatāda, the horseman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sent out the *jaysh al-ūmarā'*, the "army of the commanders", saying, "Zayd b. Ḥāritha will command. If he should be struck down, then Ja'far will command. If Ja'far is struck down, then 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will command." Ja'far jumped up and said, "Messenger of God, I didn't want you to appoint Zayd over me!" He replied, "Go forth; you do not know which would be better."

"They did leave, staying only for as long as God wished. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (later) mounted the *minbar*, gave an order and the summons was announced, "A full prayer assembly!" People gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he then said, "I will give you news of this army of yours. They have gone forth and encountered the enemy. Zayd has been martyred." He then prayed for forgiveness for Zayd. He went on, "Then Ja'far took the banner and he charged the enemy and was eventually martyred." He then bore witness that Ja'far had attained martyrdom and sought forgiveness for him. He went on, "'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and planted his feet firmly until he was martyred." He prayed for forgiveness for 'Abd Allāh. He went on, "Then Khālīd b. al-Walīd took the banner; he was not one of the (appointed) commanders, but took command himself." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "O God, he is truly one of Your swords; may You help him." And from that day on Khālīd was known as "God's sword"."

Al-Nasā'ī related it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from al-Aswad b. Shaybān. His account is similar, but has a nice addition: "*Bābu khayrin! Bābu khayrin! A good beginning!*" He then went on to relate the *ḥadīth* as above.

Al-Wāqidi stated that 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Amāra b. Ghaziyya related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from 'Amr b. Ḥazm, who said, "When the army joined in battle at Mu'ta, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat on the *minbar* and God revealed to him what lay between him and Syria so that he could observe their conflict. He said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha took the banner and Satan came to him

and made life seem good to him and death hateful, making life on earth attractive to him. He (Zayd) said, "Now that the faith is firmly planted in the hearts of the believers, would you make life on earth seem good to me?" He then advanced until he was martyred.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then performed the prayer for him and said, 'Ask forgiveness for him; he has entered paradise as a martyr.'"

Al-Wāqidi stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from 'Āṣim b. 'Amr b. Qatāda, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "When Zayd was killed, Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib took the banner. Satan then came to him and made life seem good to him, death hateful, and he made life attractive to him. But Ja'far said, 'Now, when faith has become firm in the hearts of the believers, would you have me wish for life?' He then advanced until he was martyred. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spoke the prayer for him. He said, 'Seek forgiveness for your brother; he is a martyr and has entered paradise. He is flying in heaven with wings of sapphire, going wherever he wishes there.'"

He went on, "'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and was martyred. He then entered heaven *mu'tariq*, 'indirectly'. This upset the *anṣār* and someone asked, 'Messenger of God, why "indirectly"?' He replied, 'When he suffered wounds, he drew back. But he criticized himself, regained his courage, was martyred and entered paradise.'

"His people were much relieved by this."

Al-Wāqidi stated that 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Fuḍayl quoted his father as saying, "When Khālid b. al-Walid took up the banner, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Now the fighting is fierce.'"

Al-Wāqidi also stated, "Al-Ḥāf b. Khālid related to me as follows, 'Ibn Rawāḥa having been killed in the evening, Khālid b. al-Walid spent that night (without engaging the enemy). Next morning, he attacked, having placed his vanguard at the rear and exchanged the forces of the left and right flanks. The enemy were no longer familiar with their banners and disposition and, believing them to have been reinforced, were frightened and retreated in disarray. And so they suffered a defeat as no enemy had inflicted upon them before.'"

This accords with the account given by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, may God be pleased with him, in his work on the military campaigns. He stated, after recounting the *ʿumrat al-Ḥudaybiyya*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Medina and remained there for six months. He then despatched an army to Muṭa, appointing Zayd b. Ḥāritha as their commander. He ordered, 'If he is struck down, then command is to go to Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib. If Ja'far is struck down, then 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa is to be their commander.' They travelled on until they encountered Ibn Abū Sabra al-Ghassānī at Muṭa, where there was a large force of Christian Arabs and Byzantines, including men of Tanūkh and Bahra'. Ibn Abū Sabra closed the gate of the fortress against the Muslims for three days. The armies then clashed on a red field, where the fighting was intense. Zayd b. Ḥāritha took

the banner and was killed; Ja'far then took it and he was killed. 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took it next and was killed. Then the Muslims chose Khālid b. al-Walid al-Makhzūmī to succeed those three commanders chosen by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God then defeated the enemy and gave victory to the Muslims.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent them forth in Jumādā al-Uwla, of 8 AH that is."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "And they claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Ja'far passed me by amidst the angels, flying as they did, and he had two wings.'"

He went on, "They also claim – but God knows best – that Ya'qā b. Umayya came with news of the men at Mu'ta to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked, 'If you wish, you can tell me or, if you prefer, I will tell you.' 'You tell me, Messenger of God,' he asked. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them all the news of them and described it all to them. He (Ya'qā) then commented, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, you have not left out a word – what happened to them is exactly as you stated!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'God raised the earth up before me so that I could see their battlefield.'"

This text has many nice details that are absent from the account of Ibn Ishāq. It contradicts somewhat the latter's account, which suggests that Khālid only disengaged the enemy to escape from the Byzantines and the Christian Arabs.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba and al-Wāqidi stated clearly that they defeated the Byzantines and the Arabs with them, which is evident from the *ḥadīth* given above from Anas directly quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, "And then one of God's swords took it until God gave them victory."

Al-Bukhārī related this. This account is preferable and is the one to which the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī referred after recounting both the statements to such effect as we have stated.

I note that it is possible to reconcile between the account given by Ibn Ishāq and that given by the others. This would be as follows: when Khālid took the banner he drew away the Muslims until he had removed them from the reach of the Roman and quasi-Arab unbelievers. Next morning he switched the rearguard and vanguard and both flanks, as al-Wāqidi related, and so the Byzantines thought these to be reinforcements that had arrived for the Muslims. And when Khālid attacked them, he defeated them, with God's permission. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to me, from 'Urwa, who said, 'When those who had fought at Mu'ta approached, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims met them. The boys rushed out to meet them while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on his mount with the other people. He said, 'Take the boys away and give me Ja'far's son.' 'Abd Allāh was brought to him and he picked him up and carried him. The people then began tossing dirt at the army, saying, 'You runaways! You fled from God's path!' The Messenger

of God (ṢAAS) then said, "They are not runaways but men who will fight again, if God, Almighty and Glorious is He, wills it."

This *ḥadīth* is incomplete with this line of transmission, and is somewhat strange.

It is my opinion that Ibn Ishāq is using his imagination in this text by thinking of these men as being the army, whereas they were men who had fled when the armies clashed. The remainder did not flee, but were awarded victory, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them while on the *minbar* when he said, "Then one of God's swords took it until God gave them victory." The Muslims would never have called them runaways after that, but would have met them with honour and respect. Rebuking and throwing dirt would only have been done to those who had fled and abandoned them there. Among them was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who said, "I took part in one of the expeditions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and some of the men fled, myself among them. We wondered what we should do, having fled and caused anger. We thought we might be killed if we returned to Medina. Then we decided we should present ourselves before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in which case we would either be forgiven or we would leave. We went to him before the pre-dawn prayer. He came out and asked, 'Who are you?' 'We are the runaways,' we replied. 'No', he replied, 'you're the ones who will fight again. I'm one of you, and I'm one of the believers.' We then went forward and kissed his hand."

He then went on to relate it from Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "We were on a military expedition, but fled. We wondered whether we should go overseas. Then we went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, we are the runaways.' He replied, 'No; you're the ones who will fight again.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related it, as did al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan*, 'good'; we know it only from his *ḥadīth*."

Aḥmad stated, "Ishāq b. 'Isā and Aswad b. 'Āmir related to us as follows, 'Shurayk related to us, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out on a military expedition. When we encountered the enemy we fled in the first clash and went back to Medina by night, as a group, and went into hiding. Then we wondered if we should go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and apologize to him.

"“We did go to him, and when he met us we told him, 'We are the runaways, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'No; you are those who will fight again, and I'm of your party.'””"

Al-Aswad said (that the words used were) "I am of the party of every Muslim."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm related to me, from 'Āmir b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that Umm Salama, the wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asked the wife of Salama b. Hishām b. al-Mughira, 'Why don't I see Salama attend the prayer with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims?'"

"She replied, 'He can't go outside. Whenever he does, people cry out, "Runaway! You ran away from God's path!" So he sits at home and never goes out; he was present at the battle of Mu'ta.'"

I comment that it is possible that some of them fled when they saw the great size of the Byzantine force, who were many times larger in number; the Muslims numbered 3,000, while the enemy, so they say, was 200,000 strong. Such circumstances do permit flight, as is well established. When this group fled, the rest remained firm and God gave them victory, and released them from the clutches of the enemy, many of whom they killed, as al-Wāqidī and Mūsā b. 'Uqba before him recorded.

This is further affirmed and substantiated by what Imām Aḥmad related: "Al-Walid b. Muslim related to us, quoting Safwān b. 'Amr, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr, from his father, from 'Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja'i, who said, 'I was among those who accompanied Zayd b. Ḥāritha and the other Muslims to the battle of Mu'ta. I went with a *madadī*, an "auxiliary", from Yemen whose only equipment was his sword. One of the Muslims slaughtered a camel and the auxiliary asked him for a piece of its leather. He gave it to him and the *madadī* used it as a shield.

"We advanced and encountered a force of the Byzantines, among whom was a man riding a sorrel equipped with a gilded saddle and a gilded sword. The Roman began attacking the Muslims, and the auxiliary crouched down behind a rock. When the Roman went by, the *madadī* hamstrung his horse and when its rider fell, he jumped on him and killed him. And so he seized his horse and weapon. When God gave victory to the Muslims, Khālīd b. al-Walīd sent to him and took the booty.'

"Awf went on, 'So I went to Khālīd and said, "Khālīd, haven't you heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has decreed that the spoils (from a dead enemy) belong to the person who killed him?" "Yes", he replied, "but I thought this excessive." I told him, "If you don't give it back to him, then I will report you to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." But he refused to return it.'

"Awf continued, 'When we had a meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I related to him the story of the *madadī* and what Khālīd had done. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Khālīd, return to him what you took." I then said, "So there, Khālīd! Didn't I tell you I would!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What's all this?" So I related it to him and he got angry. He said, "Khālīd, don't give it back to him! Would you disobey one of my commanders? You expect only what in their commands is trouble-free, while assigning them the troublesome!"' Al-Walīd stated, "I asked Thawr about this

ḥadith. And he related it to me from Khālid b. Ma'dān, from Jubayr b. Nufayr, from 'Awf, in similar form."

Muslim and Ibn 'Awf related it from a *ḥadith* of Jubayr b. Nufayr, from 'Awf b. Mālik in similar words. This story substantiates that they took booty from them, and despoiled and killed some of their officers.

It is related above from al-Bukhārī that Khālid, may God be pleased with him, said, "At the battle of Mu'ta nine swords were broken in my hand and only a Yemeni broad-sword remained."

This requires that they engaged them in heavy combat; if this had not been the case, they would not have been able to disengage from them. This by itself is an independent proof. But God knows best. This *ḥadith* was chosen by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, al-Wāqidi and al-Bayhaqī, and Ibn Hishām related it from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The authorities on the military expeditions differ over their having fled or withdrawn. Some maintain that this was so, while others claim that the Muslims prevailed over the polytheists, and that the latter were defeated."

He went on, "The *ḥadith* of Anas b. Mālik that quotes the Messenger of God (SAAS) as having stated, 'Then Khālid took it (the banner) and God gave him victory,' indicates their victory over the enemy. But God knows best."

I note that Ibn Ishāq related that Qutba b. Qatāda al-'Udhri, who commanded the Muslim right flank, attacked Mālik b. Zāfila (whom Ibn Hishām names "Rāfila"), the commander of the Christian Arabs there, and killed him. Boasting of that, he spoke the following verses,

"I stabbed Ibn Zāfila b. al-Arāsh with a spear that
passed through him then broke.

I gave him a blow on his neck that made it bend like a
mimosa branch.

We led away his tribe's women at Raquqayn like sheep."

This substantiates our view. Because it usually happens that when an army commander is killed his men flee. Moreover, Qutba states clearly in his verses that they took their women prisoner. And this is plain in what we have related. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq adopts the view that what happened was disengagement and withdrawal from the Byzantines, and he calls this a success and a victory, in view of the superiority in numbers of the enemy and their having the Muslims surrounded. This would normally have meant that they would have been totally decimated; and so when they disengaged and withdrew, this constituted the most that could be hoped for in such circumstances.

This is quite likely; however, it does contradict the clear statement of the Messenger of God (SAAS) that "God gave them victory over them."

Ibn Ishāq did give evidence for his view. He stated, "Regarding the discussion about Khālid b. al-Walid and his protecting and withdrawing his men, the verses

of Qays b. al-Muḥsir⁸⁶ al-Ya'murī are relevant. He said, apologizing for his actions and those of the others that day,

'I swear by God, my soul criticizes me persistently for stopping when the horses were excited, staring ahead.

I stopped then, neither moving aside nor advancing, and not defending those for whom death was near.

However, I modelled myself on Khālīd; is it not true that there is none like Khālīd among our men?

I grieved much for Ja'far at Mu'ta, when arrows were of no use to archers.

He joined up to us both our flanks, men who were *muhājirīn*, not polytheists, men not defenceless."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Qays clarified in his poetry what had been the subject of disagreement among people; this is, that the army avoided conflict and were unwilling to die and, moreover, that Khālīd did disengage with his men."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Al-Zuhri stated, as we have been informed, 'The Muslims appointed Khālīd b. al-Walīd as their commander, and God gave them victory. He remained their leader until he returned to Medina.'"

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, from Umm 'Isā al-Khuza'iyya, from Umm Ja'far, daughter of Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalīb, from their grandmother Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, who said, 'When Ja'far and his men had suffered casualties, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to see me just after I had tanned 40 *mannā* weight of skins, kneaded my dough and washed, oiled and cleaned off my children. He said to me, "Bring Ja'far's sons to me." I brought them to him, he smelt them and his eyes welled with tears. I asked, "Messenger of God, by my father and my mother, do tell me what makes you cry! Do you have news of Ja'far and his men?" "Yes", he replied, "they have been struck down today." I arose screaming, and the women gathered around me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside to his people and said, "Don't neglect Ja'far's family; make food for them. They are preoccupied by the fate of their master."'"

Imām Aḥmad told it thus from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ishāq who related it through 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Umm 'Isā, from Umm 'Awn, daughter of Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from Asmā'. He made reference to preparing the food. What is correct is that it referred to Umm Ja'far and Umm 'Awn.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting Ja'far b. Khālīd from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, who said, "When the news came of the death of Ja'far, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Prepare food for Ja'far's

86. Guillaume gives this name as Musahhar al-Ya'murī. *op. cit.* p.536.

family. A matter has come to them that preoccupies them.” Or the words were, “something that occupies them has come”.

This is similarly related by Abū Dāʿūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Jaʿfar b. Khālīd b. Sārāt al-Makhzūmī al-Makkī, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*, “good”.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq went on, “ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, ‘When news of the death of Jaʿfar arrived, we could see the sadness in the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’

“She commented, ‘A man went in to him and said, “Messenger of God, the women are distressing and annoying us.” He told him, “Go back in to them and quieten them down.”’

“She said, ‘He left, then he came back and said the same to him. And (as the saying goes) “Persistence often harms”, that is, those who engage in it. He then told the man, “Go off and quieten them; and if they keep it up, then toss dirt in their mouths!” I said to myself, “May God remove you, fellow! You neither relieved yourself, nor will you be able to obey the Messenger of God!” I well knew he could not toss dirt in their mouths.”’

Ibn Ishāq is alone in giving it from this chain; it is not in any of the compendia.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Waḥhāb (who said), “I heard Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd say, ‘ʿAmra told me the following: “I heard ʿĀʾisha say, ‘When Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa were killed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sitting with sorrow evident on his face. I was peeping at him through a chink in the door. Then a man came in and said, “Messenger of God, I’m afraid Jaʿfar’s women ...” And he went on to tell of their weeping. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to forbid them from doing so. So the man left but returned and said, “I swear, they were too much for me.” I then heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, “Go and toss dirt in their mouths!”’”

““ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her, went on, ‘May God smack you in the nose! By God, you’ll not do that nor will you relieve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of his cares!’””

Muslim, Abū Dāʿūd and al-Nasāʾī related this from various lines, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra, who quoted her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wab b. Jarīr related to him, quoting his father, who said, “I heard Muḥammad b. Abū Yaʿqūb relate from al-Ḥasan b. Saʿd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out an army under the command of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, saying, “If Zayd should be killed or martyred, then your leader will be Jaʿfar; if he should be killed or martyred, then your leader will be ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.” When they clashed with the enemy, Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed. Then Jaʿfar took the banner and fought until he was killed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and

fought until he was killed. Khālīd b. al-Walīd then took the banner and God gave him victory. When their news reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he went out to the people and gave thanks and praise to God. He then said, "Your brothers have met the enemy. Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. After him, Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. Then 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. Then one of God's swords, Khālīd b. al-Walīd, took the banner, and God gave him victory." He then gave Ja'far's family a respite of three days before going to them. Then he went to them and said, "Do not grieve for my brother after today. Summon to me all my brother's family." We were then brought there as if we were a flock of birds. He said, "Summon the barber to me." The barber was brought and he shaved our heads. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Muḥammad is just like our uncle Abū Ṭālib. As for 'Abd Allāh, he is just like myself in character and appearance." He then took my hand and raised it, saying, "O God, let Ja'far live on in his family; and bless 'Abd Allāh in his affairs." He said this three times. Then our mother came and spoke of those of us who were orphaned and began arousing his sympathy. Then he said, "How can you worry about your family when I am their protector in this world and the next?"

Abū Dā'ūd related this in part; al-Nasā'ī gave it in its entirety in his biography, from a *ḥadīth* of Wahb b. Jarīr.

This *ḥadīth* determines that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission to mourn for three days and that thereafter he forbade them from mourning. This perhaps indicates the meaning of the *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad from that of al-Ḥakam b. 'Abd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Asmā' who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her, when Ja'far was killed, "Wear mourning for three days, then do as you wish."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

It is probable that he gave her permission to mourn – by which is meant extreme behaviour in weeping and tearing at clothes – because of the severity of the pain at the loss of Ja'far, the father of her children. It may also be that this constituted an instruction to her to engage in *al-tasallub*, "mourning", this word implying extreme mourning, for three days, and thereafter to mourn as she wished in the ways usual for widows. But God knows best. The phrase is also read with the spelling *tasallabā* (instead of *tasallabī*) for three days, this word meaning "act with restraint". This interpretation contradicts the other reading. God knows best.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad to the effect that Yazīd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Talḥa, quoting al-Ḥakam b. 'Uyayna, from 'Abd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Asmā', daughter of 'Umayy, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to us on the third day following the death of Ja'far and said, 'Do not mourn further after today.'" This *ḥadīth* is another of those unique to Aḥmad; its chain of authorities is fairly acceptable. However, it is problematic

if interpreted for its obvious meaning. Because it is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "It is not appropriate for a woman who believes in God and the Judgement Day to mourn for her dead longer than three days, except in the loss of her husband, whom she may mourn for four months and ten days."

If what Imām Aḥmad related was accurate, then it should be considered applicable specifically to that (case) and otherwise the statement given above relating to extreme mourning for three days would apply. But God knows best.

I note that Asmā', daughter of 'Umayy, eulogized her husband in an ode in which she stated,

"I swear, my soul will never cease to be sad over you,
and my skin will always wear dust.

No one ever saw the like of him, a hero who persisted
so valiantly in the fray."

Eventually her *'idda*, waiting period, ended and Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, became engaged to her. He then married her and gave a feast to which people came. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb was one of those attending and when the others had gone he asked permission of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to speak with Asmā' through the curtain. He gave him leave to do so. When 'Alī approached the curtain, the scent of her perfume reached him and he asked her – in general terms – who was the person speaking in the above verse,

"I swear, my soul will never cease to be sad over you,
and my skin will always wear dust."

She replied, "Away with you, Abū al-Ḥasan, you're always joking!"

She bore Muḥammad to Abū Bakr, giving birth at a tree between Mecca and Medina, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on his way to the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, the "farewell pilgrimage". He told her to wash herself and recite prayers; this will be discussed in its appropriate place. When later Abū Bakr died, 'Alī b. Abū Bakr married her and she bore him children. May God be pleased with him, her and them.

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr quoted to me 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr as saying, 'When they drew near Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the people came out to meet them. The boys were racing around, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came forward on a mule. He said, "Take away the children; carry them off and bring me Ja'far's son." 'Abd Allāh, Ja'far's son was brought and he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) carried him in his hands. The crowd began tossing dirt at the army, shouting, "You runaways! You ran away from God's path!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was calling out, "They're not runaways! They'll fight again, if God wills it!"'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, incomplete in its chain.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Mu'āwiya related to him, quoting 'Āṣim, from Mu'riq al-Ḥijli, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back home from a journey, he would meet the boys from his family household. On his return from one trip, I was led out to him and he mounted me before him. He then said, 'Bring me one of Fāṭima's sons' – it was either Ḥasan or Ḥusayn. He mounted him behind him and we went on into Medina, three on a mule."

This was given by Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja from a *ḥadīth* of 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal, from Mu'riq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Khālīd b. Sāra, that his father related to him that 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far said, "You should have seen myself and Qutham and 'Ubayd Allāh, the two sons of al-'Abbās, all three of us boys playing, when the Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by us on his mule. He said, 'Lift up this one to me.' He lifted me up in front of him. He then said, referring to Qutham, 'Lift up this one to me.' He then placed him behind himself. 'Ubayd Allāh was more favoured by 'Abbās than Qutham, and he was not pleased at his uncle carrying Qutham rather than himself. He then touched Ja'far's head three times and said, each time he did so, 'O God, let Ja'far live on in his son.'"

He (Sāra) went on, "I asked 'Abd Allāh, 'What eventually happened to Qutham?' 'Was he martyred?' he replied. I said, 'God and His messenger know best what is good.' 'Yes,' he said."

Al-Nasā'ī related it in his work *Al-yawm wa al-layla*, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj.

This was after the conquest (of Mecca). Al-'Abbās only arrived in Medina after the conquest. The *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad is as follows, "Ismā'īl related to us, quoting Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Malika, who said, "'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far asked Ibn al-Zubayr, "Do you remember when we met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), me, you and the son of 'Abbās?" "Yes," he replied. "He carried us and left you."'"

It is this text that al-Bukhārī and Muslim give, from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd. It is considered one of the *al-ajwibat al-muskita*, "a silencing response".

It relates also that it was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās who answered Ibn al-Zubayr in this way. This anecdote is another one that came after the conquest, as explained above. But God knows best.

Section: On the virtues of those three commanders, Zayd, Ja'far and 'Abd Allāh, may God be pleased with them.

The genealogy of Zayd b. Ḥāritha is as follows: son of Shurāḥīl b. Ka'b b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Imr al-Qays b. 'Āmir b. al-Nu'mān b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Wadd b. 'Awf b. Kināna b. Bakr b. 'Awf b. 'Udhra b. Zayd al-Lāt b. Rufayda b. Thawr b. Kalb b. Barra b. Tha'lab b. Hilwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā'a al-Kalbī al-Qudā'i. He

was the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This came about because Zayd's mother went to visit her family and they were attacked by horsemen who took him away. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām purchased him for his aunt Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid; it is also said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased him for her. She in turn presented him to the Prophet (ṢAAS), before he received the Prophethood. His father discovered his whereabouts, but he chose to stay with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who manumitted him and brought him up. He was known as Zayd b. Muḥammad; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) loved him greatly.

He was the first of the freed-men to accept Islam. Verses of the Qur'ān were revealed about him. These include: "And He has not made to be your sons those you merely claim to be your sons" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.4). "Affirm their relationship to their fathers; that is more just in God's view" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.5). "Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.40). "And when you said to him whom both God and you had favoured, 'Retain your wife and fear God,' you concealed in yourself what God was about to reveal. And you feared men, but God has greater right to be feared. (But) when Zayd had finished his union with her, We married her to you" (*Ibidem*; XXXIII, v.37).

There is a consensus that these verses were revealed about him. The words *an'ama Allāhu 'alayhi* "him God had favoured" refer to his accepting Islam. And the words, *an'amta 'alayhi*, "you had favoured" refers to his having manumitted him. We have discussed these verses in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*.

The point is that God Almighty named in the Qur'ān no other Companion (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)) except him. He led him to Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) freed him and married him to his freed-woman Umm Ayman, whose name was Baraka, and she bore him Usāma, son of Zayd. He used to be known as *al-ḥibb ibn al-ḥibbi*, "the dearest of all". He then married him to his maternal aunt's daughter, Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. He established him as a brother to his uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and gave him precedence as commander over his nephew Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib at the battle of Muṭa, as we related above.

Imām Aḥmad and the Imām and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr b. Abū Shaybā – whose words these are – stated, "Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd related to us, from Wā'il b. Dā'ūd, 'I heard al-Baḥī relate that 'Ā'isha used to say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd as commander of every expedition, without exception, to which he dispatched him; and if he were still alive, he would have left him in command.'""

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Aḥmad b. Salmān, from Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Ṭanāfusi.

This chain of authorities is excellent and firm and consistent with the criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. This *ḥadīth* was regarded as *gharīb*, "anomalous". God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān related to him, quoting Ismā'īl, quoting Ibn Dinār, from Ibn 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, that the latter sent

out an expedition in command of which he placed Usāma b. Zayd, but some people complained about his appointment. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and said, "You complain about his being made commander; you used to complain earlier about his father being made commander, even though, by God, he was certainly qualified to be commander, and moreover was extremely dear to me. Well, this man too is extremely dear to me."

This *ḥadīth* is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Qutayba, from Ismā'īl – he being the son of Ja'far b. Abū Kathīr al-Madānī – from 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn 'Umar. Al-Bukhārī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Sālim, from his father. Al-Bazzār related it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Āṣim b. 'Umar, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar al-'Amrī, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, and pronounced the chain of transmission as being *gharīb*, "anomalous".

The *ḥafīẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that 'Umar b. Ismā'īl related to him, from Mujālid, from al-Sha'bi, from Masrūq, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When Zayd b. Ḥāritha was killed and Usāma, Zayd's son, was brought to him and placed before him, the eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) welled with tears and he put off the meeting. Next day, when Usāma was brought back before him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'You make me feel today just as you did yesterday.'"

There are strange aspects to this *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

It has been related above how it is recorded in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that when, upon the *minbar*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke of their deaths, he said, "Zayd took the banner and was struck down; then Ja'far took it and was struck down. Then 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took it and was struck down. Then one of God's swords took it and God gave him victory."

And it stated, "His eyes welled with tears." Then he said, "They would not be pleased with us." In another *ḥadīth* it is said that he bore witness that they had been martyred and were assured of paradise.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Ibn Rawāḥa,

"O eyes, weep generously, to your last tear, and recall,
in your case, those in the grave.

Remember Muṭa and what happened there, that day they
went off to defeat in battle.

When they left, abandoning Zayd there, in a resting
place fit for the destitute or powerless.

That dear friend of the very best of mankind, that lord
of men, beloved by all.

That Aḥmad who knows no equal, that man who has both my
pleasure and my pain.

The status Zayd had among us was not that of a man
who tells lies and is conceited.

And weep tears generously, eyes, for the Khazraji ('Abd
Alla b. Rawāḥa); a lord who was not niggardly there.

We have suffered much by their deaths; we pass our night in sorrow, not pleasure."

The genealogy of Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib is as follows. He was the son of the paternal uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), being older than his brother 'Alī by ten years. (Another brother) 'Āqil was also ten years older than Ja'far; another, Ṭālib, was ten years older than 'Āqil.

Ja'far was early in accepting Islam. He emigrated to Abyssinia and performed many famous and praiseworthy actions and functions there, and gave fine responses to questions. We have dealt with all these previously, in the section on the emigration to Abyssinia; and to God be all praise.

At the battle of Khaybar he arrived back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said to him then, "I don't know what pleases me more – Ja'far's arrival or the conquest of Khaybar!" He went up to Ja'far, embraced him and kissed him on the forehead. And the day they went forth to the *ʿumrat al-qadiyya*, he said to him, "You, Ja'far, resemble me in both appearance and character." It is said that he was embarrassed and delighted to hear this, as was related in the correct sequence above. And to God be all praise and credit.

When he dispatched him to Mu'ta, he appointed him as deputy commander to Zayd b. Hāritha. When the latter was killed, they discovered 90 wounds upon him, some from swords, others from spears and arrows. All of these were on his front, not his back. His right arm was severed, then his left and he held the banner. When he lost both, he held it to himself, until he was killed, still hugging it. It is said that a Roman split him into two with his sword. May God be pleased with Ja'far and curse his killer!

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told of him that he was a martyr and one of those destined for heaven. There are *aḥādīth* in which he referred to him as having two wings.

Al-Bukhārī related, from Ibn 'Umar, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) greeted Ja'far's son 'Abd Allāh, he would say, "Peace be upon you, son of him with the two wings!"

Some authorities quote this from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb himself, but the authentic tradition comes from Ibn 'Umar.

They say that it is as compensation for his two arms that God awarded him wings in paradise. Some material relating to this was given above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī stated that 'Alī b. Ḥijr related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from al-'Alā' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from his father, who quoted Abū Hurayra as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I saw Ja'far flying in paradise with the angels.'"

It is related above in a *ḥadīth* that he was killed at the age of 33. Ibn al-Athīr stated in *al-Ghāba (The Forest)*, "His age when he was killed was 41. Though some state otherwise."

I note that regarding his being said to have been 10 years senior to 'Alī would require his age to have been 39 at his death. This is because 'Alī accepted Islam

when he was 8 years old, as is well known, and remained in Mecca for 13 years thereafter. When he emigrated he was 21. The battle of *Mu'a* took place in 8 AH. But God knows best.

Ja'far was referred to after his death as *al-tayyār*, "the flyer", for the reason given above. He was a man who was noble, generous and much praised. For his charity he was known as *abū al-masākīn*, "father of the poor", because of his generosity to them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān b. Waḥīb related to him, quoting Khālīd, from 'Ikrima, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "No one wore shoes or sandals, rode his mount or wore his clothes, apart from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), more impressively than did Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib."

This *ḥadīth* has a fine chain of transmission back to Abū Hurayra. It seems that he finds him superior only in his noble qualities. Regarding superiority in his religious qualities, it is well known that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān were better than him. As for his brother 'Alī and himself, may God be pleased with both, it is clear that they were equal or that 'Alī was superior to him. Abū Hurayra only wished to establish his superiority in noble qualities. This is proven by what al-Bukhārī related, as follows, "Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Dīnār Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Juhānī, from Ibn Abū Dhī'b, from Sa'īd al-Maqburī, from Abū Hurayra (who said) that, 'The people used to say, "Abū Hurayra does too much."⁸⁷ I used to keep close to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), content to fill my stomach with (unleavened) bread. I never ate leavened bread, never wore silk and never had men or women serve me. I would press my belly against the pebbles in my hunger. I would teach people about a verse of the Qur'ān I already knew to get him to take me home to feed me. The person who was best to the poor was Ja'far, son of Abū Ṭālib. He would take us home and feed us whatever he had there. He would even bring out to us an empty leather butter vessel we would split open and lick out its contents.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Ja'far,

"I wept, for the death of Ja'far, the dear friend of
the Prophet, was hard on all mankind.

I was very upset, and when your death was told me, I
called out, 'Who is for fighting in the shade of the
eagle (banner)?'

With swords which, when drawn from their sheaths
striking and spears continually piercing,

After Fāṭima's blessed son, Ja'far, the best of men,
the worst

To lose; the most noble of all in lineage, the most
active when wronged and most submissive

87. In his zeal to collect traditions, that is.

To the right when it occurs, unaffected by falsehood,
most generous and least

Immoderate, most open-handed when appropriate, most
evident in

Generosity, except for Muḥammad, the like of whom does
not exist in all mankind."

Ibn Rawāḥa's genealogy is as follows. His full name was 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa b. Tha'labā b. Imru al-Qays b. 'Amr b. Imru al-Qays al-Akbar b. Mālik b. al-Agharr b. Tha'labā b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, Abū Muḥammad, known as Abū Rawāḥa and as Abū 'Amr, al-Anṣārī, al-Khazraji. He was the maternal uncle of al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr, and his sister was 'Amra, daughter of Rawāḥa.

He was early in accepting Islam and was present at al-'Aqaba. That evening he was one of the leaders of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, al-khandaq, al-Ḥudaybiyya and Khaybar. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) would send him out to negotiate these, as is told above. He was present on the *Umrat al-qaḍā'* pilgrimage and on that occasion went in holding the reins of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Some say it was its leather stirrup he held. As he did so, he called out,

"Clear the unbelievers from his path."

The rest of his verses are reported above.

He was one of the commanders martyred at the battle of Mu'ta, as told above. He urged on the Muslims to battle the Byzantines when they discussed that issue. He also encouraged himself and dismounted (to take the banner) after his two comrades were killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) testified to his martyrdom and he was one of those promised entry to paradise.

He is also related to have addressed the Prophet (ṢAAS) in verse when he said farewell to him, as follows,

"May God affirm the good He presents you, as he gave
affirmation to Moses, and a victory they won."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "May God keep you firm." Hishām b. 'Urwa commented, "And God did keep him firm so that he was martyred and entered paradise."

Ḥammād b. Zayd related, from Thābit, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, that 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was making an address and heard him tell everyone to sit down. So he did sit down, right where he was, outside the mosque, until people had finished listening to his address. Word of 'Abd Allāh's action reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he said, "May God increase your zeal in obedience to God and to His messenger!"

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, "Mu'adh (b. Jabal) said, 'Let's sit down and pray for a while.'"

There is a *ḥadīth* similar to that having a complete chain of transmission going back to 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Ṣamad related to him, from 'Amāra, from Ziyād al-Naḥwī, from Anas, who said, "'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa used to say when he met one of his comrades, 'Come, let's sit and express faith to our Lord *sā'atan*,⁸⁸ 'for a while'." One day he said this to a man who got angry and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, don't you know about Ibn Rawāḥa? He's encouraging people to abandon your faith for that of *sā'atan*!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'May God have mercy on Ibn Rawāḥa; he loves those sessions when the angels try to outdo one another.'"

This *ḥadīth* is very strange.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim related to him, quoting Abū Bakr, quoting Muḥammad b. Ayyūb, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūnus, quoting a sheikh of Medina, from Ṣafwān b. Salīm, from 'Aṭā' b. Yasār, (who said) that 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said to a comrade of his, "Come; let's express faith for *sā'atan*." He replied, "But aren't we believers?" "Why yes", he replied, "but by mentioning God we increase our faith."

The *ḥafīẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Lukkī related, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Yamān, from Ṣafwān b. Salīm, from Shurayḥ b. 'Ubayd, that 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa used to take one of his comrades by the hand and say, "Let's go and express faith for a while; we'll sit in a *dhikr*⁸⁹ session."

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, lacking a complete chain, from both authorities. We have examined this extensively in our commentary on the work of al-Bukhārī. And to God be all praise and credit.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, Abū al-Dardā' is quoted as saying, "We were out on a journey with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on a very hot day. The only ones of us fasting were the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with him."

He was one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who was well known for his poetry. His verses on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), quoted by al-Bukhārī, include the lines,

"With us there is the Messenger of God; we recite his document, when it emerges clear and shining from the dawn.

88. Presumably the misunderstandings related in this and following *ahādīth* stem from the similarity in the sound of the word *shayṭan*, "Satan" or "a devil", to the word *sā'atan*, "for a while".

89. This word, meaning "to make mention of", connotes repetition of the name of God. It is used specifically by Muslim Ṣūfī groups who achieve a mystical unity with God by repetition, *dhikr*, of God's name, "Allah". It is interesting to see the word used in this apparent context in this presumably early *ḥadīth*.

He spends the night keeping his body outside his bed,
when the polytheists lie heavily upon theirs.

He brought us guidance after blindness, and our hearts
are certain that what he spoke is true."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿImrān b. Maysara related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from Ḥusayn, from ʿĀmir b. al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa once fainted, and his sister ʿAmra began crying and wailing and lamenting him. When he came to, he said, 'Whenever you said something (about me) I was asked, 'Are you really like that?'"

"Qutayba related to us, quoting Khaythama, from Ḥusayn, from al-Shaʿbi, from al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa fainted once' as above. But when he died she did not weep for him."

We have given above the lament spoken by Ḥassān b. Thābit about him and others.

A Muslim poet who returned with others from Muṭʿa – may God be pleased with them all – spoke the following verses,

"Sad enough it is that I returned, while Jaʿfar, Zayd
and ʿAbd Allāh are buried in graves.

Their end came as they passed away on their path,
leaving me to misery and with all that changes."

Hereafter, if God so wills it, will be given more of the verses composed about these three commanders by Ḥassān b. Thābit and by Kaʿb b. Mālik, may God be pleased with them both.

THOSE MUSLIMS MARTYRED AT MUṬʿA.

From among the *muhājirīn* there were Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, their freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī, Masʿūd b. al-Aswad b. Ḥāritha b. Naḍla al-ʿAdawī and Wahb b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ; these total four.

From among the *anṣār* there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and ʿAbbād b. Qays, both of Khazraj, al-Ḥārith b. al-Nuʿmān b. Isāf b. Naḍla al-Najjārī, and Surāqa b. ʿAmr b. ʿAṭīya b. Khansāʾ al-Māzinī; these numbered four.

The total of Muslims killed that day was these eight men, according to the account of Ibn Ishāq. However, Ibn Hishām stated, "According to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, those killed at Muṭʿa included Abū Kulayb and Jābir, both sons of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdūl, both of Māzin, both full brothers, along with ʿAmr and ʿĀmir, sons of Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbbād b. Saʿd b. ʿĀmir b. Thaʿlaba b. Mālik b. Afṣā." These four were also *anṣār* and so according to these two authorities the total killed should be twelve men.

That two armies of opposing faiths, one consisting of those fighting for God's cause and numbering three thousand men, and the other of disbelievers totalling two hundred thousand, one hundred thousand Byzantines and one hundred

thousand Christian Arabs, could battle together with the resulting deaths of only twelve Muslims is truly wonderful! And a large number of unbelievers were killed.

Khālīd alone stated, "Nine swords were broken in my hand; I finally held only a Yemeni broad-sword." How many must he have killed with all those swords, not to mention all the other brave bearers of the Qur'ān like him, who sentenced to death those crucifix worshippers, upon whom be the curses of the Most Merciful at that time and for ever!

This relates to the words of the Almighty, "There was a sign for you in the two sides that clashed. One side fought for God's cause, while the others were unbelievers whom they saw to be twice as numerous as themselves. Yet God assists with victory whomever He pleases. There is surely a lesson in this for those who have sight" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*, XIII, v.12).

A ḤADĪTH THAT ACCORDS GREAT MERIT TO THE COMMANDERS OF THIS EXPEDITION.

These were Zayd b. Hāritha, Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with them all!

The *imām*, scholar and *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Zur'a 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāzī, may God make his visage glow, stated in his fine book *Dalā'il al-Nubumma* as follows, "Both Ṣafwān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Walīd, quoting Ibn Jarīr, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Walīd and 'Amr, that is, Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid, related to him that Ibn Jarīr stated that he heard Salīm b. 'Āmir al-Khabā'iri say, 'Abū Umāma al-Bāḥili informed me, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'While I was sleeping two men came to me, gripped me by the arm and took me to a desolate mountain. They told me, "Climb!" "I can't," I replied. "We'll make it easy for you," they said. I then climbed on up until I was at its centre and there I heard loud noises. "What are those noises?" I asked. "That is the groaning of those in hell," they replied. Then they took me on to where there were people suspended by their tendons, their mouths split open and streaming blood. "Who are these?" I asked. "These", they replied, "are those who eat before their fast has ended." Then he said, "The Jews and Christians will fail."'"

Salīm (b. 'Āmir) asked, "Did he hear it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or was this his opinion?"⁹⁰

"The two men then took me on to where there were people exceedingly distended and exuding a foul odour like that of a toilet. "Who are these?" I asked. They replied, "These are unbelievers who have been killed." They then took me further where there were others even more distended and even more foul in smell, their odour also toilet-like. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are men and women who engage in prostitution," they replied. They then took me further

90. This comment or question intrudes into the text without explanation.

and I saw women whose nipples were being bitten by snakes. "What did these people do?" I asked. They replied, "They are women who denied milk to their children." They then took me further off to where there were children playing between two lakes. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are the children of believers," they told me.

"Then they took me up to a high place where there were three men drinking wine. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa," they replied. Then they took me to yet another high point where I found myself with three other men. The two men said, "These are Abraham, Moses and Jesus, upon all of whom be peace. They await you.""

Section: On the Poetry Verses spoken about the Expedition to Muṭa.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The following verses of Ḥassān (b. Thābit) are among those spoken in mourning for those killed at Muṭa,

'A difficult night I had in Yathrib, worry that kept me
sleepless while others slept deep.

Remembering a friend, my tears flowed copiously, and
memory often causes weeping.

Indeed, the loss of a friend is a tragedy, and what a
lot of noble men suffer yet persist!

I saw the finest Muslims go off in groups, while others
behind them delayed.

May God not keep distant those dead men who followed on
at Muṭa, including Jaʿfar who has wings

And Zayd and ʿAbd Allāh, all of whom followed on, when
the ropes of death swung.

That morning they went forth with the believers,
led on to death by that happy man of splendid
character,

Fine as the light of the moon, of Ḥāshim's line, proud
before injustice, valiant.

He thrust on until he lay down without a cushion on a
battlefield, a broken spear in him.

His reward is with that of the martyrs – a paradise of
gardens, under a canopy of green.

In Jaʿfar we saw someone faithful to Muḥammad, a man of
decision when he gives orders.

May there never cease to be in Islam men of Ḥāshim's
line, perpetual pillars of glory and the source of
pride.

They are Islam's mountain, and those around them are
large rocks rising up to splendid, towering heights.

Fine leaders, who include Jaʿfar and his brother ʿAlī,
as well as Aḥmad, the one chosen.

Ḥamza and al-ʿAbbās are of them too, as is ʿAqīl, the sap of the tree from which he was pressed.

Through them all hardships are alleviated at every dismal and difficult time when people suffer.

They are God's friends to whom He revealed his wisdom, including that of absolute purity.'

"Kaḥ b. Mālik, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses,

'While others slept, your eyes shed like water dripping from the seam of a waterskin.

That night when cares overwhelmed me so that sometimes I moaned, at others tossed and turned,

Sorrow kept returning, and I spent the night as though guardian of Ursa and Pisces.

It felt as though a flame burned inside me, between my ribs and intestines

In pain for those who followed one another at Muṭa and lay piled high, unremoved.

May God bless them, heroes all, and may fine rain water their bones.

They endured at Muṭa for God's sake, ignoring death and fearful of cowardice.

They went on ahead of the Muslims, as though they were young stallions accoutred with full armour,

Being led ahead by Jaʿfar and his banner; he was first and how fine a leader!

Until the lines were breached and Jaʿfar lay stretched out where the ranks had clashed.

The light-giving moon was changed then, and the sun was obscured and almost set.

A leader of mighty stature, of Ḥāshim's line, most honourable in his power, unmovable.

Men by whom God protected his servants, to whom the revealed Book came down.

They were superior to other tribes in their honour and dignity, their fine qualities overwhelming the ignorant.

They would not expend their efforts on trivial matters, and their spokesman would be seen to decide with justice.

Noble of visage, their hands would be open and flow with generosity, even when bad times excused them.

For their leadership, God was pleased at His creation, and because of their bravery the God-sent Prophet was made victorious.'"

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST MERCIFUL AND BENEFICENT.

THE BOOK ON THE DISPATCH BY
THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF
MISSIONS TO RULERS ABROAD AND HIS
DOCUMENTS TO THEM INVITING THEM
TO GOD, ALMIGHTY AND GLORIOUS IS HE,
AND TO ENTER THE FAITH OF ISLAM.

Al-Wāqidi related that this happened at the end of year 6 AH, in Dhū al-Ḥijja, after the *ʿumra* to al-Ḥudaybiyya. Al-Bayhaqī gave this section in this position, following his account of the expedition to Muṭa. But God knows best.

There is no dispute among scholars that this activity began before the conquest of Mecca, and following al-Ḥudaybiyya. This accords with Abū Sufyān's response to Heraclius. When asked by him, "Would he betray?" Abū Sufyān replied, "No; we are into a period of time with him during which we do not know what he will do."

In al-Bukhārī's phrase, "That was the period in which Abū Sufyān had agreed to a truce with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "(This activity) took place in the period between al-Ḥudaybiyya and the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

We note here that comment, even though the statement of al-Wāqidi is preferable. But God knows best.

Muslim related, from Yūsuf b. Ḥammād al-Maʿnī, from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote, before the battle of Muṭa, to Chosroe, to Caesar and to the Negus and to every tyrant, inviting them to God, Almighty and Glorious is He; this does not apply to the Negus, for whom he had prayed.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as having said, "Al-Zuhri related to me, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, 'Abū Sufyān related to me personally as follows, "We were a mercantile people. The warfare had so blocked us in that our merchandise was spoiled. When the truce came – that of al-Ḥudaybiyya – between us and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we were still not sure that we were safe. I went away to Syria on a trading expedition with a group of Quraysh. I swear, I didn't

know anyone in Mecca, man or woman, who did not consign goods to me. Our objective upon leaving Syria was to proceed to Gaza in Palestine.

““We left and reached there. That was at the time when Caesar, commander of the Byzantines, defeated the Persians in his country and expelled them, retrieving his great cross that they had stolen from him. News of this reached him when he was in his palace at Hims, in Syria. He left there on a march of thanks to Jerusalem, to pray there. Carpets were laid out to welcome him, and these were spread with aromatic plants. Eventually he reached Aelia (Jerusalem) and prayed there.

““One morning he got up depressed and turned his sight up to the sky. His patriarchs asked him, ‘O King, are you worried this morning?’ He replied, ‘Yes, I am.’ ‘Why is that?’ they enquired. He asked them, ‘Did you notice that last night the *mulk al-khitān*,⁹¹ the “king of the circumcised” was ascendant?’ They swore in response that the only nation they knew who practiced circumcision was that of the Jews. They pointed out that they were under his power and sovereignty and that if this vision had come to him about them, then he should send throughout his kingdom and kill all the Jews and so relieve himself of this concern.

““While they were discussing this a messenger arrived from the governor of Buṣrā bringing in an Arab whom they had captured. The messenger told Caesar, ‘Your majesty, this is an Arab, one of those people of sheep and camels. He will tell you about an event in his land if you would care to question him.’ When the man was before him, Caesar told his interpreter, ‘Ask him for news of what is going on in his country.’ He did ask him and the man told him that there was news of an Arab of Quraysh who had come forth claiming to be a prophet and that some groups were supporting, others opposing him. He said that battle had occurred in several places and that all this had been in progress when he had left home.

““When he had related this, Caesar said, ‘Strip him!’ And he was found to be circumcised! Caesar commented, ‘I swear by God, it was this I saw, not what you said. Give him back his clothes.’ The Arab then left, free.

““Caesar then summoned his chief of police and told him, ‘Turn Syria upside down until you bring me someone from that man’s tribe I can question about him.’””

Abū Sufyān went on, “I and my companions were there in Gaza when he burst in on us demanding which tribe we were from. We told him and he took us all in to him.

91. The account in Ibn Ishāq’s text as translated by Guillaume omits the reference to the *mulk al-khitān* but includes information that Caesar had a vision in which it was revealed to him that “the kingdom of a circumcised man” would overwhelm his own empire. The *ḥadīth* in al-Bukhari’s compendium quoted hereafter pp.358 et seq makes it clear that there has been an omission from Ibn Ishāq’s text as quoted here.

"Eventually there we were before him. And I swear I never saw a man more astute than him," – he was referring to Heraclius.

He went on, "Caesar asked us, 'Which of you is most closely related to that man?' I told him that I was and he asked me to approach closer. He then seated me before him and told my companions also to sit behind me. He told them, 'If he lies, then refute him.' I knew that they would not refute me even if I did lie, but I was a man of dignity and honour and would have been ashamed to lie. I also knew that if I did it was likely that they would report what I had said to others and that people would talk about me in Mecca. So I did not lie to him.

"Caesar asked, 'Tell me about this man who has come forth among you.' I responded by telling him a little about him, minimizing his importance. He was not impressed by this and told me to answer his questions about him. I said I would.

"He then asked, 'How do you view his lineage amongst you?'

"'To be pure and of our finest lineage,' I replied.

"'Tell me', he asked, 'has any other member of his family made claims similar to his and is he imitating that person?'

"'No,' I replied.

"'Tell me', he went on, 'is there any property involved that you have taken from him which might make him say these things so that you will return them to him?'

"'No,' I replied.

"'Tell me about his followers,' he asked. 'Who are they?'

"'They are the young, the powerless and the poor; his followers include no chiefs of high birth.'

"'Tell me about his companions; do they love and honour him, or (do they come to) despise and abandon him?'

"'No man who has accompanied him has ever abandoned him,' I replied.

"'Tell me about the warfare between yourselves and him,' he asked.

"'Well', I replied, 'it varies; sometimes it goes in our favour, sometimes in theirs.'

"'Tell me, would he betray?' This was the only thing he had asked that I could deceive him about, so I said, 'No; we now have a truce with him, yet we don't feel secure against some treachery by him.' But, I swear, Caesar took no account of this remark of mine.

"He went on to talk further. He commented, 'You say he is of your purest lineage. God selects prophets that way; He only takes men from the purest lines in their people. I asked you whether any others of his family members were saying similar things that he is imitating; you said no. I asked whether he had some property you might have seized and suggested he might be saying what he is to get you to return it to him. But you said no. I asked you about his followers

and you maintain that they are young, powerless and poor. That's how the followers of prophets are in every age. I asked you whether those who follow him like and respect him or despise and abandon him. You claim that only rarely does someone follow him then abandon him. In such circumstances the sweetness of faith does not enter a person's heart then leave again.

"I asked you about the warfare between you. You replied that sometimes it favours you, sometimes him. That is how warfare is for prophets, yet they win in the end. I asked you if he betrayed, and you said he did not.

"If what you have said is the truth, then he will conquer the land beneath these feet of mine. I wish I were with him so I could wash his feet!"

"He then told me to go on about my business. So I arose, clapping my hands together and commented, 'This affair of Ibn Abū Kabsha has got to the point where the kings of those of pale skin fear him within their own domain!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated that al-Zuhri related to him that a Christian bishop who lived at that time told him, "Dihya b. Khalifa took a message to Heraclius from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that said, 'In the name of the Most Merciful and Beneficent: From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to the Great Heraclius of Byzantium. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance. Accept Islam and be safe; God will then give you reward twice over. If you refuse, then the sin of *al-akkārīn*, "the cultivators"⁹² will be upon you.'

"When the letter reached him he read it and placed it between his thigh and his waist. He then wrote to one of the Byzantines who read Hebrew asking what he had read that was relevant to what had come from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He wrote back, 'He is the prophet who is awaited; there is no doubt about this, so follow him.'

"Caesar then summoned the Byzantine leaders and they were assembled for him in his capital chamber and he ordered that they be locked inside. He then looked down from an upper room at them, since he was afraid of them and said, 'Fellow Romans, I have received a message from Aḥmad! He is, I swear by God, the prophet we were awaiting and about whom there is information in our book. We recognize him by his qualities and time. Accept him and follow him and you will be safe both on earth and in the hereafter.' They snorted in disbelief, as one man, and rushed to the doors of the chamber, which they found locked against them.

"Caesar feared them and ordered, 'Bring them back!' He then said, 'Romans, I spoke to you these words only to test your commitment to your faith. I have been delighted by what I saw.' They all then fell in obeisance to him, he had the doors unlocked and they left."

Al-Bukhārī related the story of Abū Sufyān's contact with Heraclius with certain additions. I would like to give his account verbatim from his *ṣaḥīḥ*

92. Perhaps a reference to the parable of the evil grape-growers given in Matthew, XXI, v.33-46.

collection so that the disparity between that he gives and that of Ibn Ishāq may be ascertained, along with the former's useful additions.

Al-Bukhārī stated, prior to the section of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that deals with faith, as follows, "Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam b. Nāfi' related to us, quoting Shu'ayb, from al-Zuhri, (who said), 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd informed me, that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās informed him that Abū Sufyān informed him that Heraclius sent for him while he was with a group of companions of Quraysh. They were merchants and in Syria and it was during the period in which he, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had made a truce with Abū Sufyān and the Quraysh unbelievers. They (Caesar's men) went to them in Aelia (Jerusalem) and he (Caesar) invited them to a meeting with him. Around him were the Byzantine dignitaries. He invited them (the Quraysh merchants) to come forward and summoned his translator. Caesar then asked, "Which of you is closest in relationship to this man claiming to be a prophet?"

"Abū Sufyān went on, 'I am closest in relationship to him.'

"Caesar said, 'Bring him close to me and move his companions forward to sit at his back.'

"He then told his interpreter, 'Tell them I want to ask him about this man. If he lies to me, then they should contradict him.' And I swear by God, were it not for my embarrassment at having them attribute lies to me, I would have lied about him!

"The first thing he asked was, 'How do you regard his lineage among yourselves?' I replied, 'He is of good lineage.' He next asked, 'Has any one of your people made such claims as he makes prior to him?' 'No,' I replied. He then enquired, 'Was any of his forebears king?' 'No,' I replied.

"Is it your chiefs who are his followers, or your powerless?' 'It is our powerless.' 'Are they increasing in number or decreasing?' he asked. 'They are increasing,' I told him. 'Do any of his followers apostatize in anger at his faith after adopting it?' 'No,' I replied.

"Did you accuse him of telling lies prior to his making his claim?' 'No,' I replied. 'Does he betray?' he enquired. 'No,' I told him. 'We are in a truce and we don't know what he is doing now.' This comment was the only one in which I could offer inference of anything (negative).

"Have you battled with him?' he asked. 'Yes,' I answered. 'And how did the fighting between you turn out?' 'The warfare between us has sometimes favoured him, sometimes us,' I replied. 'What is it that he commands you to do?' he asked. 'He says', I responded, 'as follows: 'Worship God alone. Do not associate anything with Him. And abandon what your forefathers used to say.' He orders us to pray, to be truthful, chaste, and to maintain our family ties.'

"He then told the translator, 'Tell him, 'I asked you about his lineage, and you claimed that he is of high lineage. Messengers are sent among their people's nobility.'

"He went on, "I asked you whether any one else among you made such claims before him. You said not. If anyone had said the same before him, I would have said he was imitating him.

"I asked you whether any of his forebears was king. You said not; if one had ruled, I would have said, 'He is a man seeking his father's kingdom.'

"I asked you whether you accused him of lying before he made his claims. You said not. I then knew that he was not someone who would tell lies to people or lie about God.

"I asked you whether it is his people's leaders or the powerless who follow him. You said it was the powerless; they are the ones who do follow prophets.

"I asked you whether his supporters were increasing or decreasing. You said they were increasing. That is the way it is with a faith until it comes to fruition.

"I asked you whether any of his supporters later renege after becoming displeased with his religion. You said not. That is how it is with a faith, when joy with it pervades the people's hearts.

"I asked you whether he betrays. You said not. Similarly, prophets do not betray.

"I asked you what he orders you to do. You replied that it was to worship God, to associate no others with Him, not to worship idols, to pray, to be truthful and to be chaste.

"If what you say is true, then he will have dominion over the land beneath my feet. I knew he was going to come, but I did not think he would be one of you. If I knew I could reach him, I would rush to meet him. If I were with him, I would wash his feet.'"

He then called for the letter dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with Dihya to the governor of Buṣrā which the latter had sent on to Heraclius. Its contents were as follows, "In the name of God the Most Compassionate, the most Merciful. From Muḥammad, the servant of God and His messenger to Heraclius, the leader of the Byzantines. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. I invite you to Islam; accept it and you will be safe and God will give you double reward. If you turn away, then yours will be the sin of the *al-arīṣiyyīn*,⁹³ the peasants. Moreover, O people of the scriptures, agree to a joint statement with us: that we will worship only God and will associate nothing with Him. That some of us will not take others as masters besides God. And if they turn away, say, 'Bear witness that we are Muslims'" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.64).

Abū Sufyān stated, "When he had said this and had finished reading the letter, there was an uproar in the court. Voices were raised and we were expelled.

93. See last footnote, above, p.357.

After we had left, I told my companions, 'This Ibn Abū Kabsha affair has got to the point where he even scares the king of those of pale skin!' Thereafter I was convinced that he would prevail; and eventually God drew me into Islam."

Al-Bukhārī continued, "Ibn Nāṭūr, governor of Aelia when Heraclius had been appointed leader of the Christians of Syria, would relate that after Heraclius had arrived in Aelia, he awoke one morning in a bad mood. Some of his patriarchs asked him why and expressed concern. Heraclius, Ibn Nāṭūr related, was a soothsayer who interpreted the stars. When they asked him about his mood, he replied, 'When I looked up at the stars, I saw that the "kingdom of the circumcised" was ascendant. Who is it of this nation who are circumcised?' They replied, 'Only the Jews practise circumcision; and you should definitely not fear them. Issue orders to your provincial town to kill all the Jews there.'

"While they were discussing this, in came to Heraclius a man sent by the king of Ghassān and he told them of the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Heraclius questioned him further and gave orders for them to go and discover whether or not he (the messenger from Ghassān) was circumcised. They went and looked and reported that he was. Heraclius then asked whether or not the Arabs practised circumcision and was told that they did. Thereupon he said, 'The kingdom of this nation is ascendant!' He wrote to a colleague in Rome who was as knowledgeable as himself.

"Then Heraclius went to Ḥimṣ, where he had scarcely arrived before a letter came from his colleague agreeing with his own conclusion that the prophet who had emerged was indeed genuine. Heraclius had his dignitaries taken into a chamber in Ḥimṣ, the doors of which were locked. Looking down at them, he said, 'Byzantines! Is it your desire for success and right guidance and to have stability in your country? If so, then you will give allegiance to this prophet.'

"The dignitaries raced for the doors like wild onagers, but found them locked. When Heraclius saw their negative reaction, he despaired of them (accepting) the faith and ordered for them to be reassembled before him. He told them, 'I only spoke as I did before to test the strength of your allegiance to your faith. Now I have seen.'

"They bowed low before him and expressed their satisfaction with him. And this brought the (involvement) of Heraclius to an end."

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, Yūnus and Ma'mar related this from al-Zuhri."

Al-Bukhārī related this story in many places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, with idiomatic variants it would take long to examine. All the other scholars, except for Ibn Mājah, gave it in various lines of transmission back to al-Zuhri.

We have discussed this *ḥadīth* at length and sufficiently early in our (*Tafsīr*) (*Exegesis*) of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, along with reference to its distinctive linguistic and contextual qualities.

Ibn Lahī'a stated, from al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, "Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb left on a mercantile expedition to Syria, accompanied by some colleagues. News of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Heraclius and he wished to ascertain what was known about him. So he sent word to the leader of the Arab community in Syria within his domain and ordered him to dispatch to him some Arabs so that he could question them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He therefore sent to Heraclius 30 Arabs, including Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. They went in to him in the church in the centre of Aelia. Heraclius said, 'I sent for you to give me information about the activities of this man of Mecca.' They replied, 'He is a magician and a liar and no prophet.'

"Heraclius asked them, 'Then tell me, which of you knows him best and is closest to him in relationship?' They replied that that would be Abū Sufyān, his uncle, and that he had fought against him.

"When they told him that, he had them removed. Then he seated Abū Sufyān and questioned him. He asked, 'Now tell me, Abū Sufyān.' He replied, 'He is a magician and a liar.'

"Heraclius went on, 'I don't just want you to slander him; tell me about his lineage among you.' 'He is of the house of Quraysh,' he replied.

"How is his intelligence, his reasoning?' 'We never found fault with his views.'

"Was he deceitful, lying and wont to swear oaths in his business dealings?' 'No, I swear by God; he was not like that.'

"Perhaps he is seeking some kingship or high honour that had previously been held by a forebear of his?' 'No,' Abū Sufyān replied.

"Do any of those (who follow him) come back to you?' 'No,' he replied.

"And did he renege after making an agreement?' Heraclius asked. 'No,' he replied, 'except that he might renege on this truce,' Abū Sufyān replied.

"And what are your fears about this truce?' 'My people and their allies have given a truce to him and his allies.' Heraclius commented, 'If you begin (the fighting) then it is you who will be the ones betraying.'

"Abū Sufyān became angry at this and said, 'He only ever beat us once, and I was absent that day! That was at Badr. Then I attacked him twice while they were in their homes, slitting open stomachs, cutting off their ears and private parts!'

"And do you consider him a liar, or truthful?' Heraclius enquired. 'Oh, he's a liar,' he replied.

"Well, if there is a prophet among you, you should not kill him. The Jews are the ones best at doing that!' Heraclius commented.

"Abū Sufyān then returned home."

There are strange aspects to this text, as well as some good points absent from the accounts of Ibn Ishāq and al-Bukhārī.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related in his work on the military expeditions an account similar to that of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr. But God knows best.

Ibn Jarīr stated in his work on history as follows, "Ibn Ḥamīd related to us, quoting Salama, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from a certain scholar, who said, 'Heraclius said to Dihya b. Khalifa al-Kalbī, when the latter brought him the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'I swear by God, I know well that your leader is a prophet sent by God and that he is the one whom we have been awaiting and whom we find mentioned in our scripture. But I fear for myself from the Byzantines; if I did not, I would follow him. Go and see Bishop Ṣaghātīr, and tell him about your leader. The Byzantines actually consider him more highly and more persuasive than myself. See what he tells you.'"

"Dihya went and told him what he had brought to Heraclius from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and informed him of what was the latter's message. Ṣaghātīr responded, 'I swear by God, your leader is a prophet; we know him from his qualities and we find him with his own name in our scriptures.'"

"He then went and exchanged black clothing he had been wearing for white. He took his staff and went out to address the Byzantines in the church. He said, 'Byzantines, a letter has reached us from Aḥmad inviting us to God. I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that Aḥmad is His servant and messenger.' They attacked him immediately in unison, hitting him until they had killed him.

"When Dihya returned and informed Heraclius what had happened, the latter commented, 'I told you! We fear for ourselves from them. And Ṣaghātīr was more respected and effective in speaking with them than myself.'"

Al-Ṭabrānī related, through Yaḥyā b. Salama b. Kuhayl, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Dihya al-Kalbī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me with a letter to Caesar, leader of the Byzantines."

(The account continues) "Caesar was informed that there was a man at his gate claiming to be an envoy from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Caesar was disturbed at this and ordered that the man be brought in. This was done; he had his bishops present with him."

(Dihya continued) "I gave him the letter which stated, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Caesar, leader of the Byzantines.' A nephew of Caesar's, tall, red-haired and blue-eyed, snorted in anger at this and said, 'Don't read out this letter today! He began it with himself and then wrote, "leader of the Byzantines" instead of "king of the Byzantines".'

"The letter was read to its end and Caesar ordered everyone out and sent for me. I went in and he asked me questions to which I answered. He then sent for his bishop, their most prominent figure, a man whose opinion and statements were influential, and when he read the letter, he said, 'By God, he is the prophet Moses and Caesar foresaw and whom we have awaited!' 'What do you advise me?' Caesar asked. The bishop replied, 'As for myself, I believe and follow him.' 'I too know', Caesar commented, 'that he is genuine, but I can do nothing. If I did, my kingdom would be lost and the Byzantines would kill me.'"

On this subject, Muḥammad b. Ishāq quoted Khālīd b. Yasār as relating that a Syrian elder said, "From what news he had heard of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and having decided to leave Syria for Constantinople, Heraclius assembled the Byzantines and addressed them as follows, 'Byzantines, I have certain issues I wish to present to you. Tell me what are your wishes regarding them.'

"They asked what they were and he went on, 'You will know, by God, that this man certainly is a prophet who has been sent. We find him to have those qualities by which he has been described to us (before); let us proceed and follow him and thus find peace in this world and the next.'

"They replied, 'But then we would be under the control of the Arabs; and we are more numerous, powerful and have a more extensive domain than they do!'

"He continued, 'Let us pay him the *jizya*, the poll-tax, every year. That will relieve pressure on me from him and by what I give him I will be spared possible warfare.'

"They responded, 'Why should we give to the despised and powerless Arabs tax money they would take from us, when we are the more numerous, have a more powerful nation and a larger domain? No, by God, we'll absolutely never do that!'

"'Well then,' Caesar suggested, 'let's make peace with him by my giving him Sūriyya, while he leaves me the land of al-Shām.' He explained that Sūriyya consisted of Palestine, Jordan, Damascus and Ḥims, up to *al-darb*,⁹⁴ while the lands beyond *al-darb* constituted al-Shām.

"They objected, 'Why should we give him Syria when you know well that it is the very navel of al-Shām! We'll never do that!'

"When they refused, he asked them, 'Do you think, by God, that you'll have defeated him if you defend yourselves from him in your towns?'

"He then rode away on his mule, eventually looking down upon *al-darb* and approaching the land of al-Shām. He then said, 'Peace be upon you, land of Sūriyya; this is my farewell greeting.' He then hurriedly returned to Constantinople. But God knows best."

*An Account of the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)
of a message to the King of the Christian Arabs in Syria.*

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent Shujā' b. Wahb, brother of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma to al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shimr al-Ghassānī, the governor of Damascus."

94. Lane, in his *Lexicon* states, "The Arabic name of the ancient *Derbe*, near the Cilician Gates, which were the chief mountain pass, from the direction of the countries occupied by the Arabs, into the territory of the Greek (*sic*) Empire." Derbe lay some 100 miles due east of Tarsus, some 120 miles north of Cyprus, well inside the boundaries of present-day Turkey. c.f. Guillaume (*op. cit.* p.657).

Al-Wāqidi stated, "He wrote a letter to take with him that said, 'Peace be upon him who follows the true path and believes in Him. I invite you to believe in God alone, and without associate who will preserve your kingdom for you.'

"When Shujā' b. Wahb arrived, he read it (to the king) who responded, 'Who is it who would take my kingdom away from me? I will go to him.'"

*An Account of the delegation the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)
sent to Chosroe, King of the Persians.*

Al-Bukhārī related, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent his message with an envoy to Chosroe with orders that he deliver it to the governor of al-Baḥrayn. The governor forwarded it to Chosroe who tore it into shreds after he had read it.

"And I⁹⁵ believe that Ibn al-Musayyab said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cursed them, saying, 'May they be completely torn into shreds!'"

'Abd Allāh b. Wahb quoted al-Zuhri, from Yūnus, as saying, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qārī related to me, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) climbed the *minbar* one day to make an address and gave praise and thanks to God, spoke the *shahāda*, then said, 'I wish to send some of you forth to foreign kings; do not dispute among yourselves about me as Banū Isrā'īl did about Jesus, son of Mary.'

"The *muhājirīn* said, 'O Messenger of God, we would never disagree about you over anything; order us to go forth.'

"He then dispatched Shujā' b. Wahb to Chosroe who had his palace decorated and assembled the dignitaries of Persia. He then brought in Shujā' b. Wahb. When he entered, Chosroe ordered that the letter be taken from him, but Shujā' b. Wahb told him, 'No; I will hand it only to you, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me.' Chosroe had him brought forward and Shujā' then gave him the letter.

"Chosroe called for one of his scribes, a man from al-Ḥīra, who read it to him. It said, 'From Muḥammad, servant and Messenger of God, to Chosroe, leader of Persia.' It angered Chosroe that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had begun the letter with a reference to himself, and he shouted in anger and tore up the letter before he learned what it said. He then had Shujā' b. Wahb taken outside.

"Having seen what he had, Shujā' mounted his camel and left, saying, 'Well, I swear, I don't care which of the two routes I am on, since I did deliver the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"When the force of his anger had abated, Chosroe sent for Shujā' to go in to him. They searched but he could not be found. He was sought for as far as al-Ḥīra, but he had gone on ahead.

95. Presumably it is 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba who is quoted here.

"When Shujā' went in to tell how Chosroe had behaved and how he had torn up the letter, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'May Chosroe tear up his kingdom!'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq narrated, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Abū Salama, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa with his message to Chosroe. When he read it, he tore it into shreds. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "May he tear up his kingdom!"

Ibn Jarir stated that Ibn Hamīd related to him, quoting Salama, quoting Ibn Ishāq, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, who said, "He dispatched 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. 'Adī b. Sa'īd b. Sahm to Chosroe, son of Hurmuz, the king of Persia with a message saying, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Chosroe, leader of Persia. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance, believe in God and His messenger and bear witness that there is no god but God who is unique and without associate, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. I call upon you with God's invitation. I am God's messenger to all people, to warn all who live that the word (of God) bears witness against all unbelievers. If you accept Islam, you will be secure; if you refuse, then the sin of Magūs⁹⁶ will be upon you.'

"When he had read this, Chosroe ripped it up, saying, 'How dare he write this to me when he is my slave!'

"Chosroe then wrote to Bādhām, his governor over Yemen, saying, 'Dispatch two strong men of yours to this man in Ḥijāz to bring him to me.'

"Bādhām then sent off Qahramān, a scribe adept in Persian writing, along with a Persian named Kharkhara, carrying a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordering him to accompany them to Chosroe. And he told Abādhaway, 'Go into this man's country, talk to him and bring me news of him.'

"The two men left and when they reached Ṭā'if, they found there a man of Quraysh whom they questioned about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He told them, 'He is in Medina.' The people of Ṭā'if – and Quraysh too – welcomed the two men joyfully. They told one another, 'Rejoice! Chosroe, the King of Kings, is going after him! We'll be rid of him!'

"They left and when they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Abādhaway told him, 'The *Shāhinshāh* and King of Kings Chosroe wrote to King Bādhām ordering him to send to you those who would conduct you to him. He has sent me to you for you to leave with me. If you do so, a message will be sent on your behalf to the King of Kings that will be to your advantage and will protect you from him. If you refuse, then you know his reputation. He will destroy you and your people and lay waste to your country.'

"The two men then entered to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They had shaved off their beards but left their moustaches intact. He hated the sight of them

96. "Al-Magūs" applies to the followers of Zoroaster, a Persian self-styled prophet who lived in the last millennium before Christ.

and asked, 'Poor fellows! Who told you to do that?' They replied, 'It was our Lord' – meaning Chosroe. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Well, my Lord ordered me to spare my beard but cut off my moustache!' He then told them, 'Leave now and come back to me tomorrow.'

"Then news came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from heaven that God had empowered Chosroe's son Shīrawayh to kill his father. And on such-and-such a night of such-and-such a month Shīrawayh did attack and kill his father.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called in the two men and told them of this. They responded, 'Do you know what you are saying? We don't hate you so much as that! Shall we write to King Bādhām about you regarding this?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Do tell him this from me. Say to him, "My faith and my power will attain that reached by Chosroe and will ultimately encompass all creatures." Tell him, "If you accept Islam, I will award you the land beneath your feet and make you and your sons kings over your people."' "

"He then presented to Kharkhara a belt decorated with gold and silver that a king had given to him. The men left, returned to Bādhām and told him their news. He told them, 'I swear by God, those are not the words of a king; I see the man to be a prophet as he claims. Let it be as he said, for if it turns out as he predicted, he is indeed a prophet sent by God: Otherwise we will reconsider what to do.'

"Soon thereafter, a letter arrived from Shīrawayh which said, in part, 'I have killed Chosroe. I did so because of the anger in Persia at his killings of his nobility and having them stabbed in their mouths. When this letter reaches you, require those under your charge to give obedience to me. And ensure immediately that no attack is made against that man about whom Chosroe wrote to you, until you receive my order about him.'

"When this letter from Shīrawayh reached Bādhām, he said, 'This man certainly is a Messenger of God.' He then accepted Islam, as did all other Persians in Yemen.

"Bādhawayh said to Bādhām, 'I never spoke to anyone I found more awe-inspiring.' Bādhām asked him, 'Did he have armed guards with him?' 'No,' he replied."

Al-Wāqidi, may God have mercy on him, stated, "The assassination of Chosroe by his son Shīrawayh took place during the night of the 13th of Jumādā al-Ākhira, 7 AH at 6 o'clock."

I note that there is poetry saying that his death occurred in a *ḥarām*, a sacrosanct month, as follows,

"They killed Chosroe during the night of the sacrosanct month; he passed away and was accorded no shroud."

And an Arab poet⁹⁷ spoke the verses,

97. These verses are ascribed in Vol. 1 p.33 above to Khālid b. Ḥiḡq al-Shaybānī.

"And there was Chosroe, sliced up by his sons with swords as if he were meat.

On one day fate brought him to term; is not there a term for every pregnant mother?"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥamid, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Bakra, that a Persian came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that the latter told him, "This night my Lord has killed your lord."

(The narrator continued) "And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was told that Chosroe's daughter had been appointed to succeed him, he commented, 'No people governed by a woman will prosper.'"

Al-Bayhaqī also said, "It is related in a *ḥadīth* from Dihya b. Khalifa that when he returned from visiting Caesar, he found emissaries from Chosroe meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This was because Chosroe had sent a threatening message to the governor of Ṣan'a' asking him, 'Can't you rid me of this man who has appeared in your land and has asked me to accept his religion? Take care of him, or I will of you!'

"And so the governor sent envoys to him who received the response from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Notify him that my Lord has killed his lord tonight.' They found it to be as he said.

"And Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind related much the same, from 'Āmir al-Sha'bi."

Then al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, from Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Sa'd went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, 'I see some news from Sa'd's face!' Sa'd then said, 'Messenger of God, Chosroe is dead!' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) commented, 'God curse Chosroe! The first people destroyed will be the Persians, and then the Arabs!'"

I note that it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first told this to the two envoys of Chosroe who had come to him on behalf of the governor of Yemen, Bādhān. Then the news came of the accuracy of the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Sa'd being the first to hear it. And so he then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him of this accuracy. Al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy on him, thus gave this account.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through more than one line, from al-Zuhri, as follows, "Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān informed me that it had reached him that while Chosroe was in his palace reception chamber a petitioner was brought – or sent – to him, seeking his rights and to his great surprise a man walked up bearing a staff, saying, 'Chosroe, will you accept Islam before I break this staff?' Chosroe answered, 'Yes; don't break it!' The man turned and left. When he had gone, Chosroe sent to his chamberlain and asked, 'Who permitted this man access to me?' The replied, 'But no one went in to see you.' 'You lie!' he insisted. He was angry and threatened them, then left them.

"When the new year came, the man returned, carrying the staff. He said, 'Chosroe, will you accept Islam before I break this staff?'"

"Yes; don't break it," he agreed.

"When the man had left, he called for his chamberlain and questioned him as he had the first time.

"Next year back came that man carrying the staff. He asked Chosroe, 'Will you accept Islam before I break this staff?' 'Don't break it! Don't break it!' Chosroe asked. But the man did break it. And thereupon God destroyed Chosroe."

Imām al-Shāfi'ī stated that Ibn 'Uyayna informed him, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "When Chosroe perishes, there will be no Chosroe after him; and when Caesar perishes, there will be no Caesar after him. And, I swear by him who holds my soul in His hands, their treasures will be spent in God's cause."

Muslim gave this from a *ḥadith* of Abū 'Uyayna, and both of these quoted it as a *ḥadith* from al-Zuhri.

Al-Shāfi'ī stated, "(It is said that) When the letter from the Messenger of God (SAAS) was brought to Chosroe, he tore it up and the former commented, 'May his kingdom be torn up!' But we maintain that Chosroe honoured the letter from the Messenger of God (SAAS) and placed it in musk⁹⁸ and that what the Messenger of God (SAAS) said was, 'May his kingdom be preserved!'"

Al-Shāfi'ī and other scholars say that when Arabs, some of whom having accepted Islam, went out on merchant ventures to Syria and Iraq, they would complain to the Messenger of God (SAAS) of their fear of the kings of those two countries. And he would respond, "When Chosroe perishes, there will be no Chosroe after him; and when Caesar perishes, there will be no Caesar after him."

He (al-Shāfi'ī) stated, "And the kingdom of the Chosroes did indeed die out completely, and that of Caesar and Syria also ended completely, even though in general their reign persisted. This was grace to the prayer spoken for them by the Messenger of God (SAAS) when they honoured his letter. But God knows best."

I note that in this there is a fine announcement that the rule of the Romans will never return to Syria.

The Arabs used to use the term *Qaysar*, "Caesar", to denote the Roman who ruled Syria, along with the (Arabian) peninsula. The term *Kisrā*, "Chosroe", was applied to whomever ruled the Persians, *al-Najāshī*, "the Negus", to the ruler of Abyssinia, *al-Muqawqis* for the ruler of Alexandria, *Far'ūn*, "Pharoah" for whomever ruled Egypt as an unbeliever, and *Baṭlaymūs* (Ptolemy), for the ruler of India. They also accorded other generic titles; we have mentioned these elsewhere.⁹⁹ But God knows best.

98. Presumably to perfume and preserve it.

99. Vol. II, above, p.26.

Muslim related, from Qutayba and others, from Abū 'Awāna, from Simāk, from Jābir b. Samra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'A group of Muslims will discover the treasures of Chosroe in the white fortress.'"

Asbāt narrated, from Simāk, from Jābir b. Samara, a *ḥadīth* similar to that and added, "I and my father were among them, and we acquired 1,000 dirhams from that."

*THE EMBASSY OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TO
AL-MUQAWQIS, RULER OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA;
HIS NAME WAS JURAYḤ B. MĪNĀ THE COPT.*

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, "Al-Zuhri related to me, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Qārī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balta'a to the Muqawqis, ruler of Alexandria. When Ḥaṭīb delivered to him a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he kissed it, honoured Ḥaṭīb and entertained him well. He then sent him back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), dispatching to him with Ḥaṭīb a ceremonial gown, a mule and saddle and two slave girls, one of whom became Ibrāhīm's¹⁰⁰ mother. The other girl was presented by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Muḥammad b. Qays al-'Abdī."

Al-Bayhaqī related this also.

He then narrated through 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam, from his father (who said) "Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥaṭīb related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balta'a, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to the Muqawqis, the ruler of Alexandria. I took him a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he gave me accommodation in his home and there I stayed with him. He then sent for me, having assembled his patriarchs. He said, "I have questions for you and would like you to help me reach understanding." I replied, "Please ask." He said, "Tell me about your master; is he not a prophet?" "He is indeed," I replied. "He is the Messenger of God." "Then why", he asked, "if he is so, why did he not curse his people, since they evicted him from his country to another?" I replied, "Take Jesus, son of Mary; do you not bear witness that he was the Messenger of God?" "Yes, indeed I do," he replied. "Well", I asked, "what about when his people took him and wanted to crucify him; could he not have cursed them and had God destroy them when God raised him up to the earthly heaven?" He replied, "You are a wise man who has come from a wise man. These are presents I am dispatching with you to Muḥammad. And I am sending with you a guard who will conduct you to your safe haven."

"He presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) three slave girls, including one who was the mother of Ibrāhīm, son of the latter. One girl the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to Ḥassān b. Thābit, the *anṣārī*. He also sent some of his treasures to him."

100. The son of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq recounted that he presented four girls to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), one of whom was Māriya, Ibrāhīm's mother. Another was Sirīn, whom he gave to Ḥassān b. Thābit; to him she bore 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān.

I note that among these presents was a black eunuch named Ma'būr, a pair of plain black slippers, and a white female mule named al-Daldal.

This Ma'būr was a eunuch. At first no one knew this, so when he began going in to Māriya, as had been his habit in Egypt, people gossiped. They did not know the truth of the matter, that he was a eunuch. Eventually someone noted that he was the one the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib to kill, but he let him go when he found him to be a eunuch. The *ḥadīth* relating this is contained in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, with a line of transmission through Ḥammād b. Salama.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Salīḥ b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd, brother of Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, to Hawdha b. 'Alī, leader of al-Yamāma. He sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to Jayfar b. al-Jalandī and 'Ammār b. al-Jalandī, both of Azd, rulers of 'Umān."

THE EXPEDITION TO DHŪ AL-SALĀSIL

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it here, before the account of the conquest (of Mecca). His line of transmission leads through Mūsā b. 'Uqba and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, both of whom said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to Dhū al-Salāsīl in the Syrian uplands, in territory of Balī and 'Abd Allāh and those of Qudā'a allied to them."

'Urwa b. al-Zubayr stated, "Banū Balī were uncles of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il. When he travelled there, he was afraid at the large numbers of the enemy. So he sent word to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asking for reinforcements. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned the first *muhājirīn*; Abū Bakr and 'Umar volunteered, along with a group of *muhājirīn* leaders, may God be pleased with them all. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ as their leader."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "When they reached 'Amr, he told them, 'I am your leader; it was I who sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to seek reinforcements.' The *muhājirīn* replied, 'No; you are leader of your men, while Abū 'Ubayda is in command of the *muhājirīn*.' 'Amr insisted, 'No; you're just reinforcements provided to me.'

"When Abū 'Ubayda, who was a man of fine disposition and easy-going nature, said, 'You know, 'Amr, that the last instruction he gave me was to say, 'When you reach your comrade, obey him.' If you disobey me, then I will obey you.' Abū 'Ubayda gave the leadership over to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Tamīmī related to me, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent

‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ to bring the Arabs into Islam.¹⁰¹ This was because the mother of al-‘Āṣ b. Wā’il was from Banū Bali. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him to them, for he would therefore be at ease with them. When he arrived at a well in Judhām territory known as al-Salāsīl – this expedition being known by that name – he became concerned. And so he sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for reinforcements. The latter sent him Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh along with the first *muhājirīn*, among whom were Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. When he dispatched Abū ‘Ubayda, he told him, “Do not quarrel.”

“‘Abū ‘Ubayda then set forth and when he arrived, ‘Amr said to him, “You have merely come to reinforce me.” Abū ‘Ubayda said, “No; but I will do my duty, as you will.”

“‘Abū ‘Ubayda was a mild and easy-going man. ‘Amr told him, “I insist; you are my reinforcements.” Abū ‘Ubayda replied, “‘Amr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, ‘Do not quarrel.’ So even if you disobey me, I will obey you.” ‘Amr told him, “Well, I am your commander, and you are my reinforcement.” “So be it,” he replied.

“‘And ‘Amr went and led the prayers with the men.”

Al-Wāqidi stated that Rabi‘a b. ‘Uthmān related to him, from Yazīd b. Rūmān, that when Abū ‘Ubayda reached ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ they totalled 500 men and travelled on day and night into Balī territory, overrunning it as they went. Whenever they arrived at some settlement, they were told that those who had been there had dispersed on hearing of their approach. Eventually they reached the furthest part of the territory of Bali, ‘Udhra and Balqīn. There they finally encountered a small force with which they briefly fought, engaging in exchanges of arrows. ‘Amir b. Rabi‘a suffered a wound in his arm. The Muslims attacked and defeated the enemy, who dispersed and fled. ‘Amr plundered the area for a few days, hearing nothing of any enemy force being gathered, and receiving no information where they had gone. He sent out his cavalry to bring in sheep and camels which they slaughtered, but they captured nothing more; there were no spoils to be distributed.

Abū Dā’ūd said that Ibn al-Muthannā related to him, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, quoting his father, (who said), “I heard Yahyā b. Ayyūb relate from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from ‘Imrān b. Abū Anas, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jubayr, from ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, who said, ‘I involuntarily discharged semen on a very cold night during the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsīl. I was afraid that if I were to wash, I would perish. So I performed the ablutions with sand, then performed the morning prayers with my men. They later reported that to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God asked, “‘Amr, did you really pray with your men while in a state of *junub*, ritual impurity?” I then told him what had prevented me from washing myself

101. The Arabic printed text notes that Ibn Hishām’s version of Ibn Ishāq substitutes “into Syria” for “into Islam”.

and said, "I heard God say, 'Do not kill yourselves; God is compassionate towards you'" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.29). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and said no more."

Muḥammad b. Salama related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Ibn Lahī'a and 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from 'Imrān b. Anas, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr, from Abū Qays, the freed-man of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs. – who had been on an expedition, and related the *ḥadīth* similarly. He said, "He washed under his thighs, performed the ablutions for prayer and prayed with the rest." He then related approximately the same as above, but he did not refer to having cleaned himself with sand.

Abū Dā'ūd stated, "This anecdote is related from al-Awzā'i, from Ḥassān b. 'Aṭiyya, who said in it that he cleaned himself with sand."

Al-Wāqidi stated, Aflaḥ b. Sa'īd related to me, from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Raqīsh, from Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, who said, "While away on an expedition, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs involuntarily discharged semen during a night of exceeding cold. He asked his men, 'What do you think? I had a discharge, but if I wash, I'll die!' He had water brought and did perform the ablutions, washing his private parts and cleaning himself with sand. He then went on and performed the prayer with the rest. 'Awf b. Mālīk was sent on ahead to report. He said, 'I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the pre-dawn, while he was praying in his home. I greeted him and he said, 'You're 'Awf b. Mālīk?' I said I was and he said, 'The one who slaughters camels?' I said yes, and he added nothing more. He then asked, 'Well, tell me the news.' I made a report to him on our expedition and of the disagreement between Abū 'Ubayda and 'Amr, and how Abū 'Ubayda had submitted to 'Amr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'May God be pleased with Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ!'"

"I then told him that 'Amr had prayed with the men while he was in a state of *junub*, and that even though he had water, he had only washed his private parts in performing the ablutions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent.

"When 'Amr returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him about his performance of the prayer and he related it to him, commenting, "I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, that if I had washed completely, I would have died; I never experienced cold like that. And the Almighty had said, 'Do not kill yourselves; God is compassionate towards you.'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed; and we have not heard that he made any comment."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb quoted 'Awf b. Mālīk al-Ashja'i as saying, 'I was present on the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsīl sent out by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) under 'Amr b. al-ʿĀs. I went in the company of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. We passed by some people who had slaughtered some camels but did not know how to cut them up properly. I was a proficient butcher, so I told them, 'If you will give me a tenth share, I'll divide it up between you.' They agreed

and so I took a sharp knife and cut it up, right then and there. I took a portion for myself and carried it off to my companions and we cooked and ate it. Abū Bakr and 'Umar then asked, "Where did you get this meat, 'Awf?" I told them and they said, "By God, you did not do well to feed us this!" Then they arose and brought back up the food from their stomachs.

"When we set off for home from that trip, I was the first to reach the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was praying in his house. I greeted him, *al-salāmu 'alayka*, "'peace be upon you', Messenger of God!" He responded, "You're 'Awf b. Mālik?" "Yes, indeed I am, I swear." "The one who did the butchering?" he asked, but made no further comment."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related it thus, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from 'Awf b. Mālik, and the *ḥadīth* is missing links in its chain of transmission and is, moreover, *muḍḍal*, "enigmatic".

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ibn Lahī'a and Sa'īd b. Abū Ayyūb related this from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Rabi'a b. Laqīṭ, from Mālik b. Zuhdum from 'Awf b. Mālik. I believe he ('Awf) related it as above except for his using the words, 'I offered it to 'Umar; he asked me about it, and I told him. He then said, "You have accelerated your reward!" and he did not eat it.'"

He then narrated it similarly from Abū 'Ubayda and in that version made no mention of Abū Bakr. It ends approximately as above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Sa'īd b. Abū 'Amr informed him as follows, "Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Aṣamm related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū Ṭālib, quoting 'Alī b. 'Āṣim, quoting Khālīd al-Ḥadhdhā', from Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī (who said), 'I heard 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me forth in command of the army sent to Dhū al-Salāsil. Among us were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. I told myself that he would only have given me command over Abū Bakr and 'Umar because of some very high regard he had for me. So once I went to him, sat down before him and asked, 'Messenger of God, who is your favourite person?' "'Ā'isha,' he replied. 'I wasn't asking you about your family,' I told him. 'Then it would be her father,' he replied. 'Who after that,' I enquired. 'Umar,' he replied. I went on asking until he had mentioned a number of men. Then I told myself that I had better stop asking!'"

This *ḥadīth* is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through Khālīd b. Mahrān al-Ḥadhdhā', from Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī, his name being 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mul. (The latter said), "'Amr b. al-'Āṣ related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him out in command of the army to Dhū al-Salāsil. ('Amr said), 'I went to him and asked, "Which person do you like best?" "'Ā'isha,' he replied. "And from the men?" I enquired. "Her father," he said. "Who then?" I asked. "Then 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ," he answered. He went on to enumerate various other men."

This is the text given by al-Bukhārī. In one account 'Amr is quoted as saying, "I fell silent, fearing that he would place me last!"

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ 'UBAYDA TO THE SEA COAST.

Imām Mālik quoted Wahb b. Kaysān as stating that Jābir said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out an expedition towards the coast; in command he appointed Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. The force consisted of 300 men. And I was one of them.

"Having travelled part of the way, our food supply became depleted. Abū 'Ubayda ordered all the remaining food to be gathered together. The food consisted of dates. He would distribute a very little of it to us each day until eventually all we received was one date per day. I asked him, 'What good is one date?' He replied, 'You'll find out when it has run out!'

"At last we arrived at the sea where we found a whale as big as a hillock. The army ate from it for 18 days; then Abū 'Ubayda ordered that two of its ribs be set up. He then had his mount saddled and he passed beneath them without touching them."

This anecdote is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik in similar form.

It is also included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from 'Amr b. Dīnār, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out with a force of 300 mounted men, our commander being Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. We were to look for caravans belonging to Quraysh. We were overcome by intense hunger, so that we were forced to eat *al-khabaṭ*, 'tree leaves'. The army therefore became known as the *khabaṭ* army. Then a man slaughtered 3 camels then 3 more and yet 3 more. Ultimately Abū 'Ubayda forbade him from doing this. Then the sea cast up a creature called an '*anbar*, a sperm whale. We ate of it for half a month and we grew fat and our bodies became healthy."

He then went on to relate about the ribs. The reference here to looking for caravans belonging to Quraysh indicates that this expedition occurred before the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya. But God knows best. The man in the anecdote who butchered the camels was Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ibāda, may God be pleased with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Bakr b. Ishāq narrated to him, quoting Ismā'īl b. Qutayba, quoting Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, quoting Abū Khaythamā – he being Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya – from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābir as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out on an expedition under the command of Abū 'Ubayda to seek caravans belonging to Quraysh. He provisioned us with leather bags full of dates; that was all we had. Abū 'Ubayda would ration them out one by one.

"I (Abū al-Zubayr) asked Jābir, 'What did you do with them?' He replied, 'We would chew on them like the children do, then we would drink water with them, and that would last us all day until the night. We also would knock down leaves with our sticks, pour water over them and eat them.

“We went to the sea coast and there on the beach something as big as a sand dune was cast up. When we approached it, we found it to be a creature called an *‘anbar*, a sperm whale. Abū ‘Ubayda first said that it was dead.¹⁰² But he then said, “No; after all, we are messengers on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and pursuing God’s cause. You are forced to do so; eat it.” So we ate off it for a month, all 300 of us, and put on weight again. We would ladle the fat out of its eye sockets with leather bottles and cut meat off it the size of a bull. Abū ‘Ubayda took 13 of us and sat them in its eye. He also took one of its ribs, stood it upright, saddled the biggest of his camels and passed under it. We provisioned ourselves with strips of its meat dried, and when we returned to Medina and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him this, he said, “It was bounty that God brought forth for you; do you have any of its meat you could give us to eat?” And we did send some to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ate it.”

Muslim related this from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, and Aḥmad b. Yūnus and Dā‘ūd related it from al-Nufaylī, all three of them deriving it from Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Mu‘āwiya al-Ja‘fi al-Kūfi, from Abū al-Zubayr, Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus al-Makkī, from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh the *anṣārī*.

Most of these texts require this expedition to have preceded the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya. However, we have given it here following the example of the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy on him. He positioned it following Mu‘ta and before the conquest. But God knows best.

After examining the Mu‘ta expedition, Al-Bukhārī related that of Usāma b. Zayd to al-Ḥaraqāt of (Banū) Juhayna. He stated that ‘Amr b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting Ḥuṣayn b. Jundub, quoting Abū Zubayn, who said, “I heard Usāma b. Zayd say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us out against al-Ḥaraqā; we attacked them in the morning and defeated them. I and an *anṣārī* chased after one of their men and when we caught up with him, he said *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*, “there is no god but God”. At this the *anṣārī* stopped, but I stabbed at him with my spear until I had killed him. When we returned home, this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he asked me, “Usāma, did you really kill him after he had said, *Lā Ilāha illā Allāh*?” “He was only trying to save himself,” I replied. But he kept on asking me the same question until I wished I had not accepted Islam before that incident.”

We have quoted and discussed this *ḥadīth* heretofore.

Al-Bukhārī then went on to narrate the *ḥadīth* of Yazid b. Abū ‘Ubayd, from Salama b. al-Akwa‘, who said, “I participated in seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fought also in nine others on which he sent us. On one we were commanded by Abū Bakr, and on another by Usāma b. Zayd, may God be pleased with both.”

102. Muslims are prohibited from eating the flesh of an animal that has not been slaughtered in accord with Islamic practice and after the invocation of God’s name over it.

At this point the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī recounted the death of the Negus, the ruler of Abyssinia, in a state of being Muslim, the announcement of his death to the Muslims being made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the latter's prayer for him.

It was narrated through Mālik, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the death of the Negus on the day he died, led the people to the mosque where he lined them up and that he then pronounced *Allāhu Akbar!* "God is Most Great", four times.

Both these authorities derive their accounts from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik and also from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from 'Uqayl, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd and Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra in similar terms.

They both also gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from 'Aṭā', from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Today a fine man died; pray for Aṣḥama.'"

These accounts have also been quoted and discussed heretofore; and all praise be to God!

I note that it seems that the death of the Negus occurred a substantial time before the conquest (of Mecca). In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is said that when he wrote to the foreign rulers, he also wrote to the Negus and that he was not a Muslim. Others, like al-Wāqidi, claim that he was. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī, from Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from his father, from Umm Kulthūm, (who said), "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) married Umm Salama, he told her, 'I have sent to the Negus some ounces of musk and a copper pot as presents, but I believe that he has died. I expect the presents to be returned to me. If that happens' – I believe he said this – 'then I will divide them between you.' Or he may have said, 'and they will be yours'.

"And it was as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. The Negus did die and the presents were returned. He then gave an ounce (of the perfume) to one of his wives and all the rest to Umm Salama."

THE GREAT CONQUEST OF MECCA. IT OCCURRED IN RAMADĀN, 8 AH.

God, Almighty is He, made reference to it in several places in the Qur'ān. He stated, "Not equal among you are those who spent before the conquest, and did battle; these are higher in rank than those who spent and fought thereafter. But to all (of these) God has promised reward" (*sūrat al-Ḥadid*; LVII, v.10).

He also stated, "When God's help comes and the conquest and you see people entering God's religion in droves, then celebrate with praise of your Lord and seek His forgiveness. He is indeed forgiving" (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1-3).

The cause of the conquest, following the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya, was as Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated. He said, "Al-Zuhri related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said that al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam both

told him as follows, 'It was stipulated in the truce of al-Hudaybiyya that whoever wished to enter into an alliance with Muḥammad could do so, and that those wishing to ally with Quraysh could also do that. Thereafter Khuzā'a stated that they wished to be allied with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while Banū Bakr joined with Quraysh.

"The truce remained in effect for some 17 or 18 months. But then Banū Bakr attacked Khuzā'a at night at a well called al-Watir, close to Mecca. Quraysh, thinking that because it was night and that they would not be observed, assisted Banū Bakr by providing horses and weapons, and they fought along with them in order to express their hatred for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When the conflict between Khuzā'a and Banū Bakr became intense, 'Amr b. Ṣalīm rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to tell him the news. He had composed some verses on the subject and spoke these to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he arrived,

"O Lord, I address Muḥammad and invoke his father's
pact with our ancient forebears.

You were as children and we as parents and then we
accepted Islam and never held back.

So Help the Messenger of God with a final victory, and
call for God's servants to come up as reinforcements

Including the Messenger of God, accoutred for war;
when angry, his face becomes stern.

With an army broad as the sea and foaming; Quraysh
have broken their pacts.

They have destroyed their clear treaty with you and
sent guards for me up on Mt. Kadā.

They claim that I will not inspire (to help) yet they
are more lowly and fewer in number.

They attacked us at night while we slept at al-Watir,
and killed us as we bowed in prayer."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "You have been helped, 'Amr b. Ṣalīm!"

"Soon a cloud passed overhead in the sky and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This cloud is bringing aid to Banū Ka'b."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told his men to prepare for battle, but he hid from them his destination. He asked God to blind Quraysh to news of him so that he could surprise them in their own territory."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The reason for the trouble was that a man named Mālik b. 'Abbād, of Banū al-Ḥaḍramī, allied to al-Aswad b. Rizn, went out on a trading trip. When he was deep in Khuzā'a territory, they attacked him, killed him and robbed him. Banū Bakr then attacked a man of Banū Khuzā'a and killed him. Khuzā'a, just before accepting Islam, had attacked the sons of al-Aswad b. Rizn

al-Dīlī, Salmā, Kulthūm and Dhu'ayb, leaders who were the pride of Banū Kināna, and killed them at 'Arafa at the boundary rocks marking the sacred area.

"A man of al-Dīl related to me that Banū al-Aswad b. Rizn, due to their high prestige, were paid double blood-wit in the pre-Islamic period, while Banū al-Dīl received single blood-wit.

"While Banū Bakr and Khuzā'a were engaged in this conflict, Islam came between them. When the agreement at al-Ḥudaybiyya was made, Banū Bakr made a pact with Quraysh, as did Khuzā'a with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then the truce went into effect. But Banū al-Dīl, (a clan) of Banū Bakr, used it to gain revenge from Khuzā'a for the men killed. Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya al-Dīlī went out at the command of their men; not all of Banū Bakr followed him, however. He attacked Khuzā'a, killing one of their men, at al-Watīr, a well of theirs. The sides then disengaged, then battled on. Quraysh supplied Banū Bakr with weapons and some of them participated in the fighting, using the dark of night to conceal their identity, until eventually they forced Khuzā'a inside the sacred territory. Once inside it, Banū Bakr pointed out to Nawfal, 'We have entered the sacred territory! (Think of) your God! Your God!' He (Nawfal) then said an awful thing, 'There is no God today! Banū Bakr, gain your revenge! I swear by my life that you steal within the sacred area, so can you not also gain your revenge?'

"Khuzā'a took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqā' in Mecca and in that of a freed-man of theirs named Rāfi'. Al-Akhzar b. Luṭ' al-Dīlī spoke the following verses on this subject,

'Have the people of furthest Abyssinia learned that we
defeated Banū Ka'b with our arrow heads?

We imprisoned them in the home of the slave Rāfi', and
also with Budayl we kept them, inactive.

In the home of a base and passive man, once we had
satisfied our anger by the use of our swords,

we confined them to their great distress, having
descended upon them like a rain torrent from a mountain
gully

Slaughtering them like goats, as if we were lions,
slashing our swords into them.

They had wronged us and acted aggressively and were the
first to murder at the sacred boundary,

So scared when attacked that they were like ostrich
chicks, their flight blocked by Mt. Thawr.'

"Budayl b. 'Abd Manāt b. Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Ajabb, known as Budayl b. Umm Aṣram, answered him back with the following verses:

'A boastful people made a pact, but we have left them
only Nāfil as their chief to assemble them.

Was it fear of the prime people, whom you disdain, that
you went beyond al-Watīr, panicking, not to return?

Every day we favour those we protect by paying the blood-wit, but no one needs to favour us.

We attacked your homes at al-Talā'a with our swords that forestalled any complainer's blame.

We defended against the tribe's attack from all the way from between Bayḍ and 'Atūd to the slopes of Mt. Raḍwā.

At the battle at al-Ghamīm 'Ubays retreated in haste; we terrified him by our brave chief.

Perhaps it was because the mother of one of you had diarrhoea that you fled and we did not fight?

By God's house, you lie! You did not do battle; but we left your affairs in confusion."

Ibn Ishāq stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Salama related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "You can expect to see Abū Sufyān come to you to re-establish the pact and extend its duration."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Then Budayl b. Warqā' went with a group of Khuzā'a to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told how they had been attacked and how Quraysh had joined with Banū Bakr against them. They then left and on their way back, at 'Uṣfān, encountered Abū Sufyān. Quraysh had dispatched him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to reaffirm and extend the pact, since they were now worried by what they had done.

"When Abū Sufyān met Budayl he asked him whence he had come, thinking that he had come from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Budayl replied that he had been travelling in that valley and along the coast with Banū Khuzā'a. Abū Sufyān thereafter went to where Budayl's camel had knelt and examined its droppings; he found it to contain date stones. He said, 'I swear, Budayl has been to Muḥammad!'

"Abū Sufyān then made his way to Medina to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), where he went in to see his own daughter, Umm Ḥabība. When he was about to sit on the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she rolled it up. He then commented to her, 'I wonder whether you consider this rug undesirable for me or me for it?' She replied, 'It is the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and you are a dirty polytheist! I won't have you sit on his rug!' He responded, 'Well, daughter, you've certainly turned out badly since you left me!'

"He then went to see Abū Bakr whom he asked to speak on his behalf with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he refused. He next visited 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke with him, but 'Umar replied, 'Me intercede for you with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! I swear, if ants were all I had to fight you with, I'd do it!'

"Abū Sufyān then made his way to (the home of) 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, where he also found Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was sitting playing with her son Ḥasan. Abū Sufyān said, 'Alī, you are the man closest in relationship to me. I have come with a request and I don't want to leave disappointed. Please intercede with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on my behalf.'

He replied, 'I sympathize, Abū Sufyān, but once the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has determined something, we just can't talk to him about it.' Abū Sufyān then turned to Fāṭima and said, 'Muḥammad's daughter, won't you have this son of yours bring protection between our men so that he may then become the lord of all the Arabs till the end of time?' She replied, 'My son is not old enough to bring such protection, and no one could provide protection against the Prophet (ṢAAS).'

"Abū Sufyān then addressed 'Alī, 'I'm really in desperate circumstances; what advice can you give me?' 'Alī replied, 'I swear, I don't know what would help you. But you are chief of Banū Kināna. Why don't you arise in public, guarantee protection against them, then return home?' 'You think that might well do me some good?' he asked. 'Alī replied, 'Well, I really don't, but that's all I think you can do.'

"So Abū Sufyān stood up in the mosque and said, 'I guarantee protection between our men.' He then mounted his camel and rode off. When he reached Quraysh, they asked what he had accomplished. He reported how he had gone and visited Muḥammad and spoken with him but had received no response, gone on to Ibn Abū Quḥāfa¹⁰³ without avail, and then to 'Umar whom he had found very antagonistic. He commented that he had found 'Alī the most sympathetic and reported that he had given him advice which he had followed, though without any expectation that it would prove useful. They asked what he had advised. Abū Sufyān reported how 'Alī had advised offering protection, which he had done. They enquired whether the Prophet (ṢAAS) had approved that, and Abū Sufyān said no. They commented that 'Alī had been toying with him and that Abū Sufyān had gained nothing. He replied that he had not known what else to do."

Al-Suhaylī makes a useful addition to this account. He commented on Fāṭima's words in this *ḥadīth*, "No one gives protection against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)". This contradicts what is in the *ḥadīth*, "Their least powerful will give protection for all Muslims". He stated that he reconciled both versions by saying that the *ḥadīth* refers to one who will grant protection to an individual or a few people only. As for Fāṭima's words, they refer to the giving of protection to a large number of people upon whom the *Imām* has declared war; in such a case no one can offer protection. He (al-Suhaylī) went on, "Saḥnūn and Ibn al-Mājjishawn both say, 'The protection that a woman grants is dependent upon the permission given by the *Imām*, because of his (the Prophet's) words to Umm Hānī', "We give protection to those you protect, Umm Hānī'." This is also related from 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Khālīd b. al-Walīd. Abū Ḥanīfa said, 'The protection granted by a slave is not valid.' Yet his statement, 'their least powerful will give protection' requires inclusion of women and slaves. But God knows best."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Banū Ka'b spoke the following,

103. A name by which Abū Bakr was known.

'O God, I appeal to Muḥammad by the pact between his father and our forebears.

Give much help, may God give you guidance, and call for God's servants to come in reinforcement.'"

Mūsā b. Uqba said with regard to the conquest of Mecca, "Then Banū Nufātha, of Banū al-Dīl, attacked Banū Ka'b during the truce between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Quraysh. Banū Ka'b were at peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Banū Nufātha were at peace with Quraysh. Banū Bakr gave aid to Banū Nufātha whom Quraysh were aiding with weapons and men. Banū Mudlij kept withdrawn from them and honoured the pact they had made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In Banū al-Dīl there were two men who were their chiefs, Salmā b. al-Aswad and Kulthūm b. al-Aswad. It is said that those who helped them were Ṣafwān b. Umayya, Shayba b. Uthmān and Suhayl b. 'Amr.

"Banū al-Dīl made a raid against Banū 'Amr and their dependants, including their women, children and the weak. They fought them and forced them to seek refuge, ultimately making them withdraw to the home of Budayl b. Warqā' in Mecca.

"Riders from Banū Ka'b then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what they had suffered and the part that Quraysh had played in it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them to go back home and then to disperse into the land.

"Abū Sufyān then left Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), worried at what had happened. He said, 'Muḥammad, strengthen the pact and extend it for us.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'That is why you have come? Has something bad happened?' 'God forbid! We are keeping to our pact and to the truce of al-Hudaybiyya; we are not changing anything.'

"He then left the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and went to Abū Bakr, to whom he said, 'Review the pact and extend it for us.' Abū Bakr replied, 'My protection is with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by God, if all I had was ants to fight you with, I'd take their help against you!'

"He then went to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke to him. 'Umar replied, 'Nothing new ever happened without God having created it and nothing was ever firmly set that God could not destroy, and nothing was ever cut asunder that God could not join together.' Abū Sufyān commented, 'May you be punished badly by a close relative!'

"He then went to see 'Uthmān and when he had spoken to him, 'Uthmān told him, 'My protection rests with that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' Abū Sufyān then pursued Quraysh nobles and spoke with them, but all said that their pact was made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When he despaired of their help, he went in to see Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and spoke with her. She replied, 'I'm just a woman. That is up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He told her, 'Then give orders to one of your sons.' She replied, 'But they are just children; they couldn't

grant protection.' 'Then speak to 'Alī,' he asked her. She replied, 'You talk to him.'

"He did speak to 'Alī, who said to him, 'Abū Sufyān, none of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would ever act contrary to his wishes by granting protection. You are the leader of Quraysh, their most important and powerful figure. Give protection on behalf of your tribe.' 'Yes,' Abū Sufyān replied. 'You speak the truth; I am as you say.' He then left and called out, 'I grant protection. And, by God, I do not believe that anyone will betray me.'

"He then went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Muḥammad, I have declared protection between the people and I don't think anyone will betray me by revoking my protection.' 'As ever you say, Abū Ḥanzala,' he told him, and at that Abū Sufyān left.

"They claim, but God knows best, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said when Abū Sufyān had left, 'O God, close over their hearing and their seeing so that they only see us suddenly and only hear us too late!'

"Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca and there Quraysh asked him, 'What happened? Did you bring some letter or pact from Muḥammad?' 'No, by God,' he replied. 'He refused me that. I watched his men closely and I never saw any people more obedient to a king who ruled them than they were to him. However, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb told me to grant them protection without claiming it for myself or my people. He told me I could do this without having it revoked by anyone because of my high status and leadership. I got up and made the announcement, then went in to tell Muḥammad that I had done so; I told him that I did not think it would be revoked. He merely said it was I who was saying so.' Quraysh responded, 'You have no reason to be pleased. You return with nothing of any use to you or us. 'Alī was merely toying with you! Your offer of protection was invalid and useless.'

"He then went in to see his wife and she told him the same. She exclaimed, 'What a terrible envoy you are! You gained nothing at all.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw a cloud and commented, 'These clouds are gently raining down victory for Banū Kaʿb!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there for that period that God wished after the departure of Abū Sufyān. He began equipping for battle. He told 'Ā'isha that she should prepare his food, and to hide that fact.

"He then went out to the mosque, or for some other purpose, and Abū Bakr came in to see 'Ā'isha. He found her busy pounding and sifting wheat. Abū Bakr asked her why she was preparing the food but she made no reply. 'Is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preparing for battle?' he asked. She was still silent. He then asked, 'Is he going to attack the "yellow skins",' meaning the Byzantines. She said nothing. He then said, 'Perhaps he is heading for Najd?' She was silent. 'Maybe he is heading for Quraysh then?' She said nothing.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned, Abū Bakr asked him, 'Messenger of God, are you leaving on a campaign?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Are you

perhaps heading for the "yellow skins"? "No," he replied. "Then to Najd?" "No," he answered. "So maybe you are going after Quraysh?" he suggested. "Yes," he replied. Abū Bakr then said, "But, Messenger of God, don't you have a valid truce with them?" "Haven't you heard what they did to Banū Ka'b?" he asked.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to everyone that there was to be a campaign. At that Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balṭa'a wrote a message to Quraysh, but God made His messenger (ṢAAS) aware of the letter."

He proceeded to relate the account that follows.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said that Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said that Abū Bakr came in to see her while she was sifting wheat. Abū Bakr asked her, "What's this? Has the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked you to prepare supplies for a campaign?" "Yes", she replied, "to prepare for a campaign." "Where to?" he asked. "He did not tell us anything, except to make preparations."

Ibn Ishāq went on to say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made an announcement to the people that he was going to Mecca. He ordered them to act seriously and to make preparations. He said, "O God, take away sight and information from Quraysh so that we may take them by surprise in their land." And so the people made their preparations.

(Ibn Ishāq went on) "Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses to arouse the people and to refer to the men killed by Khuzā'a,

'It hurt me greatly, even though I did not witness, as
men of Banū Ka'b were having their heads cut off in the
Mecca valley

By men who did not unsheathe their swords; and there
were many men killed who were unburied.

How I wish that my (poetry's) help, with its heat and
hurt could harm Suhayl b. 'Amr!

And Ṣafwān, an old fellow who grunts from his arse;
this is the time when war had been saddled for battle.

Do not feel secure, Ibn Umm Mujālid¹⁰⁴ when war is fully
prepared for and about to break out.

But don't worry about it, for our swords will have
their impact and death's door will open wide!"

THE INCIDENT INVOLVING ḤAṬĪB B. ABŪ BALṬA'A.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja'far, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and others, from various of our scholars, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had decided to attack Mecca, Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balṭa'a wrote to Quraysh informing them of how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to move against them. He gave the letter to a woman; Muḥammad b. Ja'far

104. A reference to 'Ikrima, Abū Jahl's son.

claimed her to have been of Muzayna, while others maintained that she was Sāra, a freed-woman of someone from Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He paid her to take it to Quraysh and she placed it on her head, tied it up in her hair and left with it.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “News came from heaven to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of what Ḥaṭīb had done and he sent ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb and al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām in pursuit, telling them, ‘Seize a woman with whom Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balṭa‘a has sent a letter to Quraysh warning them of what we have decided to do about them.’

“The two men caught up with her at al-Ḥalifa of Banū Abū Aḥmad. They made her dismount and searched her baggage but found nothing. ‘Alī then told her, ‘I swear by God, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has not been misinformed, nor has he lied to us. Either you produce this letter for us, or we will search you for it!’ When she saw how serious he was, she told him to turn away and untied her hair, took out the letter and gave it to him. He took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned Ḥaṭīb and asked him, ‘Ḥaṭīb, what made you do this?’ He replied, ‘I really am, I swear, a true believer in God and in His messenger. I have not changed at all. But I’m not a man with any claims to nobility or tribal influence and there, living among Quraysh, I have my son and family and I wanted to protect them.’

“‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, ‘Messenger of God, let me cut off his head! The man has turned hypocrite!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, ‘What makes you so sure, ‘Umar? Perhaps God looked down upon those who fought at Badr and said, “Do as you wish; I forgive you!”’

“It was about Ḥaṭīb that God revealed, ‘O you who believe: do not consider My enemies and yours to be allies to whom you give friendship’” (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.1).

Ibn Ishāq related this story as being *mursal*, with an incomplete line of authorities. Al-Suhaylī narrated that in Ḥaṭīb’s letter it said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) may well send forth an army against you that will descend upon you like nightfall. And I swear by God, that even if he were to attack you alone, then God would give him victory over you. He fulfils what He promised him.”

Al-Suhaylī went on, “And in the *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) of Ibn Sallām it is stated that Ḥaṭīb wrote, ‘Muḥammad has assembled an army for war; he is either heading for you or for others. You should beware!’”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Quraysh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Amr b. Dīnār, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad told him that he heard ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Rāfi‘ say that he heard ‘Alī relate, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me, al-Zubayr and al-Miqdād saying, ‘Go to the well at Khākh. There you will find a woman in a *howdah* who has a letter. Take it from her.’ So we left, our horses racing us along, and we arrived at the well, where we found the woman in the *howdah*. We told her to produce the letter, but she denied

having it. We then told her that if she did not produce it, we would strip her clothes off her.

"She then brought it forth from her hair wrappings and we took it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The letter said, 'From Ḥaṭīb b. Balṭa'a to the polytheists of Mecca, informing them of some of the actions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) asked Ḥaṭīb about this and he replied, 'Messenger of God, don't act harshly with me! I was just associated with Quraysh, allied with them but not of them. Some of your *muhājirīn* have relatives among Quraysh who can look after their families and possessions. What I wanted was to find someone among them who would protect my relatives. I did not do this to apostatize from my faith, nor to express my acceptance of disbelief after Islam.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Well, he has spoken the truth to you.' 'Umar asked, 'Messenger of God, let me strike off the head of this hypocrite!' (He replied) 'But he fought at Badr. And what makes you so sure; perhaps God looked down upon those who fought at Badr and said, "Do as you wish; I forgive you."'

"God then sent down, 'O you who believe, do not consider My enemies' up to the words, 'has strayed from the right path.'" (*sūrat al-Mumtaḥana*; LX, v.1).

The other compilers of the tradition also gave it, except for Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was *ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad said that it was related to him by Ḥujayn and Yūnus, both of whom said that Layth b. Sa'd related to him, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balṭa'a wrote to the people of Mecca telling them that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intended to attack them. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was provided information about the woman who had the letter and so he sent after her and retrieved the letter from her head. He then asked Ḥaṭīb whether he really did this and he confessed. He explained, "I did not do it to betray the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), nor am I a hypocrite. I knew that God would make His messenger prevail and allow him to complete his mission. However, I've always been a stranger amidst them (Quraysh) and my mother is there with them. And I wanted to have some favour with them." 'Umar asked, "Should I cut off this fellow's head?" But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "Would you really kill someone who fought at Badr? What makes you sure; perhaps God looked down at those who fought at Badr and said, 'Do as you wish.'"

Only Imām Aḥmad gives this tradition from this line of transmission; its chain of authorities meets the criteria of Muslim. And all praise be to God!

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri related to him, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded on his journey, having appointed

Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. Ḥuṣayn b. ʿUtba b. Khalaf al-Ghifārī in command of Medina. He departed on the 10th of Ramaḍān and fasted, as did those with him. Having arrived at al-Kadīd, between ʿUṣfān and Amaj, he broke his fast and thereafter travelled on to Marr al-Zahrān, where he and 10,000 Muslims made camp."

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr stated, "He had 12,000 men with him." Al-Zuhri and Mūsā b. ʿUqba said the same. Sulaym totalled over 700 men; some say they were over 1,000 strong. Muzayna were over 1,000 strong, and each tribe was represented in both force and faith in Islam. The *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) *en masse*, none of them remaining behind.

Al-Bukhārī narrated a similar account from Maḥmūd, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿĀṣim b. ʿAlī, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhri (who said), "ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh informed me, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth on the expedition that led to the conquest in Ramaḍān."

Al-Zuhri went on, "I heard Saʿd b. al-Musayyab make a similar statement, that he did not know whether he started out with some days left of Shaʿbān and that then Ramaḍān arrived, or whether he left in Ramaḍān, after it had begun. However, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh informed me that Ibn ʿAbbās said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fasted until he reached al-Kadīd, the well between Qudayd and ʿUṣfān, where he broke the fast. And he continued to eat regularly (without fasting) throughout the month.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, from al-Layth. He, however, did not mention the confusion between Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān.

Al-Bukhārī stated, that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from Ṭāwus, that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out in Ramaḍān, fasting until he reached ʿUṣfān. Then he called for a vessel and drank from it, allowing the people to see this. He continued to eat normally until he reached Mecca."

He went on, "Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both fasted and ate normally while travelling. Those who wished, fasted; those who wished, ate normally.'"

Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh as stating that Ibn ʿAbbās said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth on the conquest of Mecca, he placed Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ghifārī in command of Medina. He left on the 10th of Ramaḍān, fasting, as did those accompanying him. When he arrived at al-Kadīd, between ʿUṣfān and Amaj, he broke his fast. When he entered Mecca, he was eating normally and people saw that this was his latter practice, having abrogated his former, his fasting."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "His statement, 'he left on the 10th of Ramaḍān' is interpolated in the *ḥadīth*, as is his reference to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Idrīs, quoting Ibn Ishāq."

He then related through Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, from Jābir, from Yaḥyā, from Ṣadaqa, that Ibn Ishāq said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the 10th of Ramaḍān, 8 AH."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī, from Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥafṣa, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The conquest occurred 13 days into Ramaḍān." Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "This dating is fanciful; it relies only on al-Zuhri's statement."

He went on to narrate through Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out from Medina in Ramaḍān on the campaign for the conquest – the conquest of Mecca. He was accompanied by 10,000 Muslims. This coincided with the beginning of 8 and one-half years following his arrival at Medina. Mecca was conquered with 13 days remaining of Ramaḍān."

Al-Bayhaqī also narrated through 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in Ramaḍān, accompanied by 10,000 Muslims. He fasted until he reached al-Kadīd, then he broke his fast.

Al-Zuhri stated, "Only the most recent being acceptable, then that would be what follows." He said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Mecca on the morning of the 13th of Ramaḍān." He then recounted the conquest in accord with both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, through 'Abd al-Razzāq. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tanūkhī, from 'Aṭīyya b. Qays, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to set forth in the year of the conquest on the 2nd of Ramaḍān. We fasted *en route* until we reached al-Kadīd, where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) advised us to break the fast, being pleased with both those who continued fasting and those who did not. When we reached the first staging post where we encountered the enemy, he told us to break the fast, and we all did so."

Imām Aḥmad related it from Abū al-Mughīra, from Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (who said) that 'Aṭīyya b. Qays related to him, from someone who had told it to him, who quoted Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to set forth in the year of the conquest on the 2nd of Ramaḍān. We fasted *en route* until we reached al-Kadīd, where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to break the fast. Thereafter some continued fasting, while others did not. When we reached the first staging post where we encountered the enemy, he told us to break the fast, and we all did so."

I note from al-Zuhri's account that the conquest was on the 13th of Ramaḍān, and from that of Abū Sa'īd that they left Medina on the 2nd of Ramaḍān; their trip between Mecca and Medina must therefore have taken 11 days.

However, al-Bayhaqī related, from Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, from al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabī', from Ibn Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn,

and ʿĀsim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and others, all said that the conquest of Mecca took place with 10 days remaining of Ramaḍān in 8 AH.

Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Wahīb related to him, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of the conquest and was fasting until he reached Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm. Some of the men accompanying him were on foot, while others rode; this journey was during Ramaḍān. He was told, ‘Messenger of God, the men are suffering from fasting, but are watching to see what you will do.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for a vessel of water and drank, while the men watched. Some of the men then broke the fast, while others continued it. When he was told that some men were still fasting, he commented, ‘They’re disobedient.’”

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thaqafī and al-Darāwardī, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that Bashīr b. Yasār related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in the year of the conquest in Ramaḍān. He fasted, as did the Muslims with him, until he reached al-Kadīd. There he called for water in a wooden cup, while he was mounted. He drank while the men looked on. This was to inform them that he had broken his fast. The Muslims then broke their fast.”

Aḥmad was alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Section: On the Acceptance of Islam by the following relatives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

These were al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his uncle, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his cousin, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīrat al-Makhzūmī, the brother of (his wife) Umm Salama, “mother of the believers”. They went out to meet him while he was on his way to the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq stated that al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while the latter was *en route*. Ibn Hishām stated that he met him at al-Juhfa, having emigrated with his family. Previously he had been living in Mecca engaged in his function of providing water for the pilgrims. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, according to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, satisfied (at that).

Ibn Ishāq stated that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Nīq al-ʿUqāb, a place between Mecca and Medina. There they sought to meet with him and Umm Salama spoke to him about them. She said, “Messenger of God, it is your two cousins, your maternal uncle’s son and your maternal aunt’s son, along with your brother-in-law.” He replied, “I don’t need to see the two of them; my maternal uncle’s son offended my honour, while my maternal aunt’s son slandered me in Mecca.”

Ibn Ishāq continued, "When news of this response reached them, Abū Sufyān, who had a young son with him, said, 'By God, if he does not see me, I'll take this young son of mine by the hand and we'll go off somewhere and die of thirst and hunger!' When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard this, he took pity on them and allowed them both to come in and they did so and accepted Islam. Abū Sufyān then recited to him the verses that concerned his acceptance of Islam and apologized for his former behaviour:

'By your life, I swear that day I carried a banner so
that al-Lāt's cavalry would overcome those of Muḥammad,

I was like a traveller lost in a dark night, but now is
a time when I am led aright and lead others well.

A guide other than myself gave me guidance and there
gave me guidance to God someone whom I had vigorously
opposed.

I kept myself and others actively away from Muḥammad
and was called his relative, though I claimed no such
ties.

They (Muslims) are as they are; those who do not agree
with them – even men of wisdom – are blamed and rejected.

I wished to please them, but could not agree with them
so long as I was not guided.

Tell Thaḳīf that I do not want to battle them, and
tell Thaḳīf, "Threaten others!"

I was not in the army that struck 'Āmir, nor had I any
part in it, by hand or voice.

Tribes came from far away lands, strangers out of Sahām
and Surdad."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "They claim that when Abū Sufyān recited to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the line, 'and there gave me guidance to God someone whom I had vigorously opposed,' the latter struck the former in the chest and commented, 'Yes, you did oppose me vigorously, all right!'"

DIVISION.

Having dismounted at Marr al-Zahrān, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made camp and stayed there. As al-Bukhārī related it, from Yahyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth and Muslim, from Abū al-Ṭāhir, from Ibn Wahb, both of the latter quoting from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from Jābir, who said, "We were at Marr al-Zahrān with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), gathering *kibāth*, the fruit of the *arāk* thorn tree. He told us, 'Look out for the black ones; they are the best.' The men asked him, 'Messenger of God, were you ever a shepherd?' 'Yes, I was; was there ever a prophet who was not?'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Sinān b. Ismā'īl, from Abū al-Walīd

Saʿīd b. Minā, who said, "When the Meccans had finished and left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the men to proceed to Mecca. Having reached Marr al-Zahrān, he made camp at al-ʿAqaba and sent out the pickers to gather *al-kibāth*. Sinān asked (Abū al-Walid) Saʿīd what this word meant and he said it was the fruit of the thorny *arāk* tree."

Saʿīd went on, "Ibn Masʿūd was one of those who was picking. As they found a nice fruit, they would promptly eat it. They were laughing as they observed the thinness of Ibn Masʿūd's legs as he climbed up a tree and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Are you amused at his thin legs? By Him who holds my soul in His hands, they weigh heavier in the scales (of righteousness) than Mt. Uḥud!'"

"The choicest fruits Ibn Masʿūd picked he would offer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And on this subject he, Ibn Masʿūd, spoke the following line,

"This is the finest I have picked (for you), while the
hand of every picker goes to his mouth."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Anas is quoted as saying, "We disturbed a rabbit while we were at Marr al-Zahrān and the men took it to Abū Ṭalḥa who slaughtered it. He sent its thighs and legs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he accepted them."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Marr al-Zahrān, having kept any news from reaching Quraysh; they had no information at all about what he was doing. During those nights, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqāʾ came out to gather any news from what they might see or hear."

Ibn Lahīʿa recounted from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent out horsemen as scouts to catch any spies. Khuzaʿa were not allowing anyone to pass by them, and so when Abū Sufyān and his companions came they were seized by the Muslim horsemen. ʿUmar went up to him, (Abū Sufyān) intending to stab him in the neck, but al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib gave him protection; he was a friend of Abū Sufyān.

Ibn Ishāq quoted al-ʿAbbās as saying that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Marr al-Zahrān, he, al-ʿAbbās, said, "Woe upon Quraysh! If the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) enters Mecca by force before they come out and seek peace, it will mean their destruction forever!"

"So I mounted the white mule belonging to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and rode out on it to al-Arāk, hoping to encounter some logger, milkman or someone else who could go to Mecca to tell them where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, so that they could come out and seek peace with him before he conquered it and them by force.

"I was engaged in this when, to my surprise, I heard the voices of Abū Sufyān and Budayl b. Warqāʾ engaged in discussion. Abū Sufyān was saying, 'I swear, I've never seen so many fires or such a camp as tonight!' Budayl replied, 'I swear,

this must be Khuḏā'a fired up by war!' Abū Sufyān answered, 'But Khuḏā'a are too weak and few in number for these to be their fires and encampment.'

"Having recognized his voice, I called out, 'Is that you, Abū Ḥanzala?' He knew my voice and replied, 'Is that Abū al-Faḍl?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Well what are you up to, may my father and mother be your ransom!' he exclaimed.

"I told him, 'Woe on you, Abū Sufyān! That is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his forces!' 'Then woe on Quraysh, by God,' he burst out. 'What should we do?' I replied, 'If he conquers you, he'll cut off your head! Ride (with me) on the back of this mule, so that I can take you to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I'll ask him to guarantee your safety.'

"He rode behind me and his two companions returned home."

ʿUrwa said this was not so, and that the other two men had gone to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam and he had asked them for news about the people in Mecca.

Al-Zuhri and Mūsā b. ʿUqba said that they went with al-ʿAbbās to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-ʿAbbās went on, "So I set off with him. And whenever we passed by one of the fires of the Muslims, they asked, 'Who is that?' When they noticed the mule of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they said, 'Oh, it's the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding his mule.' Eventually I passed by the fire of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and he asked who I was and came over to me. When he saw Abū Sufyān on the rear of the mule, he exclaimed, 'It's Abū Sufyān, the enemy of God! Thanks be to God who has handed you over without any pact or agreement!'"

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr claims that ʿUmar stabbed Abū Sufyān in the neck, intending to kill him, but al-ʿAbbās prevented him.

Similarly, Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated from al-Zuhri that the scouts of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of the bridles of their camels and asked who they were. They replied that they were a delegation for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-ʿAbbās met them and took them in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who talked with them in the course of the night and then invited them to witness that there is no god but God. They did so and he then asked them to bear witness that "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God". Ḥakīm and Budayl testified to this, but Abū Sufyān said, "I do not know this." After morning came, he did accept Islam. They then asked him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) to grant Quraysh safety. He replied, "Those who enter the house of Abū Sufyān shall be safe," his house being in the heights of Mecca. He went on, "Whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām shall be safe," his house being in the lower part of Mecca. And he added, "Whoever locks his own door shall be safe."

Al-ʿAbbās's account states, "Then ʿUmar hurried off towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while I rode the mule and arrived before him, but only by the amount that a slow-moving mule can outpace a slow-moving man. I jumped off the mule and went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿUmar did the

same and said, 'Messenger of God, this is Abū Sufyān whom God has delivered without any pact or agreement! Let me cut off his head!' I said, 'Messenger of God, I have given him my protection.' I then sat down with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), holding his (Abū Sufyān's) head and said, 'I swear, no man apart from myself is willing to protect him tonight!'

"When 'Umar kept on complaining about him, I told him, 'Take it easy, 'Umar! I swear, if he were from Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b you'd not be saying this! But you well know that he is from Banū 'Abd Manāf.' 'Take it easy yourself,' 'Abbās,' he replied. 'Your accepting Islam the day you did was more welcome to me than if al-Khaṭṭāb' (his father) 'had been the one to do so! And this was only because I knew that your accepting Islam was more welcome to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than that of al-Khaṭṭāb would have been.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Take him away to your tent, 'Abbās, and bring him to me when morning comes.'"

Al-'Abbās continued, "So I went off with him to my tent where he spent the night with me. Next morning I hurried him over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, when he saw him, 'Woe on you, Abū Sufyān! Is it not time for you to know that there is no god but God?' He replied, 'How wise, noble and kind you are! Had there been any other besides God he would have already given me some aid!'

"Well, Abū Sufyān,' continued the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'is it not time for you to know that I am the Messenger of God?' 'How wise, noble and kind you are', Abū Sufyān replied, 'but I'm still having some trouble with that.'"

Al-'Abbās then told him, "Woe on you, accept Islam! Bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, before your head is cut off!"

He then gave true testimony, accepting Islam.

Al-'Abbās went on, "So I said, 'Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a man to whom prestige is important; do something for him.'

"He then stated, 'Yes; whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house shall be safe.'"

'Urwa added that he went on to say, "Whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām shall be safe." And Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated similarly, from al-Zuhri, that he said, "And whoever locks his own door shall be safe, as will be anyone who goes into the mosque."

As he was about to depart, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to al-'Abbās, "Keep him at where the valley narrows, and the mountain projects, until God's forces pass him by, so that he sees them."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba narrated, from al-Zuhri, that Abū Sufyān, Budayl and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām stood along with al-'Abbās at the mountain projectory, and that when Sa'd b. Ubāda spoke the verse,

"Today is that of the great battle; today sanctuary is disallowed"

to Abū Sufyān, he complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then took back the banner of the *anṣār* from Sa'd and gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. He took it in to the upper part of Mecca and planted it in al-Ḥajūn. Khālīd entered from the lower part of Mecca, where Banū Bakr and Hudhayl confronted him. He killed 20 men of Banū Bakr and 3 or 4 of Hudhayl. They were defeated and killed at al-Ḥazwara,¹⁰⁵ the fighting there reaching the door of the mosque.

Al-ʿAbbās went on, "I proceeded out with Abū Sufyān, keeping him in the narrow part of the valley to which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked me to restrict him.

"The tribes went past flying their banners. As one went by, Abū Sufyān asked, 'Who are those, 'Abbās?' I replied, 'Sulaym,' and he commented, 'Well, Sulaym don't concern me.' When another passed, he asked who they were and I told him they were Muzayna. He commented, 'Muzayna don't concern me.' This went on until all the tribes had gone by; he asked me about each one, and he always replied that they were of no concern to him. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went past with his 'green squadron' that consisted of *muhājirīn* and *anṣār*; their armour allowed only their eyes to be seen. He then exclaimed, 'Glory be to God, 'Abbās! Who are those?' I replied, 'That is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with his *muhājirīn* and his *anṣār*.' He commented, 'No one could ever withstand those men! By God, Abū al-Faḍl, your brother's domain this morning is immense!'

"I replied, 'Abū Sufyān, it is that of the prophethood.'

"I agree,' he said. I told him, 'You should hurry to your people.'"

(Al-ʿAbbās continued) "When he reached them he shouted at the top of his voice, 'Quraysh, this is Muḥammad who brings a force against you that you cannot withstand. Whoever goes into the house of Abū Sufyān will be secure.'

"Hind, daughter of ʿUṭba, stood up to him and gripped him by the mustache and said, 'Kill this overweight bag of fat! He is too disgraceful to lead our people!'

"Abū Sufyān replied, 'Woe upon you, do not allow this woman to deceive you. You cannot withstand the force against you. Whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān will be secure.'

"People shouted, 'God kill you! What good will your house do us?'

"He replied, 'Those who lock their doors will be secure. Those who enter the mosque will be secure.'

"The people then dispersed to their homes or into the mosque."

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr related that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by, Abū Sufyān asked him, "I see many faces I do not recognize. Are all these faces against me?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "It is you and your people who have done this; these people believed me when you called me a liar. They assisted me when you exiled me."

105. The market-place of Mecca.

Abū Sufyān then complained to him how Sa'd b. 'Ubadā had spoken the following line as he passed him,

"Today is that of the great battle; today sanctuary is disallowed."

At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Sa'd lied; this is a day when God is glorifying the *ka'ba*, a day by which the *ka'ba* will be adorned."

'Urwa related that in the early morning after that night he spent with al-'Abbās, Abū Sufyān saw the people gathering for prayer, spreading forth to perform their ablutions and he felt afraid. He asked al-'Abbās, "What are they doing?" He replied, "They have heard the call to prayer and are spreading out to perform the prayer." When the prayer began and he saw them prostrating and bowing along with him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), Abū Sufyān asked, "Would they do anything he asked of them?" "Yes, they would," he replied. "If he ordered them to give up food and drink, they would obey him."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related, from al-Zuhri, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed his ablutions, the men scrambled for the leftover water with which he had washed and Abū Sufyān commented, "'Abbās, I've never seen anything like tonight, not even in the kingdoms of Chosroe or Caesar!"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, who said that al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abbās related to him, from Ibn 'Abbās (a certain *ḥadīth*). The last-mentioned then proceeded to narrate this story in its entirety, just as Ziyād al-Bakkā'i related it, from Ibn Ishāq, *munqaṭi'an*, with an incomplete line of transmission. But God knows best.

However, al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Bilāl al-Ash'ari, from Ziyād al-Bakkā'i, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh, who quoted Ibn 'Abbās as saying that al-'Abbās brought Abū Sufyān to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so on. However, in this account he is quoted as saying that Abū Sufyān accepted Islam that night, before he came next morning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This account also says that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house will be secure," Abū Sufyān asked, "But what if my house is not large enough?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "And whoever enters the *ka'ba* will be secure." "And what if the *ka'ba* is not large enough?" Abū Sufyān enquired. He replied, "And whoever enters the mosque shall be secure." "What if the mosque is not large enough?" He replied, "Whoever locks his door will be secure." Abū Sufyān then said, "There will be sufficient space."

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Ubayd b. Ismā'īl related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth in the year of the conquest of Mecca and this news reached Quraysh, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥākim b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqā' came out to look for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They travelled as far as Marr al-Zaḥrān

where they saw so many camp fires that they seemed like those on Mt. 'Arafāt (in the pilgrimage season). Abū Sufyān commented on this and asked whose fires they could be and Budayl b. Warqā' responded that they must be the fires of Banū 'Amr. Abū Sufyān objected that they were fewer in number. The two men were seen by the guards of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who seized them and took them to him. Abū Sufyān then accepted Islam.

"As Abū Sufyān was returning home, he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said to al-'Abbās, 'Keep Abū Sufyān where the mountain projects so that he sees the Muslims.' Al-'Abbās did restrain him there while the tribes went past, squadron by squadron, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). As one squadron went by, Abū Sufyān asked al-'Abbās who they were. He replied, 'These are Ghifār.' 'Well, what are Ghifār to me?' Abū Sufyān commented. Then Juhayna passed by and he said the same. Sa'd b. Hudhaym and Sulaym then passed and he made the same comment. Then another squadron passed that was unlike the others and he asked their identity. Al-'Abbās replied, 'They are the *anṣār* under the command of Sa'd b. 'Ubadā with the banner.' Sa'd called out, 'Hey, Abū Sufyān, today's the day of the great battle; today the *ka'ba* will be no sanctuary!' Abū Sufyān commented, 'Abbās, would that this were a day of honour!'

"Then there passed a squadron smaller than the rest; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions were with them, his banner being borne by al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by Abū Sufyān, the latter called out, 'Do you know what Sa'd b. 'Ubadā said?' 'What did he say?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Sufyān repeated it and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Sa'd lied; this is a day when God will assert the glory of the *ka'ba*, a day when the *ka'ba* will be adorned.' He then ordered that his banner be planted at al-Ḥajūn."

Urwa related that he was told by Nāfi' b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm that he heard al-'Abbās ask al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, "Was it here that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the banner to be placed?" "Yes," he replied.

He (Nāfi') went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Khālīd b. al-Walīd to enter the upper part of Mecca, at Kadā', while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in from Kadā'. That day two of the cavalry under Khālīd b. al-Walīd, Ḥubaysh b. al-Ash'ar and Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri were killed."

Abū Dā'ūd said that 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, from Ibn 'Abbās who said that his father al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib brought Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Marr al-Zahrān and he accepted Islam. Al-'Abbās told him, "Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a man who likes to enjoy prestige; perhaps you could do something for him." "Yes," he replied. "Whoever goes into Abū Sufyān's house will be secure. And whoever locks his door will be secure."

*An Account of the entry of the Messenger of God
(ṢAAS) into Mecca.*

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca wearing a helmet. When he took it off a man came who said, "Ibn Khaṭal is clinging to the hangings of the *ka'ba*." "Kill him," he ordered.

Mālik stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not, we believe, in a state of *Iḥrām*,¹⁰⁶ though God knows best."

Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca following its conquest he was wearing a black turban.

The *aṣḥāb al-sunan*¹⁰⁷ relate this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama. Al-Tirmidhī said that it was *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Muslim related it from Qutayba, as did Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā from Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca wearing a black turban and that he was not in a state of *iḥrām*.

Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Usāma, from Musāwir al-Warrāq, from Ja'far b. 'Amr b. Hurayth, from his father, who said, "It's as if I can still see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day Mecca was conquered; he was wearing an ash-black turban, its end hanging down between his shoulders."

Muslim narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as did al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was wearing a black turban when he entered Mecca.

The *aṣḥāb al-sunan* narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Ādam, from Shurayk al-Qaḍī, from 'Ammār al-Duhnī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "The banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he entered Mecca was white."

Ibn Ishāq stated, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The banner of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the day Mecca was conquered was white; his black flag was known as *al-ʿuqāb*, 'the eagle'. It was made of a piece of variegated wool."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walid related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from 'Abd Allāh b. Qurra, who said, "I heard 'Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal say, 'On the day Mecca was conquered, I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted on his camel reciting the *sūrat al-Faṭḥ* (XLVIII) in a vibrant, quivering tone. And if it had not been for the people crowding around me, I would have recited in the same tone as he did.'"

106. The physical and psychological state required of a pilgrim before he performs the *ʿumra* or the *ḥajj* pilgrimages. During this state certain actions are prohibited that are permissible at other times.

107. The scholars, apart from al-Bukhārī and Muslim, who assembled the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of *aḥādīth*.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Dhū Tuwā, he halted on his mount; he was wearing a turban made of striped red cloth from Yemen. He bowed his head so low in submission to God, having seen how He had honoured him with the conquest, that his beard almost touched the middle of his saddle.

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ told him that Da'lij b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Abbār, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr al-Maqdisī, quoting Ja'far b. Sulaymān, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca the day of the conquest of Mecca with his chin resting in submission (to God) on his saddle."

(Al-Bayhaqī) went on to say that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Bakr b. Bālawayh, quoting Aḥmad b. Ṣā'id, quoting Ismā'il b. al-Ḥārith, quoting Ja'far b. 'Awn, quoting Ismā'il b. Abū Khālid, from Qays, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said that a man spoke to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the conquest and he began to tremble. Then he said, "Tread softly! I'm the son of a woman of Quraysh who ate cheap desiccated meat!"

(Al-Bayhaqī continued) "Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Fāris and Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Zuhayr related this similarly, from Ismā'il b. Abū al-Ḥārith as being *mawṣūlan*, with full lines of transmission."

He then related it from Abū Zakariyyā' al-Muzakkī, from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, from Ja'far b. 'Awn, from Ismā'il b. Qays, but with an incomplete line of transmission, which is how it is accepted.

This modesty in this place on the part of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he entered with such a huge army contrasts completely with those fools of Banū Isrā'īl, the "ancient Israelites", who were ordered to enter the temple (at Jerusalem) bowing down – that is prostrating – while saying "Wipe out (our past sins)". However, instead they entered creeping forwards on their behinds saying, "Wheat in barley!"¹⁰⁸

Al-Bukhārī stated that he was informed by al-Qāsim b. Khārīja, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Maysara, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who said that 'Ā'isha told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca in the year of the conquest from Kadā', which is in the upper part of the town. Abū Usāma and Wahb agreed that it was from Kadā'.

'Ubayd b. Ismā'il related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, that at the conquest, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered from the upper part of Mecca, from Kadā'.

This tradition should only be considered more authentic if one views an account with an incomplete chain of authorities more authentic than one fully complete, as given in the text above! Alternately, this *Kadā'* may be spelled either

108. A reference to the Qur'ān, *sūrat al-A'rāf*, VII, v.161. The passage narrates how the Israelites were told to use the word *ḥiṭṭa*, "put down, remove", when beseeching God for the forgiveness of sins. However, they mistakenly used the word *ḥimṭa*, "wheat".

with a *madda*, an alif of elongation or an *alif maqṣūra*, a final yā and without hamza. Kudā, spelled with a u, is in the lower part of Mecca. This is widely accepted and preferable.

It is stated above that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd in from the upper part of Mecca, while he himself entered from below, at Kudā; that is given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Khuzāmī, quoting Ma'n, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'When, in the year of the conquest, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he saw the women striking at the heads of the horses with their veils. He smiled at Abū Bakr and said, "And what was it, Abū Bakr, that Ḥassān said?" Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then recited the lines,

"May I be deprived of my 'young daughters' (i.e. horses)
if you do not see them making the dust rise at both
sides of Kadā

As they race ahead, pulling at their reins, fully
saddled, as the women strike at them with their veils."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Add those verses to those spoken by Ḥassān!"¹⁰⁹

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father, from his grandmother Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Dhū Ṭawā, Abū Quḥāfa said to a daughter, one of his youngest children, 'Daughter, lead me up on Mt. Abū Qubays.' Asmā' commented that his sight was very weak."

She went on (quoting the daughter in question), "She said, 'I took him up there and he asked me, "Well, what do you see?" "I can see a black mass." "That must be horses," he said. I then said, "Now I see a man hurrying to and fro in front of that mass, going back and forth." "That", he said, "must be the *wāzi*" – meaning the man who goes out to and gives orders to the cavalry.

"I then said, "The black is now spreading out!" Abū Quḥāfa exclaimed, "The cavalry has been dispatched, then! Hurry me back home!" I led him down, but the cavalry met him before he reached home."

Asmā' went on, "The girl was wearing a silver necklace and a man confronted her and cut it off her neck. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca and went into the mosque, Abū Bakr came in, guiding his father. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he said, 'Why did you not leave the sheikh at home for me to attend him there?' Abū Bakr replied, 'Messenger of God, it is more fitting for him to come to you rather than you to him.'"

109. They differ from those lines said to have been spoken by Ḥassān on this occasion. See hereafter, p.420 lines 8–10.

The account went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then had Abū Quḥāfa sit down before him and rubbed his chest, saying, 'Accept Islam!' Abū Quḥāfa did so. Abū Bakr then guided him back home. Abū Quḥāfa's hair was as white as a *thaghāma* plant. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Change his hair (colour).'

"Abū Bakr then arose and, taking his sister's hand, he said, 'I invoke God and Islam; (who has) my sister's necklace?' No one replied. He then said, 'Forget your necklace; I swear by God, there's little trust in people today!'"

Abū Bakr meant that specific day, because the army was so numerous that almost no one concerned himself with anyone else, and there were people scattered everywhere. Perhaps the person who took it considered it spoils of war. God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū al-Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Baḥr b. Naṣr, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said that) Ibn Jurayj informed him, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb took Abū Quḥāfa by the hand and led him to the Prophet (ṢAAS). When he brought him before him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Change him (his hair colouring). But don't make him almost black.'"

Ibn Wahb stated that 'Umar b. Muḥammad related to him, from Zayd b. Aslam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) congratulated Abū Bakr on his father's acceptance of Islam.

Ibn Ishāq stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najih related to him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth the various parts of his army from Dhū Ṭawā he ordered al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām to enter with some of the men from Kadā'; al-Zubayr was in command of the left flank. He ordered Sa'd b. 'Ubāda to take some of the others in from Kudā.

He went on, "Some scholars claim that when Sa'd proceeded inside, he said, 'Today is the day of the great battle; today the sanctuary will lose its sanctity.'

"A man heard this (according to Ibn Hishām that man was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) and he asked, 'Messenger of God, do you hear what Sa'd b. 'Ubāda says? We can't be sure he won't assault Quraysh. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told 'Alī, 'Go after him and take away the banner from him; you enter with it.'"

Sources other than Muḥammad b. Ishāq recount that when Abū Sufyān complained to him about what Sa'd b. 'Ubāda had said when he passed him by. The words Sa'd had used were, "Abu Sufyān: today's the day of the great battle. The *ḥurma*, the sanctuary" – by which he meant the *ka'ba* – "will lose its sanctity."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, "No; this is a day on which the *ka'ba* will be glorified." He then ordered that the banner – that of the *anṣār* – be taken away from Sa'd b. 'Ubāda as a way to teach him a lesson. It is said that it was given over to his son, Qays. Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri, that he gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* b. 'Asākir stated in his biography of Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. Dīnār that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Sirri al-Anṭakī, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād and that it was also related to him by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the banner to Sa'd b. 'Ubāda who began waving it and saying, 'Today the sanctuary will lose its sanctity!' This angered Quraysh and they greatly resented it. The wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stood in his way and recited,

'O Prophet of the right guidance, the tribe of Quraysh
took refuge in you and it was too late.

When all the space of earth was too narrow for them
when the God of heaven became hostile towards them

The two ends of the strap met together and we were
brought to the famous disaster.

Sa'd wants to deliver a mortal blow to the people of
al-Ḥajūn and al-Baṭḥā'

A Khazrajī, he he would in his rage set vultures and
dogs upon us!

Stop him, for he is the black lion, and a lion
thirsts for blood.

If he were to involve the banner and were to call out,
"O defenders of the flag! People of the flag!"

Then Quraysh will be there in the valley bottom in the
hands of the female slaves.

He is living in the past, wanting (for Mecca) a
decision to strike it out, like a deaf serpent."

He went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard this poem feelings of mercy and compassion for them entered him and he asked for the banner, taking it from Sa'd b. 'Ubāda. It was then given to his son, Qays.

"It is related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wished not to disappoint her in something in which she requested his help. Yet he did not want to anger Sa'd, and so he took the banner from him and gave it to his son."

Ibn Ishāq stated that Ibn Abū Najīḥ recounted to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Khālīd b. al-Walīd to enter with some men from al-Layt, in the lower part of Mecca. Khālīd was in command of the right wing, which consisted of Aslam, Sulaym, Ghifār, Muzayna, Juhayna and other Arab tribes. Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ charged in with a column of Muslims upon the people of Mecca, straight ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who himself entered from Adhākhīr and halted at the upper part of the city where his tent was pitched.

Al-Bukhārī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, from Usāma b. Zayd who said that at the time of the conquest he had asked, "Messenger of God, where will you make camp tomorrow?" He

replied, "Has 'Aqil left any house for us?" He then added, "No believer shall inherit from an unbeliever, nor shall any unbeliever inherit from a believer."

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shu'ayb, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān who quoted Abū Hurayra as stating that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Tomorrow, if God wills it, and if God gives us victory, our camp will be at al-Khayf where they swore an oath of loyalty to disbelief."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm – meaning Ibn Sa'd – from al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Our camp tomorrow, if God wills it, will be at Khayf of Banū Kināna, where they swore an oath of loyalty to disbelief.'"

Al-Bukhārī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd in similar words.

Ibn Ishāq stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to him, that Ṣafwān b. Umayya, 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl and Suhayl b. 'Amr had gathered some men at al-Khandama to do battle. Ḥimās b. Qays b. Khālid, brother of Banū Bakr, had been sharpening a sword prior to the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). His wife asked him why and he replied that it was for use against Muḥammad and his men. She commented, "I swear by God, I don't think it will be of any use against them, Muḥammad and his men!" He replied, "Well, I swear by God, I hope to give you one of them as a servant!" He then spoke the verses,

"If they advance today, I'll have no excuse. This set
of weapons is complete
With sharp blades and easy to manipulate."

He then took part in the fighting at al-Khandama, along with Ṣafwān, 'Ikrima and Suhayl. There they were engaged by the Muslims accompanying Khālid. Kirz b. Jābir, Banū Muḥārib b. Fīhr and Ḥubaysh b. Khālid b. Rabī'a b. Asram, ally of Banū Munqidh, both of Khālid's troops, were killed. They had become separated from Khālid and taken a different route; they were killed together, Kirz prior to Ḥubaysh.

Both sources quoted by Ibn Ishāq went on to say that Salama b. al-Maylā' al-Juhannī, also of Khālid's cavalry, was killed there, while some 12 or 13 of the polytheists were killed. When they had lost the battle, Ḥimās left in defeat and went home. He told his wife, "Lock the door on me." She asked, "And what about all that you said?" He replied with the following verses:

"If you had witnessed the battle at al-Khandama when
Ṣafwān and 'Ikrima fled,
With Abū Yazīd erect like a widowed mother receiving condolences,
And the Muslims greeted them with their swords,
Cutting and striking arms and skulls with nothing but
their battle cries being heard,
While we emitted sobs and groans, then you would not
speak the slightest word of blame."

Ibn Hishām stated that these verses are alternatively attributed to al-Raʿash al-Hudhali.

Ibn Hishām also said that the battle cry of the *muhājirīn* at the conquest, at Ḥunayn and at al-Ṭāʾif was “O tribe of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān!” That of al-Khazraj was “O Banū ‘Abd Allāh” and that of al-Aws, “O Banū ‘Ubayd Allāh”.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that it was related to him by ‘Alī b. Saʿīd al-Rāzī, quoting Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī, quoting Shuʿayb b. Ṣafwān, from ‘Aṭā’ b. al-Sāʾib, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “God made this land sacrosanct the day He created the heavens and the earth. He forged it the day he forged the sun and the moon. That which stems from heaven is *ḥarām*, sacrosanct. It was not made *ḥalāl*, desanctified, for anyone before me (to do battle). It was only made *ḥalāl* for me for a brief period of the day, and it then reverted to its former state.”

(The account continues) “Someone told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that Khālīd b. al-Walīd was killing people. He then told a man to go to Khālīd and order him to stop the killing.

“(But) When the man reached him, he told him, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) says, ‘Kill those you are able to!’ He killed 70 people. This fact was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who sent Khālīd a message that asked, ‘Did I not forbid you killing?’ Khālīd replied, ‘So-and-so came to me and ordered me to kill those I was able to.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) again sent him a message asking, ‘Did I not give you an order?’ Khālīd responded, ‘You wanted one thing, but God wanted another! God’s order superseded yours; I could not do anything other than what I did.’ At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) remained silent and gave him no response.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had instructed his commanders to refrain from doing battle against any except those who fought them. He did, however, order that a group whom he named should be put to death, even if they were found hiding beneath the hangings of the *kaʿba*. Among these persons was ‘Abd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ, who had accepted Islam, written down the Revelations and then apostatized. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, having sentenced him to death, this ‘Abd Allāh fled to ‘Uthmān who was his foster-brother. When the latter brought him to ask that he be spared, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made no reply for a long time, but then said, ‘Yes.’

“When ‘Abd Allāh departed with ‘Uthmān, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented to those around him, ‘Is there no wise man among you who could have got up and killed him when you saw I was remaining silent?’ They replied, ‘But Messenger of God, could you not have given us some signal?’ He replied, ‘Prophets do not kill by making signals.’”

In a different account, the wording is, “It is not proper for a prophet to betray by eye signals.”

Ibn Hishām stated that thereafter he was a good Muslim and that 'Umar appointed him as a governor, and that 'Uthmān did the same thereafter.

I note that he died while prostrated in performing the morning prayer, or after having finished it in his house.

Ibn Ishāq stated (that the Prophet (ṢAAS)) also condemned to death 'Abd Allāh b. Khaṭal, a man of Banū Taym b. Ghālib.

I note that it is also said that this man was named 'Abd al-'Uzzā, "worshipper of al-'Uzzā", b. Khaṭal. It is likely that that had been his former name and that after he accepted Islam he was called 'Abd Allāh, "worshipper of God".

(Ibn Ishāq continued) "After this man had accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him out to collect charity contributions, in the company of one of the *anṣār*. With him also he took a freed-man he had. Later he became angry with the freed-man, killed him and apostatized and became a polytheist again. He had two female singers, Fartanā and a friend, who would sing songs mocking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims. This was why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condemned him and the two singers to death. He was killed while he clutched the hangings of the *ka'ba*. Abū Barza al-Aslamī and Sa'īd b. Hurayth al-Makhzūmī participated in executing him. One of his women singers was killed, while the other was granted clemency."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Also (he condemned) al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqaydh b. Wahb b. 'Abd Quṣayy. He had been one of those who had insulted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca. When al-'Abbās had mounted up Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm to conduct them to Medina to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the start of the Hijra, this al-Ḥuwayrith had goaded a camel on which they were mounted, and they had fallen to the ground. When he had been condemned to death, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib executed him.

"Also condemned was Miqyās b. Ṣubāba because he had murdered the man who had by accident killed his brother, and he did this after he had accepted the blood-wit. He later apostatized and became a polytheist. It was a man of his own tribe, named Numayla b. 'Abd Allāh, who executed him.

"Then there was Sāra (who was also executed), a freed-woman of Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and of 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl, because she used to insult the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was in Mecca."

I observe that it is narrated above that it was she who had carried the message from Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balta'a and seems to have been forgiven or to have escaped. Thereafter he condemned her to death. But God knows best.

She fled until she was granted immunity by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She lived on into the era of 'Umar, and died when trodden underfoot by a man on a horse. Al-Suhayli related that Fartanā also accepted Islam.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl fled to Yemen. His wife, Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, accepted Islam and sought immunity for him from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who granted that. She set off and located

ʿIkrima, brought him back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he accepted Islam.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammis al-Faqīh informed him, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Salmī, quoting Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal, quoting Asbāṭ b. Naṣr al-Ḥamdānī, who said, "Al-Suddī maintained, on the authority of Muṣʿab b. Saʿd, that the father of the latter said, 'On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave immunity to all except four men and two women, saying, "Execute them even if you find them clinging to the hangings of the *kaʿba*.'" These persons were ʿIkrima b. Abū Jahl, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭl, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba and ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭl was taken while he was clinging to the hangings of the *kaʿba*. Saʿd b. Ḥuwayrith and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir raced to reach him and Saʿd, the younger of the two men, beat ʿAmmār to him and killed him. Men overtook Miqyas in the market and killed him. ʿIkrima went to sea. A storm blew up and other people on the boat told one another, "Worship God sincerely, for your gods will do you no good here!" And so ʿIkrima said, "Well, I swear by God, if the only thing that succeeds at sea is sincere faith, the fact is that nothing but that succeeds on land too! O God, I make a pact with you that if you save me from my present plight, I will go to Muḥammad, place my hand in his and receive generous forgiveness." So he did go to him and accepted Islam.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ went into hiding in the home of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called on people to come forth and pledge allegiance, ʿUthmān brought ʿAbd Allāh before him and said, "Messenger of God, accept the allegiance of ʿAbd Allāh!" He raised his gaze towards him three times, all this expressing his refusal. Then, after the third time he did accept his allegiance. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) later went to his Companions and asked, "Was there not one wise man among you who could have gone up to this fellow and killed him when you saw me refraining from accepting his allegiance?" They replied, "How could we know what you wanted? Could you not have given us some eye signal?" He replied, "It is not fitting for a prophet to use secret eye signals!"

Abū Dāʿūd and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal in similar terms.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Bishr al-Kūfī, quoting al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd al-Malik, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) granted immunity to people on the day of the conquest of Mecca, except for four persons. These were ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Khaṭl, Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ, and Umm Sāra.

“‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Khaṭl was killed while he clung to the hangings of the *ka‘ba*. Someone warned ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. Abū Sarḥ that he would be killed on sight. He was the foster-brother of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, who brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to intercede on his behalf. When an *anṣārī* saw him, he girded his sword and went towards him, but found him in the circle around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He hesitated, reluctant to advance at him. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) spread forth his hand and accepted ‘Abd Allāh’s allegiance. Later he asked the *anṣārī*, ‘I was waiting for you to fulfil your pledge!’ He replied, ‘Messenger of God, I wanted to do it for you; could you not have given me some sign?’ He replied, ‘It is not fitting for a prophet to wink.’”

Al-Bayhaqī went on to relate the story of Miqyas b. Ṣubābā – how he had killed a Muslim after he himself had accepted Islam and then had later apostatized.

He went on, “Umm Sāra was a freed-woman of Quraysh who had gone to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and complained to him of her poverty. He had then given to her. But thereafter a man sent her off with a message for the Meccans.”

He went on to tell the story of Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balṭa’a.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq narrated from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm, that Hishām, the brother of Miqyas b. Ṣubābā, was killed at the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq by a Muslim who thought him to be a polytheist. Miqyas then came and made a pretence of accepting Islam to seek the blood-money for his brother. When he received it he attacked and murdered the man who had killed his brother and returned to Mecca as a polytheist. After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condemned him to death, he was killed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Ibn Ishāq and al-Bayhaqī quoted as follows the verses he composed when he murdered the man who killed his brother:

“It assuaged me that he was felled in the valley, his
clothing stained by the blood of his jugular.

My mind was troubled before I killed him; my worries
kept me from enjoying my bed.

Through him I avenged Fihṛ and charged his blood-wit to
the chiefs of Banū al-Najjār, the lords of Fārī‘
castle.

By killing him I eased my tension and got my revenge;
and I was first to return to the idols.”

It is said that the two female singers whom he condemned to death were employed by this Miqyas b. Ṣubābā; moreover, it was his cousin who executed him between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Some say that it was al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, may God be pleased with him, who executed Ibn Khaṭal.

Ibn Ishāq stated, Saʿīd b. Abū Hind related to me, from Abū Murra, the freed-man of ʿUqayl b. Abū Ṭālib, that Umm Hānī, the daughter of Abū Ṭālib, said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt in the heights of Mecca, two of my brothers-in-law of Banū Makhzūm fled to me."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The two men were al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra."

Ibn Ishāq went on to quote her as saying that while she was in the home of Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmī, "My brother ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib came in and said, 'I swear by God, I'll kill them both!' So I locked the door of my house on both men and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was in the heights of Mecca. I found him engaged in washing himself from a basin that had in it some traces of dough; his daughter Fāṭima was shielding him with his clothing. When he had finished washing, he wrapped his garment around himself and performed eight *rakaʿāt* of the *al-duḥā*¹¹⁰ prayer. He then came over to me and said, 'Welcome indeed to you, Umm Hānī! And what brings you now?' I told him about the two men and ʿAlī and he responded, 'We give protection to those you protect and immunity to those to whom you extend it. We will not execute them.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from the son of Abū Laylā, who said, "No one informed us of having seen the Prophet (ṢAAS) perform the *al-duḥā* prayer except Umm Hānī." She related that on the day of the conquest of Mecca, he washed himself in her house and then performed eight prayer prostrations. She said, "And I never saw him offer a lighter prayer than that, though he did perform the *rukūʿ*, the bowings, and the *sujūd*, the prostrations, completely."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Saʿīd b. Abū Hind, which states that Abū Murra, the freed-man of ʿAqīl, reported that Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, related to him that at the conquest of Mecca two men of Banū Makhzūm fled to her and that she gave them refuge. She said, "ʿAlī came in to me and told me, 'I'm going to kill them both!' Having heard this, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was in the heights of Mecca. When he saw me he welcomed me and asked why I had come. I replied, 'Messenger of God, I've been giving refuge to two of my brothers-in-law, but ʿAlī wants to kill them.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'We give protection to whomever you have protected, Umm Hānī.' He then set about washing himself, while Fāṭima screened him and when he had finished he wrapped himself in his garment and prayed eight superogatory *rakaʿāt* of the *duḥā* prayer."

In one account she is reported to have come in while he was washing and Fāṭima was screening him with his clothing. The account goes on, "He asked, 'Who is the woman?' 'It is Umm Hānī,' she replied. 'Welcome indeed to Umm Hānī!' he said. She told him, 'Messenger of God, my brother ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib is going to kill two men to whom I have given protection.' He responded, 'We

110. A superogatory prayer performed shortly after sunrise.

grant protection to whomever you protect, Umm Hānī?.' He then performed eight prostrations."

That was in the *ḍuḥā*, the early morning, and so many scholars have thought that this was the (actual) *al-ḍuḥā* prayer. Others refer to this as the *ṣalāt al-fath*, the "prayer at the conquest". And the assertion is made that he would affirm the *taslīm*,¹¹¹ after each two *raka'āt*.

This argues against the view of al-Suhaylī and others who maintain that the *ṣalāt al-fath* should consist of eight (prostrations) and one *taslīm*. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ performed eight prostrations, with one *taslīm* after each two, on the day of the conquest of al-Madā'in, in the palace of Chosroe. And all praise be to God.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to him, from Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Thawr, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Shayba, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Mecca and had reassured the people, he went to the *ka'ba* and circumambulated it seven times on his mount, saluting the *rukn*, the corner with the Black Stone, with a staff he carried in his hand.

When he had finished his circumambulations, he called for 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and took from him the key to the *ka'ba*. When it was opened for him, he went inside, where he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hand and threw it away. He then stood at the door to the *ka'ba*, the people having assembled for him in the mosque.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated, "He then performed two *raka'āt* and went to *zamzam* and looked down into it. He called for water, drank it and performed the ablutions, people hastening to collect the leftovers of the water he had used. The polytheists watched him with great interest, saying, 'We never saw or heard of any king being treated this way!' He pushed back the *al-maqām*¹¹² to where it is located today, whereas it was previously close to the *ka'ba*."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq went on, "A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the door of the *ka'ba* and said, 'There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. He has kept His promise, has helped His servant and has defeated the opposing parties alone. Every advantage of ancestry or money that might be claimed is herewith placed beneath these feet of mine, except for the guardianship of the *ka'ba* and the provision of water to the pilgrims. Compensation for those who are killed by mistake or incomplete intent by whip or cudgel shall be compensated following a binding oath of 100 camels, 40 of which shall be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has removed from you the false pride of the *jāhiliyya* period and the veneration of ancestry. All men stem from Adam, and Adam stemmed from dust.' He then recited the following verse

111. This is the final act in the ritual *ṣalāh*; thereafter the worshipper may resume his normal activities.

112. The *maqām Ibrāhīm*, "Abraham's station", a pillar upon which Abraham is said to have stood during the construction of the *ka'ba*. It remains to this day a special site of prayer.

(from the Qurʾān), 'O people, We created you from male and from female' (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLIX, v.13). He then said, 'O Quraysh, what do you think I am going to do with you?' They replied, 'Good! (You are) a noble brother, and the son of a noble brother.' He then said, 'You may go; you are free.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sat down in the mosque and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb went up to him, holding the key of the *kaʿba* in his hand. He said, 'O Messenger of God, join together for us the right of guardianship of the *kaʿba* with that of provision of the water for the pilgrims, may God bless you!' He responded, 'Where is 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa?' He was summoned for him and then he told 'Uthmān, 'Here is your key, 'Uthmān; this is a day of piety and good faith.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Jadʿān, from al-Qāsim b. Rabīʿa, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while standing on the steps of the *kaʿba* on the day of the conquest of Mecca, "Praise be to God who fulfilled His promise and helped His servant and has defeated the opposing parties alone. (Compensation) for those killed by quasi-intent by whip or cudgel shall be compensated by 100 camels."

"On another occasion he said, "by a binding oath promising payment of 40 pregnant camels. All privilege of ancestry and pride that existed in the *jāhiliyya* (are finished)." Another time, he said, "Both these factors are beneath these feet of mine; however, the right to provide water for the pilgrims and to have guardianship of the *kaʿba* will continue for those in charge of them, as before.'"

Abū Dāʿūd, al-Nasāʾi and Ibn Māja related this similarly from *aḥādīth* of 'Alī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān, from al-Qāsim b. Rabīʿa b. Jawshan al-Ghaṭafānī, from Ibn 'Umar.

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar related to him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the *kaʿba* the day of the conquest, he saw inside it representations of angels and others. He saw Abraham pictured holding divining arrows in his hand. He said, "May God kill them! They have depicted our elder using divining arrows; what would Abraham have to do with divining arrows? Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian. But he was a *ḥanīf*, and a Muslim; he was no polytheist." He then gave orders and all those images were obliterated.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "There were pictures inside the *kaʿba* and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to wipe them away. And so 'Umar moistened a piece of cloth and used it to erase them. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside nothing of them remained."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ṣadaqa b. al-Faḍl related to him, quoting Ibn 'Uyayna, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from Mujāhid, from Abū Maʿmar, from 'Abd Allāh – he being Ibn Masʿūd – who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of the conquest, around the *kaʿba* there were 360 idols. He set

about striking them with a stick he carried, saying, 'The truth has come and error has gone. The truth has come and error is powerless.'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Uyayna.

Al-Bayhaqī related, from Ibn Ishāq, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, from his father, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest, in the *ka'ba* there were 300 idols. He took a staff and set about striking the idols with it until he had hit them all."

He then related, through Suwayd b. Sa'īd from al-Qāsim b. 'Abd Allāh, from 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn 'Umar, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca he discovered there 360 idols. He gestured towards each one with a stick and said, 'The truth has come and error has gone; error is bound to disappear' (*sūrat Banū Isrā'īl*; XVII, v.81). And every idol towards which he pointed fell over, without him touching them with his stick."

He (al-Bayhaqī) then commented, "Even though this is a *ḍa'īf*, weak, tradition, it is substantiated by the one preceding it."

Ḥanbal b. Ishāq stated that he was informed by Abū al-Rabī', from Ya'qūb al-Qammī, quoting Ja'far b. Abū al-Mughīra, from Ibn Abzā, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Mecca, an old, grey-haired black woman appeared, clawing at her face and complaining loudly. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'That is Nā'ila,'¹¹³ she is despairing that she will ever again be worshipped in your country.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A narrator of traditions in whom I have trust narrated, on a line of authorities from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of the conquest on his mount and circumambulated the *ka'ba* on it. Around the *ka'ba* there were idols made with lead reinforcing. He began pointing at the idols with a stick he held, saying, "The truth has come, and error is gone. Error is bound to disappear." Every idol at whose face he gestured fell over on its back, while every one at whose back he pointed fell over on its face. Eventually every single one had fallen over. Tamīm b. Asad al-Khuzā'i therefore spoke the verse,

"There is a lesson and learning in the idols for those expecting reward or punishment.""

In the *ṣaḥīh* collection of Muslim, (there is a *ḥadīth*) from Shaybān b. Farrūkh, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from 'Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ, from Abū Hurayra, who said in his account of the conquest of Mecca, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forward and when he reached the (Black) Stone he saluted it and circumambulated the *ka'ba*. Arriving at an idol at the side of the *ka'ba* to which they had made worship, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grasped a bow he was carrying by its bent frame and began poking it in the eye, saying

113. The pre-Islamic goddess whose icon is said to have been positioned on Mt. Ṣafā.

'The truth has come and error has gone. The truth has come and error is bound to disappear.' When he had finished his circumambulation, he went out and climbed Mt. Şafā and, looking down at the *ka'ba*, raised up his hands, gave praise to God and spoke various prayers."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Işhāq b. Maṣṣūr related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Şamad, who quoted his father as quoting Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that when the Messenger of God (ŞAAS) reached Mecca, he refused to enter the *ka'ba* while it contained idols. He therefore ordered them to be removed. One picture showed Abraham and Ismā'īl holding divining arrows, and he said, 'May God kill them! They knew very well that they never used them to cast lots!'

"He then went inside the *ka'ba*, and said, *Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great! in various parts of it, then came out without saying prayers there."

Al-Bukhārī gave this *ḥadīth*, while Muslim did not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by 'Abd al-Şamad, quoting Hammām, quoting 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ŞAAS) went to the *ka'ba* in which there were six columns. He stood at each column and prayed, but he did not perform the *ṣalāh* prayers.

Muslim related this from Shaybān b. Farūkh, from Hammām b. Yaḥyā al-'Udhī, from 'Aṭā'.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Hārūn b. Ma'rūf who quoted Ibn Wahb as having been informed by 'Amr b. al-Hārith that Bukayr related to him, from Kurayb, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that when the Messenger of God (ŞAAS) entered the *ka'ba* he found a picture of Abraham and another one of Mary. He then said, "They are well aware that angels will not enter any building containing a picture; yet this is Abraham depicted! Why ever would he cast lots?"

Al-Bukhārī and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Wahb.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by 'Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ma'mar, who said that 'Uthmān al-Khazraji had related to him that he heard Miqsam relate that Ibn 'Abbās had said, "The Messenger of God (ŞAAS) went into the *ka'ba* and spoke prayers at its side and then went out and performed two *rak'as* of the *ṣalāh* prayers."

Aḥmad alone gives this.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ismā'īl related to us, quoting Layth, from Mujāhid, from Ibn 'Umar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ŞAAS) performed two *rak'as* of the *ṣalāh* prayers in the *ka'ba*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Layth said, quoting Yūnus, quoting Nāfi', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ŞAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest from its heights and that riding with him on his mount was Usāma b. Zayd. From al-Ḥajaba he was accompanied by 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa. He dismounted at the mosque and ordered that the key to the *ka'ba* be brought to him. He then went in with Usāma b. Zayd, Bilāl and 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and stayed there for a long time. Eventually he came out again and the people hurried there. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar was the first to go inside and he found

Bilāl standing behind the door. He asked him, 'Where was it that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed?' Bilāl pointed to the spot. 'Abd Allāh commented, 'I forgot to ask him how many prayer prostrations he had made.'"

Imām Aḥmad related from Hushaym, quoting various persons, including Ibn 'Awn, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in accompanied by al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās, Usāma b. Zayd, Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and Bilāl. He gave orders to Bilāl who shut the door upon them. He stayed inside for a period of time, and then he came outside."

Ibn 'Umar stated, "The first of them I met was Bilāl and I asked him, 'Where was it that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed?' 'It was over here', he replied, 'between the two columns.'"

I note that it is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and elsewhere that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed inside the *ka'ba* with its door behind his back, positioning himself with two columns on his right, one on his left and three to his rear. At that time the *ka'ba* had six columns. There was a distance of some three arms-lengths between himself and the western wall.

Ibn Hishām stated, "And a certain scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the *ka'ba* at the conquest of Mecca accompanied by Bilāl, whom he ordered to make the call to prayer. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, 'Attāb b. Usayd and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām were seated in the courtyard of the *ka'ba*. 'Attāb said, 'God honoured (my father) Usayd by not having him hear this; had he done so, it would have enraged him.' Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām commented, 'I swear by God, if I had known he was right, I would have followed him!' Abū Sufyān added, 'I'll say nothing. If I were to speak, these stones would report on me!'

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came outside and said, 'I know what you said,' and he then related their comments to them. Al-Ḥārith and 'Attāb declared, 'We testify that you are the Messenger of God! There was no one with us who overheard this for us to say he repeated it to you.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as having related from his father, who said, "A member of the family of Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he gave orders to Bilāl, who climbed on to the roof of the *ka'ba* and there made the call to prayer. One of the sons of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ said, 'God honoured Sa'īd by taking him away before he heard this black man on the roof of the *ka'ba*.'"

'Abd al-Razzāq stated, from Ma'mar, from Ayyūb that Ibn Abū Mulayka said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Bilāl who made the call to prayer on the day of the conquest of Mecca on top of the *ka'ba* and that one of the Quraysh men said to al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, 'Do you see where that black man has climbed?' He (al-Ḥārith) replied, 'Leave him alone; if God dislikes him, He will change him.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr and others quoted Hishām b. 'Urwa as quoting his father as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders to Bilāl on the day of the

conquest of Mecca, and that he made the call to prayer from atop the *ka'ba*, to anger the polytheists.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, from al-Wāqidi, from Muḥammad b. Ḥarb, from Ismā'il b. Abū Khālid, from Abū Ishāq, as saying that after the conquest of Mecca, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was sitting saying to himself, "What if I had gathered a force against Muḥammad!" While he was asking himself this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) slapped him between the shoulders and said, "Then God would have put you to shame!" Abū Sufyān then raised his head and, when he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing above him, said, "I was never sure before that you were indeed a prophet!"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, *ijāzatan*, with permission (for me to quote him), quoting Abū Ḥamid Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqri, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī, quoting Yūnus b. Abū Ishāq from Abū al-Safar, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When Abū Sufyān saw that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walked that the people would tread in his footsteps, he said to himself, 'What if I had fought this man again!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went up, struck him on the chest and said, 'Then God would have put you to shame!'"

"He (Abū Sufyān) said, 'I turn to God and seek His forgiveness for what I have spoken!'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through Ibn Khuzayma and others, from Abū Ḥamid b. al-Sharqī, from Abū Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhli, quoting Mūsā b. A'yan al-Juzarī, who quoted his father, who quoted Ishāq b. Rāshid as quoting Sa'd b. al-Musayyab as saying, "That night of the conquest of Mecca the people who entered kept on calling out *Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great! rejoicing and circumambulating the *ka'ba* until the next morning. Abū Sufyān asked Hind, 'Do you think this is from God?' She replied, 'Yes; this is from God.'

"Next morning Abū Sufyān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the latter told him, 'You said to Hind, "Do you think that this is from God?" "Yes", she replied, "this is from God."'"

"At this Abū Sufyān exclaimed, 'I testify that you are the servant and Messenger of God! By Him who is invoked in oaths, no one but Hind alone heard my saying this.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ishāq related to us, quoting Abū 'Āsim, from Ibn Jurayj who said that Ḥasan b. Muslim informed him, from Mujāhid, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'God made Mecca a sanctuary the day He created the heavens and the earth. It is a sanctuary by God's having made it so and will remain such until Judgement Day. (Conflict in it) was not made permissible for anyone before myself, nor for anyone after me; and this only for a short time. In it game may not be hunted, its trees may not be cut down, nor may its vegetation be uprooted. And items found in it belong to the finder only after announcement of the find.' Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib suggested, 'Except for

the *idhkhar*¹¹⁴ plant, Messenger of God, its use is essential in burials¹¹⁵ and inside homes.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was silent a moment, then agreed, 'Except for the *al-idhkhar*, harvesting it is allowed.'

A like or similar *ḥadīth* comes from Ibn Jurayj, quoting 'Abd al-Karīm – he being the son of Mālik al-Jazārī – from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, which gives Abū Hurayra as the narrator of the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth* with the line of transmission quoted above. This account is *mursal*, incomplete in its chain, as is that of the second line.

This and similar accounts are cited by those who maintain that Mecca was conquered by force of arms, along with their reference to engagements that occurred at al-Khandama, reported above. At that battle some 20 Muslims and polytheists were killed; that the evidence from it is clear is the position of most scholars.

It is well known that al-Shāfi' held that Mecca was taken peacefully, since it was not distributed as booty and because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated the night of its conquest, "Whoever enters the home of Abū Sufyān will be secure; whoever enters the sanctuary will be secure; whoever locks his own door will be safe."

The proper place for discussion of this issue, if God Almighty so wishes it, is with reference to the work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Sa'īd b. Shurahbīl, quoting al-Layth, from al-Maqbūrī, from Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzā'ī, who said that he asked 'Amr b. Sa'īd, who was about to dispatch groups of fighters into Mecca, "O *amīr*, 'Commander', please permit me to report a statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the day following the conquest of Mecca. My ears heard, my heart knew and my eyes saw him as he spoke it. He praised and thanked God, then said, 'It was God, not men who made Mecca a sanctuary. It is not lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood nor to cut down trees within it. And should anyone seek permission to fight therein because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought there, then tell him, "God gave permission to His messenger but gave none to you." And He only allowed this to me for a short period. Its sanctity has reverted today to what it was before. Let those here present inform of this those absent.'"

Abū Shurayḥ was then asked, "What did 'Amr reply to you?" Abū Shurayḥ responded, "He said, 'I know this better than you do. The sanctuary does not provide refuge to anyone who has sinned, nor to a murderer in flight, nor to anyone seeking to escape payment of the *jizya*¹¹⁶, the poll-tax.'"

114. The *schoenanthum* plant, an odoriferous rush.

115. Other texts of al-Bukhārī give the word *al-qaym*, "blacksmith"; rather than *al-dafn*, "burial", as here. The plant's use as an essential fuel seems implied.

116. An alternative reading of al-Bukhārī's text substitutes *al-kharba*, "having caused damages".

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Saʿd in similar words.

Ibn Ishāq related that during the *jāhiliyya* period a man called Ibn al-Athwaʿ killed a man of Khuzaʿa known as “Iḥmarra Baʿsan”, “he who turned red in rage”. On the day of the conquest of Mecca Banū Khuzaʿa killed Ibn al-Athwaʿ while he was in Mecca; the man who killed him was Khirāsh b. Umayya. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, “People of Khuzaʿa, kill no more; there has been too much killing, even if to some purpose. I will pay compensation for the man killed.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala al-Aslamī related to me, from Saʿid b. al-Musayyab, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned what Khirāsh b. Umayya had done, he said, ‘Khirāsh kills to excess!’”

Ibn Ishāq also stated that Saʿid b. Abū Saʿid al-Maqburī related to him, from Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzaʿī, who said, “When ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr advanced on Mecca to battle his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, I went to him and said, ‘We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Mecca was conquered. The day following the conquest Khuzaʿa attacked and killed a man of Hudhayl who was a polytheist. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rose to address us and said, “God made Mecca a sanctuary when He created the heavens and the earth. It will remain one of God’s sanctuaries until the day of Resurrection. It will not be lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood therein, nor to cut down a tree there. This was not made lawful for anyone who came before me, nor will it be lawful for anyone who comes after me. It was only made lawful for me for this short period because of (God’s) anger against its inhabitants. Now its sanctity has reverted to as it was previously. Let those of you present so inform those absent. Respond to anyone who tells you that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought in it by saying, ‘God made this lawful for His messenger, but He has not done so for you.’ O Khuzaʿa, cease killing; there has been too much, even if to some purpose. You have killed someone and for him I will pay compensation. If someone should be killed after my stay here, then his family has two options: to demand the blood of his killer, or to seek blood-money for him.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then paid compensation for the man Khuzaʿa had killed.’

“ʿAmr then said to Abū Shurayḥ, ‘Go away, sheikh! We know better than you about its sanctity. It does not protect anyone who sheds blood, retracts his allegiance or resists paying the *jizya* tax.’

“Abū Shurayḥ then said, ‘Well, I was present there and you were absent. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered those of us present to so inform those absent; and I have so informed you. Now do as you will.’”

Ibn Hishām said that he was told that the first person for whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) paid compensation at the conquest of Mecca was Junaydīb b. al-Akwaʿ. Banū Kaʿb had killed him. The compensation he paid for him was 100 camels.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā, from Ḥusayn, from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "When Mecca was conquered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Cease using weapons; except for Khuzā'a against Banū Bakr.' He gave them permission (to fight on) until the *al-ʿaṣr*, late afternoon, prayer. He then announced, 'Cease using your weapons!' A man of Khuzā'a encountered and killed another from Banū Kalb next day at al-Muzdalifa. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he arose and said, (the narrator added that he saw him and that he was resting his back on the *ka'ba*), 'The people God dislikes most are those who kill others in the sanctuary, those who kill those not fighting them, and those who kill for the blood-money of the *jāhiliyya* period.'"

He went on to relate the *ḥadīth* to its end.

This *ḥadīth* is completely unique.

The *al-sunan* scholars relate this *ḥadīth* in part.

His giving permission here to Khuzā'a to take revenge on Banū Bakr up to the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer of the day of the conquest is something I have seen only in this *ḥadīth*. If true, it seems that this is in special consideration for what they suffered at their hands on the night of their attack, known as *al-watir*. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad related, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd and Sufyān b. 'Uyayna and Yazīd b. 'Ubayd, all of whom quoted Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zā'ida, from 'Amr al-Sha'bi, from al-Hārith b. Mālik b. al-Barsā' al-Khuzā'i (who said), "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day of the conquest of Mecca, 'This (city) will never be conquered after today until the day of Resurrection.'"

Al-Tirmidhi related it from Bandār, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān. He said, "It is *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, 'good and authentic'."

I comment that if this statement is a proscription, then it is devoid of ambiguity. If it be a negation, then, as al-Bayhaqī said, "Its meaning is 'by those whose people are unbelievers'."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated, from a *ḥadīth* of Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zā'ida, from 'Āmir al-Sha'bi, from 'Abd Allāh b. Muṭi', from his father Muṭi' b. al-Aswad al-ʿAdawī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated on the day of the conquest of Mecca, 'After this day and on up to Resurrection Day, no man of Quraysh will ever be killed in captivity.'"

The objection to the first statement, above, could equally well be made against this too.¹¹⁷

Ibn Hishām stated that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca following its conquest and went up to al-Ṣafā to pray, the *anṣār* watched him and asked one another, "Do you think that since God has conquered for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) his own land and city that he will remain there?"

117. The author is attempting to explain the purport of the *ḥadīth* in light of the fact that several inter-communal conflicts between Muslim forces did indeed occur in apparent contradiction of the prophecy.

"When he had finished his prayer he asked them what they had been saying and they replied that it was nothing. He kept on at them until they told him. He then said, 'God forbid! I shall live where you live, die where you die!'"

This comment given by Ibn Hishām is substantiated by Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in his *ḥadīth* compendium. He stated that the following was related to him by Bahz and Ḥāshim, both quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit. Ḥāshim said, "Thābit b. Bunānī related to me, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ, who said, 'Delegations came in to see Mu'āwiya and I was among them, as was Abū Hurayra. This was in Ramaḍān. We prepared food for one another. Abū Hurayra would invite us very often. So I asked myself whether I should prepare some food and invite them to my tent. I ordered food to be prepared and met Abū Hurayra that evening. I said to him, 'Abū Hurayra, the invitation tonight is at my place.' 'So you're beating me to it then?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'I've invited some people who are there.'"

"Abū Hurayra said, 'Well, you *anṣār*, should I recount a *ḥadīth* of yours?' He went on to relate the conquest of Mecca. He said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, he entered Mecca. He dispatched al-Zubayr in command of one of the flanks and Khālīd in charge of the other. He sent Abū 'Ubayda over the bridge and they took the centre of the valley. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in his squadron. Quraysh had gathered their forces. They (the army commanders?) said, 'We'll send those ahead; and if they make progress, we'll be with them. If they are attacked, we'll give him whatever he asks.'"

"Abū Hurayra went on, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) then looked over and when he saw me, he said, 'Abū Hurayra!' I responded, 'At your service, Messenger of God!' 'Call up the *anṣār* for me; and I don't want any except *anṣār* to come to me.' So I called out to them and they came and formed a circle around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then asked them, 'Do you see the Quraysh forces and their supporters grouped together?' He then spoke using his hands, saying, 'Cut right through them to conduct me to al-Ṣafā.'"

"Abū Hurayra went on, "So off we went, each one of us refraining from killing any of them and they not interfering with us. Abū Sufyān commented, 'The green (banner) of Quraysh has been disgraced! There is no Quraysh after today!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then announced, 'Whoever locks his door will be secure; whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house will be secure.' And so people did lock their doors.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), then advanced to the (Black) Stone, saluted it and circumambulated the *ka'ba*. In his hand he carried a bow. He grasped it by its bent frame and arriving, on his way round, at an idol beside the *ka'ba* they used to worship, he struck it in the eyes, saying, 'The truth has come and error is gone. Error is completely gone!'

"He then climbed al-Ṣafā from where he could look down upon the *ka'ba*, and raised his hands, invoking God and praying to Him.

““Meanwhile, the *anṣār* were down below and were telling one another, ‘The man is seized by a desire to be in his village and he has a feeling of compassion for his tribe!’”

““Abū Hurayra went on, ‘Then revelation came to him. It was never hidden from us when this came, and no one would raise his gaze to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until it was at an end.’”

Ḥashim stated, “When the revelation was over, he raised his head and said, ‘O *anṣār*, did you just say, “The man is seized by a desire to be in his village and by compassion for his tribe?”’ They replied, ‘Yes, Messenger of God, we did say that.’ ‘What then should I be called? Absolutely not! I am God’s servant and His messenger. I migrated to God and to you. It is with you I shall live and with you I shall die.’

“Those present then went up to him, weeping and saying, ‘We only said what we did because of our passion for God and His messenger.’ He then said, ‘God and His messenger believe you and forgive you.’”

Muslim and al-Nasā’i relate this from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra. Al-Nasā’i added the name of Salām b. Miskīn.

Muslim also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, all three sources quoting Thābit, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ the *anṣārī*, who lived in al-Baṣra, from Abū Hurayra in similar words.

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar told him that Faḍāla b. ‘Umayr b. al-Mulawwah – al-Laythī, that is – wanted to kill the Prophet (ṢAAS) as he was circum-ambulating the *ka’ba* at the time of the conquest of Mecca. When the man approached him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, “‘Is that Faḍāla?’ ‘Yes, Faḍāla, Messenger of God,’ he replied. He next asked, ‘And what was it you were just telling yourself?’ He replied, ‘Nothing; I was repeating the name of God.’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) laughed and said, ‘Seek God’s forgiveness!’ and he placed his hand on Faḍāla’s chest and his heart became calm.

“Faḍāla used to say, ‘I swear by God, by the time he took his hand away from my chest, none of God’s creation was more beloved by me than him.’

“Faḍāla stated, ‘I went back to my family and went by to see a woman with whom I would talk. She asked, ‘Are you coming in to talk?’

“But Faḍāla declined and proceeded to speak the verses,

‘She said, “come on in and talk!” He replied, “No; God and Islam forbid you that.

Had you but seen Muḥammad and his advance at the Conquest, the day when the idols were smashed,

You would have seen God’s religion fully visible while the face of idolatry was covered in darkness.””

Ibn Ishāq stated that Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr related to him, from ‘Urwa, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, “Ṣafwān b. Umayya left to go to Jidda to take a boat from there to Yemen. ‘Umayr b. Wahb told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

'Prophet of God, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, his people's chief, has fled from you intending to cast himself into the sea. Do you give him immunity, may God bless you?' He replied, 'He is given immunity.'

"Umayr then asked him, 'Messenger of God, please give me some token by which he will know your immunity for him.' So he gave him the turban he had been wearing when he had entered Mecca.

"Umayr left with it and caught up with Ṣafwān as he was about to go to sea. He told him, 'Ṣafwān, may my father and mother be your ransom; if you plan to kill yourself, this is a guarantee of immunity from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that I have brought you.'

"Clear off! Don't talk to me!' Ṣafwān told him. Umayr insisted, 'But I swear, he is the most trustworthy, compassionate and best of all men and your cousin. His fame, honour and possessions are your own.' Ṣafwān replied, 'Yet I fear for myself.' Umayr argued, 'But he is too compassionate and noble for that.'

"Umayr did bring him back and when he stood before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Ṣafwān said, 'This man claims that you grant me immunity?' 'He spoke the truth,' he replied. 'Let me have two months to make my choice,' Ṣafwān asked. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You may have four months to decide.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on to relate from al-Zuhri that Fakhita, daughter of al-Walid, the wife of Ṣafwān, and Umm Ḥakim, daughter of al-Ḥarith b. Hishām, the wife of 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl, had followed 'Ikrima to Yemen and asked him to come back, and he did so and accepted Islam. When the two men (Ṣafwān and 'Ikrima) accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) affirmed the validity of their first marriages.

Ibn Ishāq quoted Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit as having said, "Ḥassān delivered against Ibn al-Ziba'ra while the latter was in Najrān the following single verse, adding to it no other,

'May you never be deprived of a man hatred for whom has
made you settle in Najrān where your life is solitary
and mean!'

"When this reached Ibn al-Ziba'ra, he came out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam. When he did so, he spoke the verses,

'O Messenger of *al-Malik*, the Sovereign Lord, my tongue
is now mending what I tore when I was unproductive,

When I followed Satan in the ways of error; and those
who turn along his course are deceived.

My flesh and bones believe in my Lord; and my heart is
witness that you are the one who warns.

I shall drive away from you there the clan of Lu'ayy;
all of them are deceived.'"

Ibn Ishāq also quoted Ibn al-Ziba'ra as reciting, when he accepted Islam,

"Worries and cares held back sleep from me and the night pitched above me was disturbed and impenetrable

When I had heard that Aḥmad had criticized me, I passed that night as though in fever.

O best man that ever a sure-footed, fast-paced camel bore upon its body,

I apologize to you for what I did; I have been wandering in error

During a time when Saḥm and Makhzūm ordered me to pursue false paths.

I gave aid to evil policies, led on by the orders of those in error, accursed men.

Today my heart believes in the Prophet Muḥammad and whoever mistakes this is deprived (of truth).

Enmity is over, its causes gone; the ties and understanding between us call out.

Forgive my mistakes – may my parents be your ransom – for you are forgiving and are yourself forgiven.

Upon you there is the sign of the knowledge of the Sovereign Lord, a strong light and a seal impressed

After friendship, He honoured you with His proof, and proof from God is powerful indeed.

I have testified that your religion is true, and that you will be mighty in the hereafter.

God testifies that Aḥmad is the one chosen, noble and pre-eminent among the righteous,

A prince, his high house being from Hāshim, the branch of a tree firm at its apex and in its roots."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars of poetry dispute attribution of these verses to this poet."

I note that 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ziba'ra al-Sahmī was one of the chief enemies of Islam, one of those poets who used their powers in satirizing the Muslims. God then allowed him to repent fully and to return to Islam, and to aid and defend it.

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishāq stated that the following lines of Ḥassān b. Thābit were among those delivered on the day of the conquest of Mecca:

"Traces of her campgrounds, now empty, at Dhāt al-Aṣābi' and al-Jiwā' and on to 'Adhrā'¹¹⁸ have vanished,

Homes of Banū al-Ḥashās now deserted and obliterated by wind and rain

118. Sites in Syria Ḥassān is said to have visited.

Always was the company pleasant there and in its
pastures were fine camels and sheep.

No more of that! But who can deal with a spectre that
keeps me awake when evening is past?

Sha'tha: when she appears before one, the heart knows
no consolation.

She is like a fine wine from Bayt al-Ra's¹¹⁹, one to be
mixed with honey and water;

Such drinks are fine to recall, the best of wines for
which to make sacrifice.

It we blame if we behave badly, getting into fights or
quarrels

When we drink it, it makes us feel like kings or lions
so that nothing can deter us from conflict.

May we be deprived of our horses if you do not see them
raising the dust, their objective Kadā.

They battle their reins, turning aside the thirsty
spears above their shoulders.

Our horses continue charging ahead, the women flapping
their veils at them.

Either you turn away from us and we perform the
pilgrimage, and then the conquest will occur and the
cover (over the *ka'ba*) be removed,

Or you should bear up against a battle in which God
will give victory to whomever he wishes.

Gabriel, the Messenger of God, is on our side, and the
Holy Spirit is without peer.

God said, 'I have sent a servant who speaks the truth –
if visitation can do good.

I swear by him; so stand, and acknowledge his truth.'
You replied, 'No; we'll not arise. We don't wish to.'

And so God said, 'I have sent my troops; they are the
ansār and their intent is to fight.'

Every day we receive from Ma'add insults, conflict or
mockery.

We will confuse with our rhymes those who mock us; and
we will strike when blood mixes with blood!

Give Abū Sufyān from me an important message – for now
is plain what had been hidden –

Consider our swords having left you a slave, and
household slaves have bondwomen rule them!

You satirized Muḥammad, and I answered for him; with
God will be your requital.

Is whoever of you satirizes the Messenger of God, the
equal of those who praise and aid him?

119. A place in Jordan.

You satirized someone blessed, a pious *ḥanif*, a companion of God, a man characterized by loyalty.

My father, his father and my honour, all protect against you the honour of Muḥammad.

My tongue is a faultless sword and my verse a water source no buckets could turn cloudy."

Ibn Hishām commented that Ḥassān spoke these verses before the conquest.

I note that what he said is well-directed and pointed towards what was to come after these verses; the Abū Sufyān referred to in the verse is Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

Ibn Hishām commented that he had heard that al-Zuhri had stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the women slapping the horses with their veils, he smiled at Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Ishāq stated that Anas b. Zunaym al-Dīlī spoke the following verses in apology to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for what 'Amr b. Sālim al-Khuẓā'ī had said about the Muslims; that was when he came asking assistance against them, as related above.

"Is it you at whose command Ma'add was led aright? No; God guides them and said to you, 'Testify!'

No camel ever carried on its saddle a man more pious and trustworthy than Muḥammad,

Anyone swifter to do good or more generous, a man who goes forth like a burnished Indian-steel sword.

Anyone more ready to present a fine, unused Yemeni robe, or to give away the winning horse.

You should know, O Messenger of God, that you will attain me, and that a threat from you is as already accomplished.

You should know, O Messenger of God, that you have power over every settlement, whether in the highlands or the lowlands.

You should know that the mounted men, the riders of 'Uwaymir, are liars who break every vow.

They informed the Messenger of God that I satirized him; if that be true, then my hand has never carried my whip!

All I said was, 'Woe upon the mothers of the young men struck down by ill-luck, not in fortunate, happy times.'

They were killed by those not their equal in blood-line; and my weeping and confusion were extreme.

And you were accused of spreading evil about 'Abd b. 'Abd Allāh and Mahwad's daughter.

Dhuwayb, Kulthūm and Salmā all followed one another (to death) and even if I do not weep, I do grieve,

And Salmā! There is no tribe like Salmā and his
 brothers. Are kings alike to slaves?
 I have committed no sin nor shed blood; be sure, you
 who know the truth, and take thought!"

Ibn Ishāq stated that Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā spoke the following verses on the conquest of Mecca:

"That morning Muzayna and Banū Khufāf drove the people
 of al-Ḥaballaq from every ravine.
 We struck them with our sharp swords at Mecca the day
 of the conquest of the good Prophet
 We came at them with 700 of Sulaym and a full
 1,000 of Banū ʿUthmān.
 We crushed their backs, striking and thrusting and
 pelted them with fine arrows
 Which you could hear making a crackling sound like
 arrowshafts breaking at their point fastenings.
 We charged, our steeds wheeling among them, the
 shafts of our lances straight ahead.
 We came back taking plunder as we wished, while they
 retreated regretting their conflict.
 We gave the Messenger of God our pledge and goodwill.
 They heard our speech and set about retreating from us
 on that morning of terror."

Ibn Hishām stated that ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī spoke the following verses at the conquest of Mecca:

"With us that day when Muḥammad conquered Mecca were
 1,000 men wearing insignia; the valleys
 streamed with them.
 They helped the Messenger and witnessed his signs;
 their emblems the day of the encounter were to the
 fore.
 In a constricted place where their feet set firm; it
 was as though (their enemies') heads were mere
 colocynths.
 Before this their hooves had raced over Najd, until
 jet-black Hijāz stretched out before them
 It was God who conquered it for him and the judgement
 of swords and vigorous toil subjugated it to us.
 A man used to leadership, his head held high, aspiring
 to the heights of dignity, a most generous man."

Ibn Hishām gave the explanation for the acceptance of Islam by ʿAbbās b. Mirdās. His father used to worship a stone idol called Dimār which he entrusted to

‘Abbās when his death was near. One day, while ‘Abbās was worshipping it, he heard a voice from inside it say,

“Tell all the tribes of Sulaym that Dimār has perished,
while the people of the mosque live on.

He of Quraysh who has inherited prophethood and right-guidance
after Mary’s son is a true guide.

Dimār has perished, though he was long worshipped, from
before the scripture up to the Prophet Muḥammad.”

At that ‘Abbās set Dimār afire, joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam. This story is given above in full in the section of the *Cries of the Spirits*¹²⁰ along with various similar tales. And to God belong all praise and credit.

*THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF KHĀLID
B. AL-WALĪD AGAINST BANŪ JADHĪMA, AFTER THE CONQUEST
OF MECCA.*

Ibn Ishāq stated that it was related to him by Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. ‘Abbād b. Ḥanīf, from Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, who said, “When Mecca was conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Khālīd b. al-Walīd as a missionary and not as a warrior. With him were Arab tribes, along with Sulaym b. Maṣṣūr and Mudlij b. Murra. When Banū Khudhayma b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Kināna saw them approach, they went for their weapons, but Khālīd told them, ‘Put down your arms; people have accepted Islam.’”

Ibn Ishāq continued that a companion of his, a scholar from Banū Jadhīma, told him, “When Khālīd asked us to put down our arms one of us, a man named Jaḥdam, said, ‘Take care, Banū Jadhīmā – it’s Khālīd! I swear by God, all there will be after laying down your arms will be captivity; and after that there will be execution! By God, I’ll never lay down my arms!’”

“He was seized by some of his people, who asked, ‘Jaḥdam, do you want to spill our blood? People have (all) accepted Islam now and warfare is over. People are safe now.’”

“They kept on at him until they had taken away his weapons. They disarmed him because of what Khālīd had said.”

Ibn Ishāq went on to report that Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm quoted Abū Ja‘far as saying further, “When they had put down their weapons, Khālīd ordered that they be bound and he then put a number of them to the sword. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he raised his hands to heaven and said, ‘O God, I declare to You my innocence of what Khālīd b. al-Walīd has done.’”

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar told him that one man from that tribe escaped and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and when the latter had

120. See Vol. I above, pp.258–9.

been told what had happened, He asked, "Did anyone argue with him?" The man replied that a man of pale complexion and medium stature had argued with him, but Khālīd rebuked him and shut him up. Another man, tall and excitable, had also argued with him and they disputed fiercely. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "The first man, Messenger of God, was my son 'Abd Allāh; the other was Sālim, the freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfa."

Ibn Ishāq went on to say that Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm further quoted Abū Ja'far as saying, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and told him, 'Alī, go out to those people and make enquiries. Put an end to the practices of the *jāhiliyya*.'

"Alī went out to them carrying money the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent with him. He paid them compensation for the deaths and for their material losses, even paying them for a dog's bowl! Having met all these obligations, he still had some money left. He asked them whether there was anyone else to be paid for lost blood or damages and they said not. He then gave them the remaining money on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in case any other demands that neither he nor they were aware of should be made later.

"Having done this, he returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and reported to him. 'You acted correctly and very well,' he told him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and, facing the *qibla* and stretching his arms out wide so that his armpits were visible, he said, 'O God, I declare to You that I am innocent of what Khālīd b. al-Walīd did.' He spoke these words three times."

Ibn Ishāq stated that some who wished to excuse Khālīd report him as having said, "I did not fight them until 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī told me to do so. He said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered you to combat them because of their having refrained from accepting Islam.'"

Ibn Hishām quoted Abū 'Amr al-Madīnī as saying that when Khālīd reached them, they had said, "*ṣaba'nā! ṣaba'nā!* We have changed religion!"

These traditions are defective in their lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Khālīd b. al-Walīd to Banū – I think he said this – Jadhīma, and he invited them to enter Islam. But they did not respond properly by saying *aslamnā*, 'we accept Islam', but instead began saying '*ṣab'nā! ṣaba'nā!*' Khālīd then took some prisoner and killed others. He gave to each of our men a prisoner and next morning Khālīd ordered that each man of us should kill his prisoner."

Ibn 'Umar went on, "I said, 'I swear by God, I'll not kill my prisoner! Nor will any of my men kill theirs either!'"

The account continues that they then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him what Khālīd had done. He responded by raising his hands and saying, "O God, I declare to You that I am innocent of what Khālīd has done!" He said this twice.

Al-Bukhārī and al-Nasā'ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Razzāq in similar terms.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Jaḥdam said to them, when he saw what Khālīd was doing, 'O Banū Jadhīma, the die is cast and lost; I warned you of what had happened to you.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "I have heard that there were angry words between Khālīd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf about this. 'Abd al-Raḥmān told him, 'You have behaved in Islam as though in the *jāhiliyya*!' 'But I only took revenge for your father,' Khālīd replied. 'Abd al-Raḥmān responded, 'You lie! I have already killed my father's murderer. It's your uncle, al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra, whom you have avenged!' Ill feeling arose between them over this.

"When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, 'Take it easy, Khālīd! And leave my Companions alone! I swear, that if you had a mountain like Uḥud of gold and then spent it in God's cause, you'd not attain a morning and evening's worth of what my Companions have done!'"

Ibn Ishāq then went on to relate the story of al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm, the uncle of Khālīd b. al-Walīd. He had left on a business trip to Yemen in the company of 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith b. Zahra, this man's son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, along with 'Affān b. Abū al-Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams and his son 'Uthmān. When they returned they brought with them some possessions of a man of Banu Jadhīma who had died in Yemen. They brought these effects to his heirs. One of their men, a man named Khālīd b. Hishām, claimed them and met them on Banū Jadhīma territory, asking for the dead man's possessions before they reached the family of the latter. When they refused to hand them over he attacked them and in the fighting 'Awf and Fākih were killed and their goods were seized. 'Abd al-Raḥmān killed the man, Khālīd b. Hishām, who had slain his father, while 'Affān and his son 'Uthmān fled to Mecca. Quraysh were about to attack Banū Jadhīma when the latter sent apology to them insisting that the attack had not been their fault. They returned the two dead men and their property and so warfare was averted.

This, then, is why Khālīd told 'Abd al-Raḥmān that he had avenged his father by killing Banū Jadhīma and why 'Abd al-Raḥmān responded by saying that he had killed his father's murderer. And so he went on to charge that Khālīd was merely avenging his uncle al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra when they killed him and took his possessions.

What was really thought by both men was that he, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had not intended any of this and that the charge had only arisen due to their conflict. Khālīd had only sought to render Islam and its side victorious, even though he was in error in thinking that they had been demeaning Islam by saying, *saba'nā! saba'nā!* He did not realize that they had accepted Islam, and so he killed a large number of them and took the rest captive. Most of the captives were killed as well. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not take his command away but left

him in charge. He did, however, declare his own innocence of what Khālīd had done and paid compensation for the loss of life and property.

In this there is substantiation of a statement made by scholars that the mistake of the Imām rests with his treasury, not with his own funds! But God knows best.

This is why the Caliph Abū Bakr did not dismiss him when he killed Mālīk b. Nuwayra during the *ridda* wars, first executing him, then choosing for himself Mālīk's wife Umm Tamīm. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then advised, "Dismiss him; there's a fault in his sword!" Abū Bakr replied, "I'll not sheathe a sword that God drew against the polytheists."

Ibn Ishāq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him, from al-Zuhri, from Ibn Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslamī, who said, "That day I was with the cavalry of Khālīd b. al-Walīd and a young man of Banū Jadhīma, of about my own age, whose hands had been tied up to his neck with a rope, spoke to me. The women were all gathered together a little way off. He asked me, 'Take me by the rope and lead me over to where the women are so that I can say something, and then bring me back and you can do with me whatever you will.'

"I replied that what he had asked was easily granted and took his rope and led him over to stand near them. He then said, 'Ḥubaysh, accept that life is at an end.' He then spoke the following verses,

'Don't you agree that when I sought and found you at
Ḥilya or came to you at al-Khawāniq

Was it not right to reward a lover who had travelled
hard through long nights and hot days?

There was no blame in my saying, when our peoples were
together,

"Grant me love, before some tragedy occurs."

"Grant me love before distance intervenes and the chief
leads my lover away."

I never betrayed our secret pact and, after meeting
you, was never attracted by another.

And even when distracted from love by tribal matters,
my passion persisted.'

"She replied, 'May you live on for ten, or nine odd numbered years and then eight more in succession!'

"I then led him back and he was beheaded."

Ibn Ishāq went on to relate, quoting Abū Firās b. Abū Sanbala al-Aslamī who quoted some of their sheikhs, from others who were present there, to the effect that the girl, Ḥubaysh, went over to him when he was beheaded and bent down over, kissing him until she herself died right there with him!

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related, through al-Ḥumaydī, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq, who said that he heard a man of Muzayna named Ibn ʿIṣām quote his father as having said, "The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) would say when he sent out a military expedition, 'If you see a mosque or hear a call to prayer, do not kill anyone.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did send us out on one such mission and so ordered us. We headed towards Tihāma and caught up with a man leading some *howdahs*, camel-borne litters. We told him, 'Accept Islam!' He replied, 'What is Islam?' We explained, but he would not recognize it. He then asked what we would do if he declined. We told him we would kill him. He then asked if we would wait while he went over to the *howdahs*. We agreed to take him over there. When he reached there, he called out, '*Islami!* Accept Islam, Ḥubaysh! before life comes to an end.' She replied, '*Islam!* "be safe", for ten and nine odd-numbered years and then eight more in succession.'

"The man then spoke the verses (given above) as far as 'and the chief leads my lover away' and came back to us, saying, 'Do as you wish.' So we led him off and beheaded him. The woman then hurried down from her *howdah*, threw herself down upon him and died."

Al-Bayhaqī proceeded to relate, through Abū Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī, who quoted Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Harb al-Marwazī, quoting 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from his father, from Yazid al-Naḥwī, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth an expedition that captured booty, along with a man. He told the raiders that he did not belong there and was in love with a woman he had been pursuing. He asked to see her one more time, and that then they could do with him whatever they wished. A tall woman of dark complexion was there and he said to her, "Accept, Ḥubaysh, before life comes to an end." He then spoke two verses. She responded, "Yes, I would sacrifice myself for you!"

The narration continued "When they led him away and beheaded him, she came and threw herself upon him, sighed deeply once or twice and died.

"When they arrived back and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he exclaimed, 'Was there not one man of mercy among you?'"

THE DISPATCH OF KHĀLID B. AL-WALID TO DESTROY AL-'UZZĀ.

Ibn Jarīr stated that its destruction occurred five days before the end of Ramaḍān that year.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then dispatched Khālid b. al-Walid to al-'Uzzā. There was a building at a palm-grove that Quraysh, Kināna and Muḍar revered. Its custodians and guardians were of Banū Shaybān, of Banū Sulaym, allies of Banū Hāshim. When the Sulamī who was its guardian heard that Khālid was coming, he hung his sword upon the Goddess and hurried away up the mountain where she stood, saying,

'O 'Azz, make an all-out attack on Khālid; throw aside
your veil and roll up your sleeves!

O 'Azz, if you don't kill that man, Khālīd, then you will meet swift punishment or convert to Islam!

"When Khālīd reached there he destroyed it, then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Wāqidi and others related that when he arrived there, it was five days prior to the end of Ramaḍān. Having smashed it, he returned and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, "And what was it you saw?" "I saw nothing," he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent him back and when he arrived there he saw a black female emerge from the temple, her hair dishevelled and wailing. He then put her to the sword and spoke the verse,

'O 'Uzza, and such is for disbelief, and not glorifying God; I see that God has indeed disgraced you.'

He then went on to lay waste to that temple in which she had been. He also confiscated the valuables inside it, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. He then returned and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "That was al-'Uzzā; she'll not be worshipped again."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that the jurist Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Ja'far, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Alī, quoting Abū Kurayb, from Ibn Fuḍayl, from al-Walī b. Jamī', from Abū al-Tufayl, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Mecca, he sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd out to al-Nakhla, where al-'Uzzā was. It consisted of a shrine positioned above three acacia trees. He cut down the trees and destroyed the shrine and returned and reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he told him, "Go back; you have done nothing."

Khālīd did so and when the temple guardians saw him they hurried off up into the mountain, saying,

"O 'Uzzā, cut him down! O 'Uzzā, disgrace him! If you don't, you'll have to die!"

When Khālīd reached there he found a naked female with dishevelled hair piling dirt over her head and face. He put her to the sword and killed her, then returned and reported to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who commented, "Yes, that was al-'Uzzā."

Chapter: On the period spent by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca.

There is no dispute over his having remained for the rest of Ramaḍān, shortening the prayers and breaking the fast. This is used by some scholars to substantiate their view that travellers who do not resolve upon remaining may shorten the prayers and fast for 18 days, according to one view. According to the other, it is determined by the place where he is.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Qabīṣa, quoting Sufyān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Ishāq, from Anas b. Mālīk, who

said, "We stayed 10 days with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), shortening the prayers."

The other scholars related this from numerous lines, from Yahyā b. Abū Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī al-Baṣrī, from Anas, in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related to him by 'Abdān, quoting 'Abd Allāh, quoting 'Āṣim, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there for 19 days, performing prayers consisting of two *rak'as*."

Al-Bukhārī related it also from another line. Al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥuṣayn gave longer versions of both. Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja (related it) from a *ḥadīth* of 'Āṣim b. Sulaymān al-Aḥwal, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās.

In the text of Abū Dā'ūd the period of the stay was 17 days.

Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. Shihāb, from 'Āṣim, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "We stayed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while travelling for 19 days, shortening the prayers."

Ibn 'Abbās stated, "We therefore shorten the prayer if we stop over for less than 19 days. If our stay is longer, however, we complete the prayer normally."

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Ibn 'Aliyya, quoting 'Alī b. Zayd, from Abū Naḍra, from 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn as follows, "I went on military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and was present with him at the conquest. He remained (there) for 18 nights performing prayers consisting of only two *rak'as*, saying, 'You residents, pray four *rak'as*; we are travellers.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of 'Alī b. Zayd b. Jad'an and he said, "This is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan*, 'good'."

Abū Dā'ūd then related from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there 15 nights performing shortened prayers. He then said, 'More than one authority quoted this from Ibn Ishāq without reference to Ibn 'Abbās.'"

Ibn Idris stated, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥuṣayn, and 'Āṣim b. 'Amr b. Qatāda, and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, and 'Amr b. Shu'ayb and others, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained at Mecca for 15 nights."

Chapter: On the regulations issued by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Mecca.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) (the following *ḥadīth*). And al-Layth stated that Yūnus related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, quoting 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr who quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, "Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ promised his brother Sa'd that he would gain custody of the son of Zam'a's slave girl. Utba had said that the boy was his own son. When the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca during its conquest, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ took the boy to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and 'Abd b. Zam'a went with him.

"Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ stated, 'This is the son of my brother; he has sworn to me that he is his son.' 'Abd b. Zam'a said, 'Messenger of God, this is my brother; he is Zam'a's son and was born on his bed.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked at the son of Zam'a's slave girl and found him to be very like 'Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ. He then said, 'He is your brother, 'Abd b. Zam'a, because he was born on his (your father's) bed.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said (to his wife), 'And you shall put on your veil before him, Sawda!'¹²¹ This was because of the resemblance he saw in him to 'Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ."

Ibn Shihāb went on to quote 'Ā'isha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'A child relates to a bed; for a fornicator there is a stone.'"¹²²

Ibn Shihāb stated, "Abū Hurayra used to affirm this *ḥadīth* in public."

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī, from Qutayba, from al-Layth. Ibn Mājah (also) gave it from his *ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Urwa b. al-Zubayr informed me that while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was active on the conquest of Mecca, a woman committed theft and her family asked Usāma b. Zayd to intercede (and seek clemency) for her. When Usāma brought the matter up with him, the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) changed colour and he demanded, 'Are you talking to me about a punishment legally prescribed by God?' Usāma replied, 'Please seek God's forgiveness for me, Messenger of God!'

"That evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to make an address. He gave praise to God and went on to say, 'Now then, peoples before you were ruined because if one of them of noble birth were to steal, he would be excused, whereas if a person without power were to do so the penalties of the law would be applied against him. By Him in whose hand rests the soul of Muḥammad, if Fāṭima, the daughter of Muḥammad were to steal, I would cut off her hand!'

"He then ordered that the hand of the woman be amputated. Thereafter she was truly repentant and married."

'Ā'isha said, "After that she would sometimes come and visit and I would pass on requests from her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another section (of his work) and Muslim did so from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha.

121. Sawda was the daughter of Zam'a. Since it was obvious from the boy's appearance that he was not Zam'a's son, Sawda was not his relative and therefore should not appear before him unveiled.

122. That is, a child is to be identified with the parents with whom he is. Stoning to death is the penalty in Islam for fornication.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim there is a *ḥadīth* of Sabra b. Ma'bad al-Juhani which says, "At the time of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told us to engage in *al-mut'a*, temporary marriage, when he entered (the town) but by the time he left it he forbade it (the practice)."

In one account the Prophet (SAAS) is quoted as saying, "It is certainly *ḥarām*, forbidden; it is *ḥarām* from this day and on to the day of resurrection."

In an account in the *ḥadīth* collection of Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), the *musnad*, as well as in the *sunan*, it is stated that this (the prohibition of *mut'a* marriages) came at the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, the "farewell pilgrimage". But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated, on a line of transmission from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, from 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, from Abū al-'Umays, from Iyyās b. Salama b. Salama b. al-Akwa', from his father, who said, "In the year of *amṭās*, the Messenger of God (SAAS) condoned temporary marriage with women of three nights duration, but he then forbade it."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The 'year of *amṭās*' means the year of the conquest." This and the *ḥadīth* of Sabra are identical.

I note that those who establish its prohibition in the expedition against Khaybar say that it was twice made permissible and twice prohibited. Al-Shāfi'ī and others give texts to this effect.

The practice is also said to have been both declared permissible and prohibited on more than two occasions. But God knows best. It is also said to have been prohibited only once, on this occasion under discussion, at the conquest of Mecca.

It is also said to have been declared permissible only in case of *al-ḍarūra*, "necessity"; on the basis of this, if necessity exists, it, *al-mut'a*, is made permissible. This view is attributed to Imām Aḥmad.

It is also said that the practice was not absolutely forbidden, but should be considered *'alā al-ibāḥa*, "permissible". This is well-known as the position of Ibn 'Abbās and his companions, as well as that of a group of the Companions (of the Messenger of God (SAAS)). Discussion of this occurs in the work *al-Aḥkām*.

DIVISION.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Khuthaym, (who said) that Muḥammad b. al-Aswad b. Khalaf related to him that his father, al-Aswad, saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) accepting pledges of allegiance on the day of the conquest. He said, 'He was seated with Mt. al-Qarn facing him and was accepting the people for their Islam and their *shahāda*.' I asked, 'What is meant by *shahāda*?' He replied, 'Muḥammad b. al-Aswad b. Khalaf related that he received their pledge of allegiance (on their expression of) faith in God and their testimony that "there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger."'"

Aḥmad was alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “People high and low came to him, men and women both, and he accepted their (affirmation of) Islam and their (recitation of the) *shahāda*.”

Ibn Jarīr stated, “People then assembled in Mecca to pledge allegiance in Islam to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was seated before them, so I have been told, on Mt. al-Ṣafā, with ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb below where he sat. He accepted (their statements) of total obedience to the best of their ability to God and to His messenger.

“When he had finished receiving the pledges of the men, he accepted those of the women. Among them was Hind, daughter of ‘Utba, fully veiled and apologetic in her speech for what she had done to Ḥamza. She feared that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would punish her for that. When the women came up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for him to accept their allegiance, he told them ‘Pledge to me that you will not associate anything else with God.’ Hind commented, ‘Well, I swear, you’re making demands of us different from those applied to the men!’

“He went on, ‘And do not steal!’ She responded, ‘I swear by God, I did occasionally steal a little money from Abū Sufyān; I really didn’t know whether that was permissible for us or not.’ Abū Sufyān, who was a witness to what she was saying, said, ‘You are absolved for whatever you took in the past.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, ‘You must be Hind, daughter of ‘Utba?’ ‘Yes, I am,’ she replied. ‘Please forgive what is now past, may God forgive you.’

“‘And you women must swear not to commit adultery,’ the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on.

“‘Does a free woman¹²³ commit adultery?’ Hind asked.

“‘And do not kill your children,’ he continued. She responded, ‘Should we raise them from birth, then kill them when grown? You and they know best about this!’¹²⁴ At this ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb laughed uncontrollably.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘And you shall not make up slanderous and disgraceful stories.’ ‘Well’, Hind replied, ‘inventing slander is certainly ugly; a little exaggeration is better!’

“‘And you must not disobey me,’ he went on. Hind responded, ‘To do good!’¹²⁵

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to ‘Umar, ‘Accept their pledge. And may God forgive them. For God is forgiving, merciful.’”

123. That is, a woman who is not a slave – i.e. “does a woman of good birth (or high standing)”.

124. According to al-Ṭabari’s account, Hind responded to this question by saying, “I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them!” (Quoted in Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.553.)

125. This exchange appears in different form in al-Ṭabari’s account. According to it, the exchange was as follows, “You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good.” She said, “We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders!” Quoted in Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.553.

ʿUmar then accepted their pledges, for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never shook hands with women. Indeed, the only women he ever touched were those God had made lawful for him, or who were *maḥram*¹²⁶ for him.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from ʿĀ'isha, may God be pleased with her, that she said, "No, I swear, the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never touched the hand of any woman." In one account the wording is, "And he only ever accepted allegiance verbally from them." And he would say, "Whatever I say to one woman, is just what I would say to 100 women."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is reported from ʿĀ'isha that Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a stingy man. He does not give me enough to cover expenses for myself and for my children. Would it be wrong for me to take some of his money without his knowledge?" He replied, "You may fairly take from his funds enough for yourself and your children."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀ'isha, that Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, said, "Messenger of God, there used to be nothing hidden on the face of the earth that I wanted more than that your supporters be humiliated. But now there's nothing hidden in the back of the earth that I want more than that your supporters be successful." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "And what else, by Him who holds Muḥammad's soul in His hand?" She said, "Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a stingy man. Would it be wrong for me to provide food from what he owns?" "No, but do so *bil-ma'rūf*, 'fairly'."

Al-Bukhārī related this from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr in similar terms. Material relating to the acceptance of Islam by Abū Sufyān is given above.

Abū Dāʿūd stated that ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, '(Now) there is no *hijra*, but there is *jihād*, "striving for God's cause", and *niyya*, "intentions". If you are fought, then fight back.'"

Al-Bukhārī related it from ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, and Muslim did so from Yayḥā b. Yaḥyā, from Jarīr.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān, quoting Wāḥb, quoting Ibn Ṭāwūs, from his father, from Ṣafwān b. Umayya, who said that he was told, "that only those who migrated will enter paradise". So I (the father of Ṭāwūs?) said, "I'll not go home until I ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what it was he was asked. So I went to him, told him of this and he responded, 'There is no *hijra* after the conquest of Mecca. However, there is *jihād* and *niyya*; and if you are fought, then fight back.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

126. That is, in a degree of consanguinity to him that precluded marriage.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting al-Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting ‘Āṣim, from Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī, from Mujāshi‘ b. Mas‘ūd, who said, ‘I went with Abū Ma‘bad to the Prophet (ṢAAS) so that he could make a pledge to him to make the *hijra*. He replied, “The *hijra* is over,¹²⁷ (reserved) for those who did it. I accept his pledge of allegiance to Islam and for the *jihād*.””

“I met Abū Ma‘bad and asked him (about this) and he replied, ‘Mujāshi‘ spoke the truth.””

Khālīd stated, from Abū ‘Uthmān, from Mujāshi‘, that he brought his brother Mujaḥid with him.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Amr b. Khālīd related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting ‘Āṣim, from Abū ‘Uthmān, who said, “Mujāshi‘ related to me as follows, ‘After the conquest of Mecca, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with my brother and said, “Messenger of God, I’ve brought you my brother for you to accept his pledge for the *hijra*.” He replied, “Those (credited with) performing the *hijra*, with all its rewards, have gone.” “For what will you accept his pledge, then?” I asked. “I will accept his pledge of allegiance to Islam, to faith and to the *jihād*.””

“I later met with Abū Ma‘bad, who was the elder of them, and asked him (about it). He replied, “Mujāshi‘ spoke the truth.””

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shu‘ba, from Abū Bishr, from Mujāhid, who said, “I said to Ibn ‘Umar, ‘I want to migrate to Syria.’ He replied, ‘There is no *hijra*; however, do go and present yourself. You’ll either find something or just return.””

Abū al-Naḍr stated that Shu‘ba related to him, quoting Abū Bishr who said that he heard Mujāhid say, “I asked Ibn ‘Umar and he said, ‘There’s no *hijra* now’ – or ‘after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’” The rest of the *ḥadith* is as above.

Ishāq b. Yazīd related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Ḥamza, quoting Abū ‘Amr al-Awzā‘ī, from ‘Abda b. Abū Lubāba, from Mujāhid b. Jubayr, that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar said, “There is no *hijra* after the conquest.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ishāq b. Yazīd related to him, quoting Yahyā b. Ḥamza, quoting al-Awzā‘ī, from ‘Aṭā’ b. Abū Rabāh, who said, “I visited ‘Ā’isha with ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr who asked her about the *hijra*. She replied, ‘There is no *hijra* now. The believers used to flee, each one singly with his religion, to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and to His messenger, fearing his faith might be subverted. Now God has rendered Islam victorious and the believer worships God wherever he wishes. However, there is *jihād* and *nīyya*.’”

These accounts and anecdotes show that the *hijra*, whether already completed or in general, came to an end after the conquest of Mecca. This was because people

127. This implies that following the conquest of Mecca migration to join Islam was no longer valid. Previously participation in the *hijra* had been an action for which there would be reward.

had entered into God's religion in large numbers and Islam had become victorious and firmly based; and so there was no *hijra* any more.

This is so unless there might be some circumstances arising that necessitate *hijra*, due to the close presence of warfare and a lack of power to make the faith prevail over them; this would then necessitate *hijra* into the domain of Islam. This is a matter about which there is no dispute among scholars.

However, such a *hijra* would not be similar to that of prior to the conquest. Moreover, both *jihād* and *infāq*, "sacrifice", for God's cause are appropriate and desirable right up to Judgement Day, though not like that *jihād* and *infāq* that pertained to the conquest, that is the conquest of Mecca.

God, Almighty is He, stated, "Those of you who made sacrifices and fought prior to the conquest are not equivalent; those are higher in rank than those who made sacrifices and fought thereafter. But for both God has promised reward" (*sūrat al-Ḥadīd*; LVII, v.10).

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja'far, quoting Shu'ba, from 'Amr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭā'ī, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, "When the verse, 'when God's victory and the conquest came' (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1) was revealed, the Messenger of God (SAAS) recited it to its end and then he said, 'The people are good and I and my Companions are good.' He then said, 'There is no *hijra* after the conquest, but there is *jihād* and *niyya*.'

"Marwān said to him (Abū Sa'īd), 'You have lied! With him there were Rāfi' b. Khadij and Zayd b. Thābit, seated with him on the bed.' Abū Sa'īd responded, 'If these two wanted, they would tell you it was so. But this one is afraid that you will withdraw his prestige with his people, while this other one is afraid you will withdraw the stipend he receives!'

"At this Marwān raised his whip to strike him and when the two men saw this, they said, 'He spoke the truth!'"

Aḥmad is alone in relating this.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Mūsā b. Ismā'īl, quoting Abū 'Awāna, from Abū Bishr, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Umar would take me in with the sheikhs who had been at Badr. One of them seemed annoyed and said, 'Why do you let him come in with us, when we have sons like him?' Umar replied, 'But you know who he is.' One day Umar invited them and I went in with them; I did not realize that he had only included me to show them something. Umar asked, 'What do you have to say about the statement of God, Almighty and Glorious, 'When God's victory and the conquest come?'" One of the sheikhs replied, 'We are ordered to praise God and to seek His forgiveness if we are aided and given victory.' Others of them were silent, saying nothing. Umar asked, 'Is that what you say, Ibn 'Abbās?' 'No,' I replied. 'Well, what do you say?' he asked. I replied, 'This refers to the approach of death for the Messenger of God (SAAS), of which God was informing him. (The phrase)

'When God's victory and the conquest come' was a sign of your (the Prophet's) death. And so, 'give praise to your Lord and ask his forgiveness. He is ever willing to forgive'. At that 'Umar said (to the sheikhs) 'I do not know anything about it other than what he knows.'"

Al-Bukhārī was alone in recounting this.

This is related similarly on more than one line of transmission from Ibn 'Abbās, all to the effect that he interpreted this verse as a reference to the approaching death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Mujāhid, Abū al-ʿĀliyya al-Ḍaḥḥāk and others, including Ibn 'Abbās and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with them both, also subscribed to this interpretation.

There is also a *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad who quoted it through Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, 'Aṭā', and Sa'īd b. Jubayr back to Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When the verse, 'When God's victory and the conquest come' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I have been given notice of my death" – that is, that he would be taken away (by God) that year."

Imām Aḥmad is alone in including in his chain of transmission 'Aṭā' b. Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī. This *ḥadīth* has weakness noted by several *imāms*. In the text there is a phrase which is completely inappropriate. Namely, the statement that "he would be taken away that year". This is foolish, because the conquest was in the year 8 AH, in Ramaḍān, as related above. This is something beyond dispute.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in Rabi' al-Awwal of 11 AH, again something beyond dispute.

Similar is the *ḥadīth* related by *al-ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī, may God have mercy upon him, (who stated as follows), "Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Wakī' related to us, quoting his father, quoting Ja'far b. 'Awn, from Abū al-'Umayy, from Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Jahm, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Utba, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The last *sūra* of the entire Qur'ān that was revealed in its entirety was, "When God's victory and the conquest came."'"

This is also unacceptable. Its chain of authorities is also problematic. It is likely that what is meant is that it is the last *sūra* of the Qur'ān that was revealed in its entirety. But God knows best.

We have sufficiently discussed interpretation of this noble *sūra*; and to God belong all praise and credit.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from 'Amr b. Salama (who said) that Abū Qalāba asked him, "Won't you meet him and ask him?" So I did meet him and did ask him. He replied, "We were at a water-source by which people passed and we would ask them, 'What is wrong with the people? What is that man doing?' They would reply, 'He claims that God has sent him and revealed to him such-and-such.' I would learn those words by heart and would feel as though they were implanted inside me. These Arabs were delaying their acceptance of Islam until the conquest. They would say, 'Leave him for his own people to

take care of him! If he does overcome them, then he will be a prophet speaking the truth.'

"When the combat at the conquest occurred, each tribe hurried to accept Islam. My father accepted Islam before my tribe did. When he arrived back, he said, 'I swear by God that I have come to you from the Prophet, in truth!' He, (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, 'Perform such-and-such a prayer at such-and-such a time. And when the time for prayer comes, then one of you should call the *adhān*, the summons to prayer. And then which ever one of you knows the Qur'ān best should lead the prayer.' So they enquired but found no one who knew more Qur'ān than I did, because of what I had been learning from the passing caravans.

"And so they appointed me to lead them in prayer; I was six or seven years old at the time. I used to be dressed in a *burda*, a short, squared garment, and when I prostrated it would ride up (and expose me). A woman of the tribe asked, 'Couldn't you cover over for us the anus of your reciter?' So they bought cloth and made a shirt for me. And nothing had ever made me so happy as that shirt did!"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in recounting this; Muslim did not.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST HAWĀZIN; THE BATTLE OF HUNAYN.

God Almighty stated, "God aided you on many battlefields and at the battle of Hunayn, when your large numbers made you confident, but they were of no use to you and the earth was constrained all about you, spacious though it was! Then you turned back, retreating. Thereafter God sent down his sense of calm¹²⁸ upon His messenger and upon the believers and He sent down forces which you did not see and He punished those who disbelieved; that is the reward of unbelievers. Then, after that, God will turn towards whomever He wishes; and God is Forgiving, Merciful" (*sūrat al-Barā'a*; IX, v.25-7).

Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār related in his book that the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Hawāzin came after the conquest, on the 5th of Shawwāl, 8 AH. He also claimed that the conquest took place ten days before the end of Ramaḍān, fifteen days before his departure against Hawāzin.

This is related similarly from Ibn Mas'ūd. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr stated this, and Aḥmad preferred it, as did Ibn Jarīr in his history.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth against Hawāzin on the 6th day of Shawwāl and he reached Hunayn on the 10th of that month. Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', stated, 'We'll not be defeated today because of size.'¹²⁹ Then they were defeated; the first defeated were Banū Sulaym, then the Meccans, then the remainder of the force."

128. The word used is *sakina*; for discussion of this word, see Lane, op. cit. under *sakana*.

129. The implication is that the substantial numbers of the Muslims engaging would ensure victory.

Ibn Ishāq stated that when Hawāzin heard about how God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), their leader, Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī, gathered them together. All of Thaqīf assembled with Hawāzin and they were joined by Naṣr and all Jusham, along with Sa'd b. Bakr and a few men of Banū Hilāl. Of Qays 'Aylān, only these were present. Of Hawāzin, (the clans of) Ka'b and Kilāb did not attend and no noteworthy person of them was there. Among Banū Jusham there was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, an elderly sheikh who was capable of speaking advice and giving his knowledge of warfare; he was a man of very great experience. Thaqīf had two leaders; in the Aḥlāf there was Qarīb b. al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib. In Banū Mālik there were Dhū al-Khimār Subay' b. al-Ḥārith and his brother Aḥmar b. al-Ḥārith. The overall command was under Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī.

Ibn Ishāq's account continued, "When he had made the decision to attack the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he had the people bring their possessions along with their women and their children with them. When they halted at Awtās, his force gathered around him; among them was Durayd b. al-Simma in a kind of *howdah* in which he was borne along. When they halted, Durayd asked, 'In which valley are you?' 'In Awtās,' they replied. He commented, 'A fine place for cavalry! It's not hilly with rocks, nor is it soft ground. Why is it I hear the grunting of camels and the braying of donkeys, the crying of babies and the bleating of sheep?' They replied that Mālik b. 'Awf had had the force bring their possessions, women and children with them. 'And where is Mālik?' asked Durayd. 'He is here,' they told him and summoned him.

"Durayd then said to him, 'Mālik, you have become your people's leader and this is a day that will greatly influence the future. Why is it I hear the grunting of camels, the braying of donkeys, the crying of babies and the bleating of sheep?' He replied, 'I had the people bring their children and possessions with them.' 'Why was this?' Durayd asked. Mālik replied, 'I wanted every man to have his family and possessions behind him so that he would fight for them.'

"On hearing this, Durayd made a sound of disapproval and commented, 'You cowardly sheep grazer! Would anything ever turn around someone in retreat? If the battle is to go well, it will be only men with swords and lances who do you good. If the battle goes badly, you'll be disgraced with regards to your family and possessions anyway.'

"Durayd then asked, 'What have Ka'b and Kilāb done?' 'No one from them is present,' he replied. 'So then skill and courage are absent! If it were to be a day of fine, noble deeds, Ka'b and Kilāb would not miss it. I wish you had done the same as them! Who is attending with you?' They told him that 'Amr b. 'Āmir and 'Awf b. 'Āmir were present. He responded, 'Well, those two branches of 'Āmir will do neither good nor harm.' He then said, 'Mālik, you've done nothing (good) by sending ahead the main force of Hawāzin to face up to the cavalry.'

"Durayd then told Mālik b. 'Awf, 'Send them up high to some inaccessible area of their people's territory, then meet the turncoat apostates on horse. If the

battle goes in your favour, then your people behind you can join you. If it goes against you, then you will have saved your families and possessions.'

"Mālik replied, 'By God, I'll not do that! You've grown old and so has your mind!' He went on, 'Hawāzin, either you obey me, or I'll press myself down on this sword until it comes out through my back!' He hated Durayd to have any say or credit. They said they would obey him.

"Durayd then said, 'This is a battle in which I did not participate, nor did I miss it.' He then spoke the following verses,

'How I wish I were a youth once more! I would speed
forth into the battle
I would lead on long-maned horses as though they were
young donkeys.'

"Mālik then told everyone, 'When you see them, then break your swords from their sheaths and charge at them as one man!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Umayya b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān related to me that he was told that Mālik b. 'Awf sent out some of his men as scouts. When they came back their joints had become dislocated. 'What happened to you?' he asked them. They replied, 'We saw some white men mounted on piebald horses. And all of a sudden, we were afflicted as you see us now.' And, by God, even that did not deter him from his plan."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard about them, he sent out 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslamī with orders to infiltrate them and report back. He did so, and when he had learned of their plan to wage war against the Messenger of God (SAAS) and heard (of the role of) Mālik and Hawāzin and their intentions, he came back to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and so informed him.

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had decided to go forth against Hawāzin, he was told that Ṣafwān b. Umayya had a stock of coats of armour and weapons. He therefore sent to Ṣafwān – still at that time a polytheist – and asked him to loan his equipment for the Muslims to use against their enemies next day.

"Ṣafwān asked, 'Are you going to take them (from me) by force, Muḥammad?' He replied, 'No. They will be a loan and guaranteed for return to you.' 'I've no objection to that,' he responded. He then gave him 100 coats of mail and sufficient weapons. Some maintain that the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him also to transport the equipment and that he agreed."

This is the account as given, without a full line of transmission, by Ibn Ishāq.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated this from Ibn Ishāq, from 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, from his father. And also from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, al-Zuhri, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm and others, the account of Ḥunayn is given similarly to above. The story of the armour is also as above. In that account, when Ibn Abū Ḥadrad returned and

reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Hawāzin, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb questioned his veracity. Ibn Abū Ḥadrad responded, ‘If you call my honesty into question, ‘Umar, you’d probably call truth itself into question!’ ‘Umar asked, ‘Do you hear what he is saying, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘You were going astray, but God gave you guidance.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Shurayk, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Rafī‘, from Umayya b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed armour from (Ibn) Umayya at the battle of Ḥunayn. (Ibn) Umayya responded, ‘Are you taking them by force, Muḥammad?’ He replied, ‘No, it’s a loan, return guaranteed.’”

He went on to relate that some of the armour was lost and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offered to make good on his guarantee of their return and that (Ibn) Umayya responded, “Today it’s Islam I want, Messenger of God.”

Abū Dā‘ūd and al-Nasā‘ī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn.

Al-Nasā‘ī included it from an account of Isrā‘īl, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Rafī‘, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of mail from Ṣafwān.

He also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym, from Ḥajjāj from ‘Aṭā’, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of mail from Ṣafwān.

He also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Hushaym, from Ḥajjāj, from ‘Aṭā’, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) borrowed coats of armour and horses from Ṣafwān. He related the remainder of the *ḥadīth* as above.

Abū Dā‘ūd stated that it was related to him by Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, quoting Jarīr, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Rafī‘, from people of the family of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣafwān, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, “Ṣafwān, do you have any weapons?” Ṣafwān responded, “As a willing loan or by force?” “As a loan,” he replied. Ṣafwān then loaned him between 30 and 40 coats of mail and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Ḥunayn. When the polytheists were defeated, Ṣafwān’s armour was collected and some was found to be missing. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Ṣafwān, “We have lost some of your armour. Shall we pay you compensation?” “No, Messenger of God,” he replied. “There is now in my heart what was not present that day.”

This is also *mursal*, incomplete in its line of transmission.

Ibn Ishāq continued, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forth accompanied by 2,000 Meccans and 10,000 of his men who had come out with him and through whom God had conquered Mecca. They totalled 12,000 men.”

I note that according to the statements of ‘Urwa, al-Zuhri and Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, the total number of the 2 armies with which he faced Hawāzin was 14,000, since he had brought 12,000 to Mecca, in their view, and 2,000 of the *al-ṭulaqā’*¹³⁰ had been joined to these.

130. The word means “those set free”. The term is applied to the Meccans who remained polytheists until the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq related that he went out from Mecca on the 5th of Shawwāl, and that he appointed 'Attāb b. Usayd b. Abū al-'Aīṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams al-Umawī in command of Mecca.

I note that 'Attāb was at that time approximately 20 years of age.

Ibn Ishāq related further how the Messenger of God (SAAS) had proceeded on to meet Hawāzin, and he then quoted the *qaṣida*, the ode, of al-'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī on that activity. Some of its verses were,

"Take to all Hawāzin, their high and low, a message
from me, giving them clear advice:

'I think that the Messenger of God (SAAS) will attack
you in the morning with his army.

Among them will be your brother Sulaym who will not let
you leave, along with the Muslims, God's servants, of
Ghassān.

On his right flank there will be Banū Asad, and the
well-tribed tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān.

The earth will almost shake with fear at Him, and in
his vanquard will be Aws and 'Uthmān.'"

Ibn Ishāq pointed out that Aws and 'Uthmān were clans of Muzayna.

He went on, "Al-Zuhri related to me, from Sinān b. Abū Sinān al-Dīlī, from Abū Wāqid al-Laythī, that al-Ḥārith b. Mālik said, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Ḥunayn, having only recently emerged from the *jāhiliyya*.

"We travelled on with him to Ḥunayn. The Quraysh unbelievers and other Arabs revered a great green tree called *Dhāt Anwāt*; they would go to it each year and hang on it their weapons, make sacrifices near it and spend the day there.

"As we travelled on with the Messenger of God (SAAS), we saw a great green lote tree and we called out from all sides of the path, "O Messenger of God, establish for us a *Dhāt Anwāt* such as they have." He responded, "*Allāhu Akbar!* God is most Great!" By Him who holds my soul in His hand, you speak as did the people of Moses to him, "Make for us a god like the god they have!" You are an ignorant, foolish people! These are *sunan*, ancient practices! You would re-establish the ancient practices of your forebears!"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this *ḥadīth* from Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, from Ṣufyān. Al-Nasā'ī related it from Muḥammad b. Rāfi', from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, both of them drawing it from al-Zuhri, just as did Ibn Ishāq.

Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic". Ibn Abū Ḥātim related it, in his *Tafsīr* (*Exegesis*) through Kuthayyir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Awf, from his father, from his grandfather, *marfū'an*, incomplete in its line of transmission.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Abū Tūba related to him, quoting Mu'āwiya b. Sallām, from Zayd b. Sallām, that he heard Abū Sallām quote al-Salūlī, who said that Sahl

b. al-Ḥanzaliyya related to him, that when they went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to perform the prayer at *al-zuhr*, noontime, a horseman arrived, who said, "Messenger of God, I went on ahead of you, went up Mt. such-and-such and Mt. such-and-such and then I came across Hawāzin in their entirety, complete with their sedan-borne women, their livestock camels and their sheep, all gathered at Ḥunayn.

"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, 'Tomorrow all that will be booty for the Muslims, if God will it!' He then asked, 'Who will stand guard for us tonight?' Anas b. Abū Marthad replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'Then mount up,' he told him.

"He went and mounted a mare, then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, 'Go on up into this defile till you reach its top; we don't want to be exposed to danger from ahead tonight.'

"Next morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to the place for prayer and performed two *rak'as* of prayer. He then asked, 'Have you perceived anything from your mounted guard?' When they said they had not, he made a call for prayer and performed it, glancing up towards the defile until it was over. He then announced, 'Good news! Your horseman has come!' As he said this he was looking through the tree into the defile and the mounted man then appeared and stopped in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He reported that he had gone right up to the top of the defile, as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he had looked out over both defiles when morning came and had not seen anyone. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, 'Did you dismount at all during the night?' He replied, 'No; except to pray or to relieve myself.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You have done your duty; don't worry about not doing it hereafter!'"

Al-Nasā'ī related it similarly, from Muḥammad b. Yahyā, from Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Ḥarrānī, from Abū Tūba al-Rabī' b. Nāfi'.

Chapter: On the conduct of the battle; how at first there was flight and then it ended in favour of the pious.

Yūnus b. Bukayr and others quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār as saying, "'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, from his father, who said, 'Mālik b. 'Awf went forth with others to Ḥunayn, where he arrived before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They prepared and positioned themselves for battle in the narrows and twists of the valley.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his force arrived in the valley in the half-light of dawn. As the men descended the enemy cavalry appeared before them and bore down on them. Our men broke ranks and fled, no one caring about the others.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away to the right, calling out, "Where are you going, men? Come to me; I am the Messenger of God! I am Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allāh!"

"But it did no good. The camels were all over one another. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw the state of the men ...¹³¹ With him a group of men of his family: 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and his brother Rabi'ā b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās. And, it is said, al-Faḍl b. Abū Sufyān, Aymān b. Umm Aymān, Usāma b. Zayd. Some include with them Qutham b. al-'Abbās, along with a group of *muhājirīn*, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

"Al-'Abbās was gripping the mouth-ring of his white donkey that he was riding, having struck it to open its mouth."¹³²

He (Ibn Ishāq) continued, "There was one man of Hawāzin mounted on a red camel who carried a black banner on the end of a long spear; he was ahead of and leading Hawāzin who were behind him. When he overtook someone, he would thrust his spear at him; if he missed the man, then he would raise his spear as a sign to those behind him and they would follow the man.

"While he was engaged in this, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib fell upon him, accompanied by an *anṣārī*. 'Alī approached him from behind and struck the hocks of the camel and it fell on its rump. The *anṣārī* then leapt on the man and gave him a blow that severed his foot, along with half his leg, so that he fell from his saddle.

"The men went on fighting hard and when those who had fled in defeat returned, they found bound prisoners assembled near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this from Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhri, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was one of those who had stood fast that day and had well and truly accepted Islam and was holding the back of the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, 'Who is this?' Abū Sufyān replied, 'I'm your mother's son, Messenger of God.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When the enemy had been defeated, some of the Arab toughs began to reveal their ill-will. Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb (whose acceptance of Islam was still fresh and who was still that day carrying divining arrows) said,

131. The Arabic printed text is defective at this point. The account, as given in Guillaume's translation, continues as follows: "The men ran away, except that a number of Muhājirs and Ansār and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhājirs who stood firm were Abū Bakr and 'Umar; of his family ..." From this point the Arabic printed text seems intact, as above.

132. At this point the Arabic text seems defective and ill-ordered. In Ibn Ishāq's account as translated by Guillaume, this quotation is part of a separate passage quoting the words of the father of Kathīr b. al-'Abbās. See Guillaume, *op. cit.* p.569.

'Their defeat won't end before the sea!' Kalada (or Jabala) b. al-Ḥanbal, who was there with his brother – on his mother's side – Ṣafwān b. Umayya (he still being a polytheist, during the respite granted him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) cried out, 'Magic is definitely useless now!' Ṣafwān responded, 'Be silent, may God close your mouth! I swear, I'd sooner have a man of Quraysh be my leader than any of Hawāzin!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by 'Affān b. Muslim, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Anas b. Mālik, that, "Hawāzin brought their women, children, camels and livestock with them to the battle of Ḥunayn and lined them up so that they would outnumber (the supporters of) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And when the forces met, the Muslims did retreat, as God Almighty stated. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'O *anṣār*, I am God's servant and His messenger.' And God defeated the polytheists; and he was neither struck by a sword, nor pierced by a lance."

The account went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated that day, 'Whoever kills an unbeliever shall own the booty from him.' Abū Ṭalḥa killed that day 20 men and took booty from them.

"Abū Qatāda stated, 'O Messenger of God, I struck a man on his shoulder vein; he was wearing armour, but I was forced away from him. Would you see who took it?' At that a man arose and said, 'I'm the one who took it. You should compensate him for it and award it to me.' Whenever a request was made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he either agreed to it or remained silent. This time he remained silent and 'Umar spoke up, 'I swear, God would not compensate one of God's lions and give it to you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Umar has spoken the truth.'"

He (Imām Aḥmad) said, "Abū Ṭalḥa met Umm Sulaym who had a dagger with her. Abū Ṭalḥa asked, 'What is that?' She replied, 'If one of the polytheists comes near me, I'll stick him in the stomach!' Abū Ṭalḥa commented, 'Did you hear what Umm Sulaym said?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and Umm Sulaym asked, 'Messenger of God, execute those *ṭulaqā'*, Meccan converts, at our rear who deserted you!' He replied, 'God has already done well and enough, Umm Sulaym.'"

Muslim also narrated from him the story of Umm Sulaym's dagger, and Abū Dā'ūd related it along with a statement from him (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) that, "Whoever kills someone (an enemy) will have the man's booty." Both these authorities quoted from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

The comment given above as 'Umar's is controversial; it is widely believed to have been made by Abū Bakr, "the Trusting".

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith related to him, quoting his father, quoting Nāfi' Abū Ghālib, (who said) that he was present when Anas b. Mālik was asked, by al-'Alā b. Ziyād al-'Adawī, "Abū Ḥamza, what age was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he received his mission?" He replied that he was 40 years of age. 'And what happened then?' he was asked. He

replied, 'Thereafter he was 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina. When he had completed 60 years of age, God took him to Himself.' He was asked, 'At that time, what was he like, relative to the age of others?' 'He was the most youthful of men, handsome and well-built,' he replied.

"Al-'Alā' then asked, 'Abū Ḥamza, did you ever participate in a military expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' He replied, 'Yes, I was on the expedition to al-Ḥunayn with him. The polytheists came forth and attacked us early in the morning and soon we saw our cavalry round at our rear. Among the polytheists there was one man who was really devastating us. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw this, he dismounted and then God defeated them and they retreated. When he saw that victory was won, he had them brought to him as captives, one by one, and they would pledge allegiance in Islam to him. One of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I have sworn that if that man who had been devastating us were brought, I would behead him." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent, and the man referred to was brought up. When the man saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "Messenger of God, I turn in repentance to God!" He refrained from accepting the man's pledge of allegiance so that his Companion could fulfil his vow. The latter kept looking over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of whom he was in awe, waiting for him to tell him to kill the man. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw that he was not going to do anything, he accepted the prisoner's pledge of allegiance. His Companion then asked, "What about my oath, Messenger of God?" He replied, "I've only refrained from accepting his oath till now so that you could fulfil your oath." The Companion asked, "Messenger of God, could you not have gestured to me?" He replied, "It is not fitting for a prophet to gesture."'"

Ḥmad is alone in giving this.

Ḥmad (also) stated that it was related to him by Yazīd, quoting Ḥamid al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "One of the prayers spoken by the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn was, 'O God, if You wish it, You will not be worshipped on earth after today!'"

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is tripartite and meets the criteria of the two sheikhs.¹³³ However, none of the compilers of the (canonical) collections included it with this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Ishāq, who heard al-Barā' b. 'Āzib being questioned by a man of Qays as to whether he and others had deserted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn. He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not fled. The Hawāzin were good archers. They fled when we attacked, but when we charged at the booty, they shot arrows at us. I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his white mule, its reins being held by Abū Sufyān, and the former was saying, 'I am undoubtedly the Prophet!'"

133. That is, al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Al-Bukhārī also related this from Abū al-Walīd, from Shuʿba, the Messenger of God's words having been,

"I am the Prophet, undoubtedly; I am the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Isrāʾīl and Zuhayr quoted this from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ, with the addition of the words, "And then he dismounted from his mule."

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related it from Bandār. Muslim added Abū Mūsā to the chain. Both traced it back to Ghundar.

Muslim also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Zakariyyā b. Abū Zāʾida, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said that he then dismounted, calling for help and saying,

"I am the Prophet, undoubtedly; I am the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. O God, send down Your help!"

Al-Barāʾ went on, "When the fighting became most intense, we would seek protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); those who were brave would imitate him."

Al-Bayhaqī related from various lines that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that day, "I am al-ʿAwātik's¹³⁴ son."

Al-Ṭabṛānī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl al-Asfāṭī, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Wāsiṭī, quoting Hushaym, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, from Shabbāba, from Ibn ʿĀṣim al-Sulamī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of al-Ḥunayn, "I am al-ʿAwātik's son!"

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from ʿAmr b. Kathīr b. Aflaḥ, from Abū Muḥammad, freed-man of Abū Qatāda, from Abū Qatāda, who said, "We accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) into battle at Ḥunayn. When we clashed, the Muslims retreated. I saw one of the polytheists overpowering one of the Muslims, so I struck him with my sword from behind on his shoulder vein, cutting through his armour. But he charged at me and pinned me down so hard I felt near death. However, he died and so released me. I caught up with ʿUmar and asked, 'What's wrong with everyone?' 'It is God's decree,' he replied.

"Later they (the Muslims) returned (to the battle) and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat and stated, 'Whoever killed one of the enemy and has a witness to it can claim the dead man's possessions.' So I arose and asked, 'Who will be my witness?' I then sat down. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated what he had said, and again I arose, asking for someone to be my witness; and then I sat down. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated his statement, and again I arose. He now asked, 'What is wrong, Abū Qatāda?' I related what I had done and a man

134. A word meaning an ancient bow – an honorific title for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

then got up and said, 'He speaks the truth. I have the dead man's possessions, so compensate Abū Qatāda for me.' Abū Bakr then said, 'Absolutely not, by God! You cannot expect a lion of God to fight for God and His messenger, then for him to give you the booty he won!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'He (Abū Bakr) spoke the truth; give it back to him!' The man did so and I used it to purchase a piece of land from Banū Salama; it was the first money I earned after accepting Islam."

The rest of the scholarly community, except al-Nasā'ī, related this from a *hadith* of Yahyā b. Sa'īd.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that al-Layth b. Sa'īd related, quoting Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from 'Amr b. Kathīr b. Aflah, from Abū Muḥammad, the freed-man of Abū Qatāda, who quoted Abū Qatāda as saying, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, I noticed one of the Muslims fighting a polytheist, while another of the polytheists was sneaking up behind the Muslims to kill him. So I charged at the second polytheist, who raised his hand to hit me, but I struck it and cut it off. However, he seized me and pulled me to himself so hard I feared (I would die). Then he went down, loosening his grip, and I pushed him away and killed him. After that the Muslims retreated, as did I myself. Then I saw 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb amid the army and asked him, 'What's wrong with everyone?' He replied, 'It is God's decree.'

"After that the men returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (after defeating the enemy) and he announced, 'Whoever can provide proof of his having killed an enemy shall receive his (the dead man's) possessions.' So I stood up to look for some proof of my having killed an enemy, but since I could not see anyone who could testify for me, I sat down again. Then it seemed to me I should tell to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what had happened (and did so). One of the men sitting there said, 'I have the weapons belonging to the man slain to whom he is referring; give him compensation for me.' Abū Bakr said, 'Indeed not; he will not give anything to some little hyena of Quraysh what belongs to one of God's lions who fought for God and His messenger.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose and awarded it to me and I used it to buy a piece of land. It was the first property I earned."

Al-Bukhārī related this in various other places, as did Muslim. Both drew it from Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Sa'īd.

It is given above from an account of Nāfi' Abū Ghālib, from Anas, that the man who spoke up on the occasion was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Perhaps he said it following Abū Bakr, or in substantiation or agreement of his words. Or there may have been some confusion over who spoke thus. God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that it was related to him by 'Aṣīm b. 'Umar, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir, from his father Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who quoted the Messenger

of God (ṢAAS), when he saw how people were behaving at the battle of Ḥunayn, as saying, “‘Abbās! Call out: ‘O *anṣār*! O people of the tree!’” (When he did so) they responded, “*Labbayka! Labbayka!* At Your service! At Your service!” The men then tried to turn their mounts, and when they failed to do so, they threw off their armour from around their necks, took their swords and shields and headed in the direction of his voice. Eventually some 100 of them were gathered about him and they made a stand and fought on. The first call he made was to the *anṣār*, then another was made to (Banū) Khazraj. They were steadfast in the battle. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked out at his mounted men and the fierce battle waging and commented, “The fires of war are really hot now!”

Al-Bayhaqī went on, “By the time all the force had returned around him, the prisoners were already bound, and there with them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God destroyed many of them and caused many to flee. He awarded to His messenger their possessions and children.”

Ibn Lahī‘a stated, from Abū al-Aswad, from ‘Urwa, and Mūsā b. ‘Uqba narrated in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhri, that after God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he had rested, he went out against Hawāzin, accompanied by the people of Mecca, some mounted, others on foot. Even the women left too, walking; they did so not for religious reasons but to watch and to bring back the booty. And they would not have minded if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men had lost.

They also stated that he was accompanied by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Ṣafwān b. Umayya. The wife of the latter was a Muslim, while he was still a polytheist. But they (the couple) had not been separated.¹³⁵

‘Urwa stated, “The leader of the polytheists that day was Mālik b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī. With him was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, much suffering from his advanced age. Also accompanying them were their womenfolk, children and livestock. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out ahead ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad as a scout. He spent the night with the enemy force and heard Mālik b. ‘Awf say to his companions, ‘When morning comes, attack them as one man. Break the scabbards of your swords and position your livestock and women in separate lines.’

“Next morning Abū Sufyān, Ṣafwān and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām positioned themselves apart and to the rear to observe which side would prevail. The Muslim forces were ranged into lines and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted his grey mule, went out to meet each line and urged them to fight hard, encouraging them that they would be victorious if they remained steadfast.

“While they were so engaged, the polytheists attacked the Muslims as one man. The Muslims engaged in one round of fighting, then turned around and retreated. Ḥāritha b. al-Nu‘mān commented, ‘I estimated the number remaining with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the retreat to be 100 men.’

135. The fact that the couple did not share the same faith did not cause the dissolution of their marriage.

"People say that one of the Quraysh men passed by Ṣafwān b. Umayya and said, 'I bring good news of the defeat of Muḥammad and his men. I swear, they will never recover.' Ṣafwān asked, 'Are you telling me it's good news for the bedouin to win? I swear, I much prefer a man of Quraysh than a bedouin as my master.' Ṣafwān was angry for this reason."

Urwa went on, "Ṣafwān sent a slave of his ahead, telling him, 'Listen for who is making the war cry.' When he came back, he said, 'I heard them saying, "O Banū 'Abd al-Raḥmān! O Banū 'Abd Allāh! O Banū 'Ubayd Allāh!"' He (Ṣafwān) said, 'Muḥammad has won! Those were their war cries.'"

The sources stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the thick of the battle, he stood up in his stirrups while he rode the mule and raised his hands praying to God, saying, 'O God, I appeal to You to fulfil Your promise to me. O God, it must not be that they defeat us!' He called for his men and urged them on, 'O men who were at the Ḥudaybiyya truce! God! God! Things are turning against Your prophet.' It is said that he incited them by saying, 'O *anṣār* of God and of His messenger! O Banū al-Khazraj! O people of *sūrat al-Baqara*!' And he assigned some of his Companions to call this out."

They went on, "He also picked up a handful of pebbles and cast them into the faces and on to the heads of the polytheists, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!'

"His men then hurriedly gathered around him. They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Now the fires of war are heating up!' God then defeated His enemies wherever He had cast His pebbles at them. The Muslims pursued them, killing them. And God gave them their women and offspring as booty. Mālik b. 'Awf fled and entered the fort of al-Ṭā'if, along with some of his people's leaders.

"Many of the people of Mecca accepted Islam when they saw God's victory for His messenger (ṢAAS) and the way He had honoured His religion."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Wahb stated that it was told to him by Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, who said that Kathīr b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib quoted al-'Abbās as stating, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn; I and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥarith kept close to him throughout. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was riding a white mule presented to him by Farwa b. Nufātha al-Jadhāmi. When the forces met, the Muslims turned back in flight. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suddenly urged his mule on towards the polytheists. I held tight to its bridle, trying to slow it down, while Abū Sufyān gripped the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cried out, 'Hey, 'Abbās, call for the men of the acacia tree!' I swear, it was as though, on hearing my voice, I had gained their attention as does a cow her young! They responded, 'Yā labbaykāh! Yā labbaykāh! At Your service! At Your service!'

"They and the polytheists then engaged in battle, while the *anṣār* criers shouted, 'O *anṣār*!' Then the cry was repeated directly to Banū al-Ḥarith b. al-Khazraj.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on his mule, stared over at them, as though stretching forward to battle them himself, and said, 'This is when the fires of war will heat up!' Then he picked up gravel which he threw into the faces of the unbelievers and said, 'May you be defeated, by Muḥammad's Lord!' I had been watching, and as far as I could see the fighting was progressing as before. But no sooner had he thrown the gravel than the enemy's enthusiasm dulled and they retreated."

Muslim narrated this about Abū al-Ṭāhir, from Ibn Wahb in similar terms. He also narrated it from Muḥammad b. Rāfi', from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri in similar terms.

Muslim also related, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, from Iyyās b. Salama b. al-Akwa', from his father, who said, "We fought the battle of Hunayn with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we confronted the enemy, I advanced up a mountain path where I found a polytheist, at whom I shot an arrow. He hid from me and I did not know what became of him. I then saw the enemy coming up another mountain path. They clashed with the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who turned back. I retreated too. I had two striped garments, in one of which I was dressed, the other draped over me. I untied my waist-wrapper and joined both striped garments together. Then I retreated, passing by the Prophet (ṢAAS), who was mounted on his grey mule. He commented, 'Ibn al-Akwa' has seen something frightening.'

"As the enemy was overwhelming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he dismounted from his mule, picked up a handful of dirt from the ground and threw it into their faces, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!' And every single one of them had his eyes fill with that dirt from that handful and they turned and fled. God defeated them and thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up their possessions among the Muslims."

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated in his *Musnad ḥadīth* collection that it was related to him by Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ya'qūb b. 'Aṭā', from 'Abd Allāh b. Yasār, from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Hunayn. We set out on an extremely hot day. We halted in the shade of some acacia trees, and when the sun had set, I put on my cuirass and mounted my horse. I then went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was in his tent. I addressed him, 'Peace be upon you, Messenger of God and may His mercy and blessings be yours. Is it time to go yet, Messenger of God?' 'Yes, it is,' he replied. He then called out the name of Bilāl, who emerged quickly from beneath an acacia, his shadow like that of a bird. He said, 'At your service and pleasure, may I be ransom for you!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Saddle up my horse.' He was brought two palm fronds that were without holes or indentations.

"He mounted his horse and we spent the day riding. The two cavalries came face to face and we did battle with them. Then the Muslims turned and retreated, as God Almighty stated. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began saying,

'O worshippers of God, I am the servant and Messenger of God!' He then jumped from his horse and someone close to him later told me that he took a handful of dirt and tossed it into the faces of the enemy, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!'"

Ya'qā b. 'Aṭā' stated, "Their sons quoted their fathers as saying, 'All of them, without exception, had their eyes and mouths filled with dirt. And we heard a clanging sound from the sky like iron striking an iron pot and God, Almighty and Glorious is He, defeated them.'"

Abū Da'ūd al-Sijistānī related it in his *Sunan* collection, quoting Mūsā b. Ismā'īl, from Ḥammād b. Salama in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by 'Affān, quoting 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting al-Ḥārith b. Ḥusayn, quoting al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, from his father, who quoted 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd as stating, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn. The men retreated from him, and 80 of the *anṣār* and the *muhājirīn* remained there with him. We drew back some 80 feet, but did not turn our backs to the enemy. These men were the ones upon whom God sent down *al-sakīna*.¹³⁶ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was meanwhile still going forward on his mule, which veered to one side so that he slipped off his saddle. I called out to him, 'Up you get! May God raise you up!' He replied, 'Get me a handful of dirt!' With this he struck them in their faces and filled their mouths. Then he asked, 'Where are the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*?' 'They are close by,' I replied. 'Call for them,' he asked. I did this and they came, their swords in their right hands shining like stars, and the polytheists then turned their backs in retreat."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm al-Qanṭarī, quoting Abū Qalāba, quoting Abū 'Āṣim, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭā'ifi, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. 'Iyyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī, from his father (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Banū Hawāzin with a force of 12,000 men and that at Ḥunayn a like number of the people of al-Ṭā'if were killed as those who died at Badr. 'Iyyād stated, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of pebbles which he threw into our faces, and we were defeated."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this in his history, but he did not include 'Iyyād's genealogy.

Musaddad stated that Ja'far b. Sulaymān related to him, quoting 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the freed-man of Umm Burthin, from someone who was present at Ḥunayn as an unbeliever, who said, "When we and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met they had not prepared ewes' milk¹³⁷ for us! So we advanced

136. "The calm"; see notes and above and *sūrat al-Barā'a*; IX, v.27. Sometimes the word is found identified as "His (God's) *sakīna*", as in the above verse and elsewhere, sometimes with the definite article, as here.

137. That is, presumably, "they were not going to treat us as honoured guests".

slashing away with our swords before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until we overwhelmed them. Eventually there between us and them were some really magnificent men. And then they cried out, 'May your faces be deformed! Go back!' And we were defeated because of those words."

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated that it was related to him by Abū Sufyān, quoting Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sha'bi, from al-Ḥārith b. Badl al-Naṣrī, from a man of his tribe who had been present on that day at the battle of Ḥunayn, along with 'Amr b. Sufyān al-Thaqafī, both of whom said, "When the Muslims were being defeated at Ḥunayn, there only remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) 'Abbās and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of pebbles and threw it into their faces. We fled, imagining every rock or tree to be some knight chasing us."

Al-Thaqafī added, "I raced away on my horse until I entered al-Ṭā'if."

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated in his military chronicle, from Yūsuf b. Suhayb b. 'Abd Allāh, that only one man stood fast with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn, and his name was Zayd.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, through al-Kudaymī, quoting Mūsā b. Mas'ūd, quoting Sa'īd b. al-Sā'ib b. Yasār al-Ṭā'ifī, from al-Sā'ib b. Yasār, who quoted Yazīd b. 'Āmir al-Suwā'ī as saying, at the discovery that Muslims came across at the battle of Ḥunayn, "The polytheists pursued them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of dirt from the ground and then advanced towards the polytheists and threw it into their faces, saying, 'Go back! May your faces be deformed!' And every man another would meet complained about dirt in his eyes."

He then narrated through two other lines from Abū Hudhayfa, who stated that it was related to him by Sa'īd b. al-Sā'ib b. Yasār al-Ṭā'ifī, quoting Abū al-Sā'ib b. Yasār, who said that he heard Yazīd b. 'Āmir al-Suwā'ī (who had been present at Ḥunayn with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), though on the side of the polytheists, having accepted Islam only later) say as we asked him about the terror that God had cast into the hearts of the polytheists at the battle of Ḥunayn, "He would take pebbles and throw them into an iron pot that would clatter; and we would experience the same in our insides."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū 'Abd Allāh *al-hāfiẓ* and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Faḍl, both of whom said, "Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb related to us, quoting al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Bukayr al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting Abū Ayyūb b. Jābir, from Ṣadaqa b. Sa'īd, from Muṣ'ab b. Shayba, from his father, who said, 'I went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the battle of Ḥunayn, though it was not Islam nor any knowledge of it that made me do so; I just refused to have Hawāzin defeat Quraysh! As I stood with him, I said, "Messenger of God, I can see piebald horses!" He replied, "No one but a

polytheist would see them!" Then he struck me in the chest and said, "O God, guide Shayba aright!" He then hit it again and said, "O God, guide Shayba aright!" and then he did and said the same a third time. And I swear by God, no sooner had he raised his hand from me the third time than there was none of God's creation whom I loved more than I did him!"

He went on to relate the encounter between the armies, how the Muslims had been retreating, how al-'Abbās had called out and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had asked God for His help, and so on until God had defeated the polytheists.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muzanī, quoting Yūsuf b. Mūsā, quoting Hishām b. Khālid, quoting al-Walid b. Muslim, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Abū Bakr al-Hudhālī, from 'Ikrima, the freed-man of Ibn 'Abbās, from Shayba b. 'Uthmān, who said, "When I saw at the battle of Ḥunayn that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was exposed, I remembered my father and my uncle and how 'Alī and Ḥamza had killed them. So I said (to myself) today I'll get my revenge on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"I went to approach him from his right, but there was al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib standing dressed in white metal armour, looking like silver with its tarnish wiped away. I said, 'He's his uncle – he'll not desert him.' Then I went at him from the left and came upon Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. I told myself, 'That's his cousin – he'll not desert him.' Then I came at him from behind. All I had left to do was attack him fiercely with my sword when a great flame like lightning arose between myself and him. I was afraid it would burn me, so I put my hand over my eyes and retreated. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned and said, 'Shayba, come closer to me. O God, take Satan away from him!' I then lifted my gaze to him and found him to be dearer to me than my own sight or hearing. He then said, 'Shayb, fight the unbelievers!'"

Ibn Ishāq quoted Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, a brother of Banū 'Abd al-Dār, as saying, "I said, 'Today I will get my revenge'" (his father had been killed at Uhud). "Today I shall kill Muḥammad!" I went around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill him, but something overwhelmed me so that I could not do that; I knew that it was forbidden for me."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq also quoted his father, Ishāq b. Yasār, from another man, who quoted Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm as saying, "I was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn and while the battle was going on, I saw something like a black coverlet falling from the sky that descended between us and the enemy. We saw it to be ants that had spread all over and were filling the valley. Immediately the enemy were defeated. We had no doubt that it was the angels."

Al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq.

He went on to quote Khudayj b. al-'Arjā' al-Naṣrī as reciting the following verses – about Ḥunayn, that is,

"When we approached Ḥunayn and its water, we saw something black, unpleasant in colour, streaked white

With a grey squadron which, were it cast up at the heights of Mt. ʿUrwa it would have become level!

If my people's chiefs had obeyed me, we would not have encountered the manifest apparition.

Then we would not have met the troops of Muḥammad's people, 80,000 strong, along with Khindif."

Ibn Ishāq also quoted the following verses spoken by Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, chief of Hawāzin, while he was in the turmoil of battle that day:

"Advance, Muḥājī!¹³⁸ This is a day of battle to which one like me rides on one like you, again and again.

Even if the front line is lost and the rear too and they come on up,

Squadrons (so numerous as to) exhaust one's sight. I used to thrust so hard as to make the wounds gush with blood!

When others were blamed for holding back and hiding, I would thrust so hard the blood would gurggle forth

In a full stream from inside, sometimes overflowing, sometimes gushing fast,

The lance's tip still inside, broken at the shaft-head. O Zayd! O Ibn Hamham, to where do you flee?

Your teeth are gone and you are old. The white-skinned women wearing long veils know well

That I'll not charge blindly, when the secluded women are brought from behind the curtains."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Yūnus b. Bukayr, who quoted from Ibn Ishāq, other verses delivered by Mālik when his companions had fled in defeat. These verses were spoken after he had accepted Islam; they are also attributed to others:

"Remember their progress, and all those there, while above Mālik the banners fluttered.

Mālik is a leader above whom there is none; at Ḥunayn he wore a glistening crown.

Until they met their enemy, when bravery led them on, wearing helmets and chain-mail and bearing leather shields.

They struck hard at the men until they saw no one around the Prophet, until dusk encompassed him.

Until Gabriel came down to help them and we were defeated and made captive.

Had it not been Gabriel fighting us, our fine swords would have protected us

138. The name of his horse.

‘Umar al-Fārūq when they were being defeated, escaped
from a thrust that caught his saddle.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the polytheists were defeated, and God gave His messenger power over them, a Muslim woman said,

‘God’s cavalry has overcome that of al-Lāt; it is God
who more deserves to prevail.”

Ibn Hishām stated that an authority on the transmission of poetry quoted it to him as,

“God’s cavalry has overcome that of al-Lāt; His
cavalry more deserves to prevail.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “When Hawāzin were defeated, widespread execution of Thaqif of Banū Mālik took place. Seventy of their men were killed beneath their banner, which was under the charge of Dhū al-Khimār. When he was killed, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabīb took it and fought on with it until killed. ‘Amir b. Wahb b. al-Aswad told me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned of his death, he said, ‘God damn him! He hated Quraysh!’”

Ibn Ishāq went on to quote Ya‘qūb b. ‘Utbā as having said that along with this man ‘Uthmān, a Christian slave of his was also killed. One of the *anṣār* came to remove the youth’s possessions and found him to be uncircumcised. So he called out at the top of his voice, “Hey, Arabs, Thaqif are uncircumcised!”

“Al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba al-Thaqafi said that upon hearing this, ‘I took him by the hand, fearing that this calumny would spread among the Arabs and told him, “Don’t say that, may my father and mother be your ransom! He was just a Christian slave of ours.” I then uncovered the dead for him, asking, “Can’t you see that they are indeed circumcised?””

Ibn Ishāq continued, “The banner of (Banū) al-Aḥlāf was with Qārib b. al-Aswad. When the enemy were defeated, he leaned it against a tree and he, his relatives and his people all fled. Only two of the al-Aḥlāf were killed – one man of Banū Ghiyara named Wahb and a man of Kubba named al-Jullāḥ. When he heard of the death of al-Jullāḥ, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘The leading young man of Thaqif, except for him descended from Ibn Hunayda, has been killed today.’” By this latter man he was referring to al-Ḥārith b. Uways.

Ibn Ishāq stated further, “Al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās spoke the following verses, referring to Qārib b. al-Aswad and his having fled from his brothers, and to Dhū al-Khimār’s having constrained his people and himself to death:

‘Who is it will inform Ghaylān for me and, I imagine,
someone knowing will go to him,

And ‘Urwa too; I have only to lead you to a response
and a statement that suggests the contrary to what you
both say:

That Muḥammad is a servant and a messenger for a Lord who does not lead astray nor does He do wrong.

We find him to be a prophet like Moses, and whatever man thinks himself better than him is deluded.

Terrible was the state of Banū Qasī in Wajj, when the matters were decreed.

They ruined their situation; and for every people there is a leader, and fortunes may well change.

We attacked them like forest lions; the forces of God move in plain view.

We attacked the force of Banū Qasī enraged, almost flying at them

I swear that had they stayed, we would have brought troops against them and they would not have escaped.

We were (like) lions of Liya¹³⁹ there until we revealed them and al-Nuṣūr¹⁴⁰ were made to surrender.

And (there was) a day before that of Ḥunayn that has now gone by when blood streamed.

You'll hear of no day like today; a people of long memory has not heard of such.

We killed Banū Ḥuṭayṭ on the dust, over their banners, while the cavalry shifted away.

Dhū al-Khimār was no leader for a people who had intelligence who could be punished or disavowed.

He took them on the roads to death, matters being clear for those who could see them

Some on the point of death escaped and survived, while many of them were killed.

A feeble man would not help such a situation, nor would someone lacking modesty or over-cautious.

He destroyed them and perished; they gave him leadership over their affairs and the chiefs left.

Banū 'Awf have horses that trot along and are given hay and barley to eat.

Were it not for Qārib and his father's sons, the pastures and forts would be divided up

But they occupied the leadership by luck to which they were directed.

They obeyed Qārib, and good fortune and aspirations lead to glory.

If they are led to Islam, they will be found to be leaders of men for so long as day and night persist.

If they do not accept Islam, then they call for war against God and shall have no helper.

139. A place near al-Ta'if.

140. The family of Malik b. 'Awf.

Just as war erased Banū Sa'd and fate brought evil to the clan of Banū Ghaziyya.

As though Banū Mu'āwiya b. Bakr came to Islam like sheep, bleating.

We said, 'Accept Islam! We are your brothers; our hearts are innocent of old hatred.'

It was as though when the people came to us, they were, after the peace, devoid of hate."

Chapter.

When Hawāzin had been defeated, their leader Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣri halted at a pass with a group of his men and told them to stay there until their weaker comrades and those at their rear caught up with them.

Ibn Ishāq stated that he had been informed that some horsemen came up while Mālik and his companions were at the pass. He asked his men, "What do you see?" "We can see men who place their lances between the ears of their horses that have long flanks." Mālik commented, "Those are Banū Salīm; you should not fear them." When they arrived there they followed a route in the middle of the valley. Then other riders appeared, following the first group. Mālik asked his men, "What do you see?" They replied, "We see men who rest their lances carelessly across their horses." "Those", Mālik said, "are al-Aws and al-Khazraj. You should not fear them." When these men arrived at the base of the pass, they took the same route as Banū Salīm. Then another horseman appeared, and Mālik asked his men, "What do you see?" They told him, "We see a rider on a long-flanked horse holding his lance on his shoulder and with his head covered in a red kerchief." "That is al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām," Mālik observed, "I swear by al-Lāt, he will attack you, so fight back hard." When al-Zubayr reached the base of the pass, he saw them, made for them and kept thrusting at them until he had dislodged them from it."

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders regarding the booty, and the camels, sheep, goats and prisoners were gathered together. He had them all taken to al-Ji'rāna where they were kept.

Ibn Ishāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī in charge of the booty.

Chapter.

Ibn Ishāq stated that he was informed by a colleague that on that day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by a woman whom Khālīd b. al-Walīd had

killed; a crowd had gathered around her. He told one of his companions, "Go to Khālīd and tell him that God's messenger forbids you from killing children, women or hired labourers."

Ibn Ishāq related it thus without a complete line of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū 'Āmir 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Amr, quoting al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Abū al-Zinād, who said that al-Muraqqa' b. Ṣayfī related to him, from his grandfather Rabāḥ b. Rabī'ā, brother of Banū Ḥanzala al-Kātib, who stated that on one occasion the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition he had waged in which Khālīd b. al-Walīd was in the vanguard. Rabāḥ and the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by a dead woman who had been struck down by the vanguard. They had halted and were looking down admiringly at her when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding his mount, caught up with them. They drew away from her and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted over her and said, "This woman should not have been killed!" He then told one of his men, "Go to Khālīd and tell him, 'No women nor hired labourers must be killed!'"

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasa'ī and Ibn Māja related it similarly, from a *ḥadīth* of Muraqqa' b. Ṣayfī.

THE EXPEDITION TO AWṬĀS.

The reason for this was that when Hawāzin were defeated a number of them, including their leader Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī, took refuge in al-Ṭā'if, where they fortified themselves. One group of their men went and made camp at a place called Awṭās. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition of his men under the command of Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī and they fought and defeated the enemy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then himself went and besieged al-Ṭā'if, as will be recounted.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the polytheists were defeated at the battle of Ḥunayn, they went to al-Ṭā'if, in the company of Mālik b. 'Awf. Some of them encamped at Awṭās, while others, consisting only of men of Banū Ghīra of Thaqīf, went towards Nakhla. The cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) followed those who took the path through the pass."

He went on, "Rafī'ā b. Rafī' b. Ahān al-Sulamī – known by his mother's name as 'son of al-Daghīna' – captured Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. He did so by taking the reins of his camel, thinking that a woman and not he, was in the *ḥowdah* upon it. When he made the camel kneel, he discovered an old man inside, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, whom the young man, Rabī'ā, did not recognize. Durayd asked him, 'What do you want of me?' He replied, 'I am going to kill you.' 'Who are you?' Durayd asked. 'I am Rabī'ā b. Rafī' al-Sulamī.' Rabī'ā then struck Durayd with his sword, but the blow was ineffective. Durayd commented, 'Well, your mother did not give you a good weapon! Here, take my sword from the back of

my saddle in the *howdah*, then use it to strike me; hit above the backbone and below the skull. Now that's how I would strike men! And when you go to your mother, tell her that you killed Durayd b. al-Šimma. I swear that many were the times I defended your women!

"Banū Sulaym claim that Rabi'a said, 'When I struck him and he fell down, he was exposed and the skin high up between his thighs was like parchment from his having so often ridden bareback.'

"When Rabi'a returned to his mother and told her of having killed him, she said, 'I swear, he set free three of your mothers!'"

Ibn Ishāq then quoted verses his daughter 'Amra spoke eulogizing him. These included,

"They said, 'We killed Durayd!' I said, 'They spoke the truth!' And my tears kept streaming down my robe.

Were it not for Him who had defeated all the tribes,
Sulaym and Ka'b would have known what to do.

Then a great army would have attacked them constantly,
their armour emitting various odours of rust, wherever
they went."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent after those of the enemy who had headed for Awtās a force under Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī. He caught up with some of those who had fled and they engaged in battle. An arrow was shot at and killed Abū 'Āmir and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī took the banner, he being the cousin of Abū 'Āmir, battled them and God, Almighty and Glorious, gave him victory over them. They claim that it was Salama b. Durayd who shot Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī with an arrow, striking him in the knee and killing him.

"Salama spoke the following verses,

"If you ask about me, I'll say I'm Salam, son of
Samādir, "the weak-sighted", I'll tell whoever asks
I strike with my sword the heads of Muslims."

Ibn Ishāq stated further, "An authority on poetry and its transmission whom I trust told me that Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī confronted the polytheist brothers. One of them attacked him and Abū 'Āmir fought back, calling him to accept Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him!' Then Abū 'Āmir killed him.

"A second polytheist attacked him and Abū 'Āmir fought back, inviting him into Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him.' Abū 'Āmir then killed him. At that they all charged at him while he spoke as before. Eventually he had killed nine of them and only the tenth remained. He attacked Abū 'Āmir, who fought back, calling upon him to accept Islam, saying, 'O God, bear witness against him.' Then the man called out, 'O God, do not bear witness against me!' At that Abū 'Āmir stopped fighting him and the man withdrew. He thereafter accepted Islam and was a good Muslim. When he saw him, the Prophet (ṢAAS) would comment, 'That's the fugitive from Abū 'Āmir.'

"Two brothers – al-ʿAlā and Awfā, sons of al-Ḥārith of Banū Jusham b. Muʿawiyya – then shot at Abū ʿĀmir. One of them hit him in the heart, the other in the knee, and they killed him. Abū Mūsā then turned the enemy back and attacked and killed these two men. A man of Banū Jusham b. Muʿawiyya eulogized them in the following verses,

'What a calamity was the killing of al-ʿAlā and Awfā
together, who received no support.

It was they who killed Abū ʿĀmir, that cunning lion!

They left him lying on a battle field, his clothing as
though stained with saffron.

The like of them both was never seen before; no two
were ever more free of fault, or more sure of aim."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-ʿAṭā related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished at Ḥunayn, he sent Abū ʿĀmir in command of an army to Awṭās. There he encountered Durayd b. al-Ṣimma who was killed, while his companions were defeated."

Abū Mūsā went on, "He sent me forth with Abū ʿĀmir, who was shot in the knee, the arrow, shot by a man of Banū Jusham, lodging in it. When I reached him, I asked, 'Who shot you, uncle?' He pointed over at the man, saying, 'There, that's the man who shot and killed me!' I made for him, but he withdrew when he saw me coming. I followed on, calling out, 'Aren't you ashamed not to stand and fight?' he stopped retreating and we exchanged a few sword strokes then I killed him. I went and told Abū ʿĀmir, 'God has killed your enemy!' He asked me, 'Take out this arrow.' I did so and water seeped from the wound. He then requested, 'Nephew, deliver my greeting to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ask him to pray for my forgiveness.'

"Abū ʿĀmir then appointed me in command of our men and after a short while he died. I returned and went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) inside his house. He was lying on a rope bed of date-palms and stalks with a coverlet over him; the ropes and strands of the bed had made marks on his back and sides. I told him our news and about Abū ʿĀmir and how he had told me, 'Ask him to seek forgiveness for me.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for water to be brought, performed the ablution, then raised his arms praying, 'O God, forgive ʿUbayd, Abū ʿĀmir!' I saw the whiteness of his underarms. He then said, 'O God, place him on the Judgement Day of Resurrection above many of Your creation' – or 'of many people'. I said, 'Will you also ask forgiveness for me?' He then said, 'O God, forgive ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays his sins and on Resurrection Day grant him a favourable entry (into paradise).'"

Abū Burda noted, "One of the prayers was for Abū ʿĀmir, the other for Abū Mūsā, may God be pleased with them both."

Muslim related this from Abū Kurayb, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Barād, from Abū Usāma in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Sufyān – he being al-Thawrī – from 'Uthmān al-Battī, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, who said, 'At Awṭās we took some women prisoner who had husbands and we were reluctant to have intercourse with them while this was so. We therefore asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and this verse was revealed, "and all married women, except those whom your right hands possess" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.24). And so we considered their bodies permissible to us.'"

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of 'Uthmān al-Battī. Muslim gave it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī. Imām Aḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba. Muslim, Shu'ba and al-Tirmidhī gave it additionally from a *ḥadīth* of Hammām, from Yahyā, all three giving an account from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū 'Alqama al-Hāshimī, from Abū Sa'īd to the effect that the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Awṭās made captives of women who had husbands who were polytheists. This fact made some of the men refrain from intercourse with them. And so this verse "and all married women, except those whom your right hands possess" was revealed.

This is the version given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; and he added to this chain of authorities Abū 'Alqama al-Hāshimī who is considered reliable. This is the accepted interpretation, though God knows best.

A number of the early authorities view this verse as evidence that the sale of a female slave means her divorce. This is related of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy b. Ka'b, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Ibn 'Abbās, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. The majority oppose these, citing an anecdote about Burayra to the effect of her having been sold and then given a choice of ending or maintaining her marriage. If sale of her meant her divorce, then she would not have been given a choice.

We have discussed this issue in detail and sufficiently in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And we will refer to it again, if God so wills it, in our (projected work) *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*.

A number of the early authorities cite this *ḥadīth* relating to those made captive at Awṭās to substantiate the permissibility (of intercourse) with female slaves who were polytheists. The majority, however, oppose them, saying, "This is a special case; perhaps these women accepted Islam or were Christians or Jews." The proper place for further discussion of this issue will be in *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*, if God Almighty wills it.

Chapter: On those who were martyred at the battle of Hunayn and on the Expedition to Awṭās.

(These men were) Ayman b. Umm Ayman, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he being Ayman b. 'Ubayd; Zayd b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, whose horse, named al-Janah, bolted and so he was killed; Surāqa b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī al-Anṣārī, of Banū al-'Ajlān; Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī,

the commander of the expedition to Awṭās. These total four men; may God be pleased with them.

Chapter: On the Poetry spoken at the Expedition against Hawāzīm.

Among these verses are those of Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā,

“Had it not been for God and His servant, you would
have retreated when terror overcame every coward

At the winding valley that day our enemies faced us,
the swift horses stumbled on to their chins.

Some men went running, their garments held up in their
hands, others were knocked to the side by hooves and
flanks.

God honoured us and gave victory to our faith,
dignifying us through worship of the Most Merciful.

And God destroyed them, dispersing and humiliating them
for worshipping Satan.”

Ibn Hishām stated that some transmitters of the poetry include the verses,

“When Your Prophet’s uncle and his ally arose, calling,
O squadron of the faith!

Where are they who responded to their Lord, at the
battle of al-‘Arīḍ and at the ‘willing allegiance’”¹⁴¹

(Ibn Ishāq stated) “‘Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī spoke the following,

‘By the swift horses on assembly day and by the Book
that the Messenger recited,

I was pleased at Thaqīf’s painful fate yesterday beside
the defile

They are the enemy’s leaders from Najd, and killing
them is sweeter than drinking.

We defeated their group, that group of Banū Qasī, and
fierce was the fighting for Banū Rṣāb.

The tents of Banū Hilāl were left at Awṭās begrimed
with dust.

If (our forces) had clashed with Banū Kilāb, their
women would have risen with dust¹⁴² upon them.

We raced our horses among them between Buss and
al-Awrāl,¹⁴³ breathing hard in pursuit of the booty

Amidst a clamorous army that included the squadron of
the Messenger of God that charged into the battle.’

“‘Abbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

141. See above, Vol. 11 p.341, footnote 74.

142. That is, in mourning.

143. Buss is a mountain near Dhāt ‘Araq. Al-Awrāl are three black mountains in the desert.

'O seal of the prophets, you are sent with the truth;
all guidance on the right path being yours.

God built upon you love in His creation, and Muḥammad
he named you.

Then those who were true to the pact you gave them
became an army, over whom you appointed al-Daḥḥāk

A man with a sharp sword who, when surrounded by the
enemy, saw only you.

He would even battle those near in blood, seeking to
please the All-Compassionate and yourself too.

I tell you I witnessed his repeated attacks in the
turmoil of war, braining the polytheists,

Sometimes strangling them with his hands, sometimes
slashing their heads with his sharp sword,

Using it to smash the warriors' heads; if you saw what
I did, it pleased you well,

While Banū Sulaym charged before him, striking and
thrusting constantly at the enemy.

They walked beneath his banner as though lions of a
thicket determined to battle there.

Not wanting closeness from their relatives, seeking
only that they obey their Lord and to please you.

These were our actions for which we were renowned, our
ally being your Lord.'

"Abbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

'Mijdal is empty of its people now, as is Mutālī'; and
the plains of Arīk are bare, as are its cisterns.

Homes of ours, O Juml, when our lives were fine and
easy, and time's changes would unite our family wish

A lover whom great distance has diverted; can life now
past ever return?

If she seeks after the unbelievers, she is not to be
blamed; for I am the assistant and follower of the
Prophet.

The best of envoys I have known, Khuzayma, brought us,
and al-Mirrār is of them, and Wāsi' too.

And so we came, along with 1,000 men of Sulaym,
upon whom were splendid coats of mail made by Dā'ūd.

We pledged allegiance to him at al-Akhshabayn, though
it was the hand of God to whom we really pledged there.

We went into Mecca with the *mahdī*, the one well-led, by
force, our swords in the rising dust, glistening,
openly,

The bodies of our horses were covered with sweat,
groaning, their blood within them boiling,

At the battle of Ḥunayn when Hawāzin came at us, and
our tight ribs restricted our breathing

We kept firm with al-Daḥḥāk, undeterred by the blows
and strikes of our enemies

Before the Messenger of God, while a banner flew above
us, shining like lightning above clouds.

That evening Daḥḥāk b. Sufyān struck with the sword of
the Messenger of God, and death was near at hand.

We defended our brother from our brother,¹⁴⁴ and if we
had seen an option, we would have followed our
relatives.

But the religion of God is that of Muḥammad; we are
pleased with it. It has guidance and laws.

Through it he set us aright after our mistaken course;
and no matter decided by God can be prevented.'

"Abbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

'The remaining connection with Umm Mu'ammal has been
ended, for she changed her intention, against her word.

She had sworn by God not to sever the link; she did
not speak true in that, and was not true to her word.

She is from Banū Khufāf who spent the summer in the
al-ʿAqīq valley, living in the desert at Wajra and al-ʿUrfā.

Even if Umm Mu'ammal follows the unbelievers, she has
stocked my heart with passion despite her distance.

Someone will tell her that we refused; the only ally
we seek is our Lord,

And that we are with the guide, the Prophet, Muḥammad
and that 1,000 are with us, matched by no other tribe,

With trustworthy heroes of Sulaym, men who obey and do
not disobey by even a syllable.

Khufāf, Dhakwān and ʿAwf, whose path you would imagine
strewn with (disuniting) difficulties,

(But) our glossy armour and helmets were as though worn
by frowning lions slashing in their lairs.

Through us God's religion gained strength; we added a
like number to the group already with him

At Mecca when we came; it was as if our banner was an
eagle that, having soared, was ready to swoop down.

Upon mounts staring fixedly ahead, their forcing
against their bits you would think inspired by a
genie's hum,

That morning we trod the polytheists underfoot, finding
no deviation or change from the orders of the Messenger
of God,

144. Banū Sulaym and Hawāzin were both clans of Qays.

At a battle amidst which the men heard from us no
urgings except to fight and to crush heads

Sent flying from their supports by our swords which
sliced right through the warriors' necks.

Many's the man we left struck down, and many the widow
weeping bitterly over her husband.

It is God's pleasure we seek, not that of man; and to
God belongs all that is apparent and hidden.'

"Abbās b. Mirdās, may God be pleased with him, also spoke the following verses,

'Why are your eyes sleepless, as though bothered by
irritants, husks beneath their lids?

Eyes made sleepless from their pain, welling and
streaming their tears,

Which look like pearls scattered when the man stringing
them breaks their thread.

How far away is the home of her for whose love you
hope, between you and whom al-Ṣammān and al-Ḥafar
stand!

Abandon your youth now gone, long past for your hair is
grey and thin.

And recall the distress of Sulaym in their lands; yet
Sulaym have reason to have pride.

They are a people who aided the Most Merciful and
followed the religion of the Messenger while people
were in conflict.

They no longer plant palm shoots in their land, nor do
cattle low in their wintering grounds

Where only fast steeds, like eagles, are kept at hand
amidst lands filled with herds of camels.

Khufāf and 'Awf were brought to their flanks, and the
clan of Dhakwān did not turn away in annoyance.

They struck openly at the polytheist armies in Mecca's
valley and their souls were whisked away

Until we left, their bodies like palm trees uprooted on
the plain's surface.

At the battle of Ḥunayn our witness was to the glory of
the religion and it is recorded with God.

When we rode death, dingy-hued its inner flanks, while
the horses emitted a dusky glow

Beneath the banner, with al-Daḥḥāk leading us, like a
lurking lion walking within his forest,

In dire straits due to the burdens of warfare that
almost caused sun and moon to fade.

We remained steadfast at Awṭās; our lances dedicated to
God, we helped those we wished, and won victory.

And finally people returned to their homes who, were it not for the Sovereign and ourselves, would not have emerged.

You will not see any tribe, small in number or large, without our having had some influence upon them.'

"Abbās also spoke the following,

'O man who is borne upon a young, strong-boned, swift-footed camel
If you should go to the Prophet, then say to him as it is your duty to do, if the group assembled are at ease,

"O finest man to ride a mount or ever to walk upon the earth, if souls be counted,

We were true to our pact with you when the cavalry were overpowered and wounded by the warriors

When there streamed a force from all parts of the Buhtha clan that shook the mountain trails

Until we attacked the people of Mecca, in a squadron, their armour shining, being led by proud men.

From every powerful clan of Sulaym, wearing close-knitted chain-mail upon them

Moistening their lances when they charged into the fray, so that you would imagine them as frowning lions.

Overwhelming the squadron, their insignia showing, bearing in their hands slashing swords and quick-thrusting spears.

At Hunayn there were a thousand in our force by which the Messenger was supported, as by fierce lions,

They were a vanguard ahead of the believers; and that day the sun upon them seemed more intense.

We went forward, God guarding us in his care; and God never loses those He guards.

We were blockaded at al-Manāqib. But God took pleasure in that; and that makes our blockade worthwhile.

The morning of Awṭās we made a fierce attack and the enemy drew back, calling out to us, "Hold off!"

Hawāzin appealed to the brotherhood between us; but the breast Hawāzin used to offer is very dry!

Finally we left their force like wild asses that lions have torn apart, one after the other.'

"He also, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following,

'Who is it will tell the peoples that Muḥammad is God's messenger, right-guided wherever he moves?

He called out to God, seeking His help alone and He was true and kind to him.

We travelled forth, keeping our appointment with Muḥammad at Qudayd so that he could have us fulfil a matter that God had decreed.

They scouted us at dawn and as dawn broke they
perceived us to be young warriors with lances set,
Upon horses, and our armour firmly attached, and our
numerous infantry rushing forward like a torrent.
The best of the tribe – if ask you must – are Sulaym and
they include some who claim to be Sulaym
And a force of *anṣār* who would not desert him, obedient
to him and they do not disobey him in what he says.
Since you have appointed and promoted Khālīd commander
of the army, he has indeed advanced
With an army, guided by God, of which you are leader.
With it you rightfully strike those who are evil.
I have sworn a genuine oath to Muḥammad and have
fulfilled it with a thousand horses, fully bridled.
The Prophet of the believers called, 'Advance!' And
it pleased us to be the vanguard.
We spent the night at Mustadir pool. We had no fear –
only enthusiasm and determination.
We obeyed you until all the enemy accepted Islam,
attacking their force in the morning, those people at
Yalamlamā.
(A force so large) even a piebald red stallion could go
astray amidst it, and an old man be insecure unless
well marked.
We surprised them like a covey of grouse startled at
dawn, each of which you see to be uncaring for its
brother,
That morning; until finally we left them that evening
at Ḥunayn, its streams flowing with blood.
If you wished, you could everywhere see fine race
horses, their riders stretched out besides broken
lances.
Hawāzin have regained from us their herds; and for us to
be disappointed and deprived of these has pleased
them."

Thus did Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq give the poems of 'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, may God be pleased with him. We have omitted some of the odes he included for fear of being long-winded and boring. Ibn Ishāq also gives the poetry of others; but enough on the subject has been given above. Though God knows best.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST AL-ṬĀ'IF.

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhri as stating that the Messenger of God (SAAS) fought at Ḥunayn and besieged al-Ṭā'if in Shawwāl of 8 AH.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The routed Thaḳīf army reached al-Ṭāʾif, shut themselves behind the gate of the city and fortified themselves in preparation for conflict.

"Neither ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd nor Ghaylān b. Salama were present at Ḥunayn or the siege of al-Ṭāʾif. They were at Jurash learning how to construct testudos for use at a distance and close by the walls.

"Having finished at Ḥunayn, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to al-Ṭāʾif. On that subject Kaʿb b. Mālīk spoke the following verses,

ʿIn the lowlands and at Khaybar we ended all doubt,
then rested our swords

For them to choose (next). Had they spoken, their
blades would have said, "Attack Daws or Thaḳīf!"

May I have no mother if you do not see them at your
courtyards, with us in our thousands.

We will tear down the pavilions in the Wajj valley, and
your homes will be devoid of you.

The most swift of our cavalry will attack you, leaving
behind them a dense mass

When they descend on your areas, you'll hear from them
enough to make your camels kneel in alarm.

In their hands will be sharp, slim swords, visiting
death upon those opposing them,

Flashing like lightning, fashioned by Indian
blacksmiths, not beaten out flat.

You might have thought the blood of heroes in them that
battle morning was mixed with saffron.

As for their most diligent, had they no adviser in
their peoples who knew of us

To tell them that we had gathered the most choice and
well-bred of horses

And had brought against them a force to line up around
the walls of their fort?

Their leader was the Prophet, resolute, pure of heart,
steadfast and abstemious,

Mature, wise, knowledgeable, astute, never rash or
frivolous.

We obey our Prophet and a Lord who is the Most Merciful
and has been most kind to us.

If you offer us peace we will accept and will make you
our allies, and

If you refuse, we will fight you steadfastly, and
conflict with us will not be gentle or easy.

We will fight on as long as we survive or you turn in
repentance to Islam, submissively.

We will battle on, careless whom we confront, nor
whether we destroy the old or the new.

How numerous were the tribes allied against us, some
the central tribes, some their allies.

They attacked us thinking themselves unequalled, but we
severed nose and ears

With our Indian swords, supple and gleaming, violently
forcing them forward

To the business of God and Islam until the religion is
established in justice and devotion

And al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Wudd are forgotten and we
remove their necklaces and earrings.

Now they have become acquiescent and secure; and those
who do not refrain (from idolatry) become disgraced."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Kināna b. 'Abd Yālil b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafi answered him in the following verse."

(I note that he had later come over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with the Thaqif delegation; he accepted Islam along with them. This was so stated by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, Abū Ishāq, Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn al-Athir and others. Al-Madā'inī, however, claimed that he did not accept Islam, but went into Byzantine territory, where he accepted Christianity and died.)

'To those seeking us to fight us: we're at a well-known
place we will not leave.

We know our forefathers were here, where are its
terraces and its vineyards.

'Amr b. 'Āmir previously put us to the test, and their
men of reason and wisdom advised them.

They knew – if truth they tell – that we set straight
cheeks turned aside in disdain.

We reform them; those who are wild we tame and those
who do wrong acknowledge the evident truth.

We dress in light, supple chain-mail, from a longed-for
legacy, sky-coloured its sheen, decorated with
stars.

We force them off us with our sharp swords which, when
once drawn in conflict we do not again sheathe."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Shaddād b. 'Āriḍ al-Jushamī spoke the following verses concerning the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to al-Ṭā'if,

'Do not assist al-Lāt whom God destroys; how can aid be
given to one who cannot be assisted?

She who was burned, flaming in black smoke, while at
her stone monument not even the worthless do battle.

Once the Messenger descends on your lands and has left,
none of its people will remain there."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then travelled – from Hunayn to al-Ṭāʾif – by way of Nakhla al-Yamaniyya, Qarn, al-Mulayḥ and Buḥrat al-Rughāʾ of Liyya; he had a mosque constructed there and performed the prayers.

"Amr b. Shuʿayb related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped that day at Buḥrat al-Rughāʾ he allowed retaliation in kind for blood spilled, that being the first occasion in Islam that such permission was given. A man of Banū Layth had killed someone of Hudhayl and he executed him for it. While at Liyya he ordered the destruction of the fort of Mālik b. ʿAwf.

"He then proceeded along a path known as *al-Dayyiqā*, 'the narrow, difficult path'. As he was setting out along it he asked what it was called and it was so named to him. He commented, 'No; it's *al-Yusrā*, "the easy road".'

"Emerging from it he passed Nakhb and made a halt beneath a lote tree known as *al-Ṣādira*, near property owned by a man of Thaqif. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent word to him to either come out or have his wall destroyed. He refused to emerge and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that his wall be demolished."

Ibn Ishāq then quoted Ismāʿīl b. Umayya as quoting Bujayr b. Abū Bujayr to have said, "I heard ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say when he went forth with him to al-Ṭāʾif and passed by a grave, 'This is the tomb of Abū Righāl,¹⁴⁵ he being the father of Thaqif. He was of Thamūd and one of those defending their sanctuary there. When he went out (with Abraha) he was afflicted by that same vengeance that came down upon his people at that place, and he was buried there. The proof of this is that along with him a golden bough was buried. If you exhume him, you will find it.'

"The men promptly did so and retrieved the bough, along with his remains."

Abū Dāʾūd narrated this from Yahyā b. Muʿīn, from Wahb b. Jarir b. Ḥāzim, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Rawḥ b. al-Qāsim, from Ismāʿīl b. Umayya.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then travelled on and established his camp near al-Ṭāʾif. Some of his men were killed by arrows because the camp had been set close to al-Ṭāʾif. They therefore withdrew to the place where today stands his mosque, built by Thaqif after their acceptance of Islam. It was ʿAmr b. Umayya b. Wahb who built it. It had in it a column from which, so they say, a cracking sound could be heard every morning when sunlight struck it.

"He besieged them there for some 20 days." Ibn Hishām gives this figure as 17.

145. This related to the advance made in the area by Abraha (see Vol. I above, p.22) who was persuaded in al-Ṭāʾif to leave their temple undisturbed and to continue on to attack the sanctuary at Mecca.

Urwa and Mūsā b. 'Uqba quote al-Zuhri as having stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on to al-Ṭā'if, leaving the captives (from Ḥunayn) at al-Ji'rāna, where they filled the tents of Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) encamped at al-Akama, near the fortress of al-Ṭā'if, for some ten or more days, engaging them in battle while they fought back from behind their fortifications. The only man to emerge was Abū Bakra b. Masrūḥ, Ziyād's brother from his mother's side. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set him free. Many casualties were suffered there and they (the Muslims) cut down some of their grape vines to enrage them thereby. At this Thaqif asked, 'Don't ruin our properties; they will either remain ours or become yours.'"

Urwa stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered each Muslim to cut down five date-palms or five vines. He sent out a crier to announce, "Anyone who comes forth to us will be free." A number of people did join him, including Abū Bakra b. Masrūḥ, a brother of Ziyād b. Abū Sufyān on his mother's side. He then set them free and assigned each one to a Muslim who was to provide food and a mount.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would set free any slave who came to him with priority over any of their freed-men who accepted Islam. (He stated also) that at the battle of al-Ṭā'if he set two men free.

(Imām) Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Quddūs b. Bakr b. Khumayr related to us, quoting al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭā'if and two slaves came out whom he set free. One of them was Abū Bakra. It was his practice to free any slaves who came over to him.'"

He also stated, "Naṣr b. Rṣāb related to us, from Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'At al-Ṭā'if, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Whatever slaves join us shall be freed.'"

"Some of the slaves did come out, including Abū Bakra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set them all free."

This *ḥadīth* is given only by Aḥmad; it hinges upon al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, a weak source. However, Imām Aḥmad did accept it. It was his view that it was a general, universal principle that every slave who left the enemy to join Islam was freed.

Others maintained that this was conditional and not an absolute rule.

If the *ḥadīth* is authentic, then its general legislative authority is very plain – as in the case of his statement (referred to above), 'Whoever kills an enemy shall own that man's possessions.'

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as stating, "Abd Allāh b. al-Mukarram al-Thaqafi related to me, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭā'if, one of their slaves came out to join him, he being Abū Bakra, who belonged to al-Ḥārith b. Kalda. Along with him came

“al-Munba‘ith”; his real name was al-Muḍṭajī, “he who lies down”, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him “al-Munba‘ith”, “he who rises again”. Also there were Yaḥnas and Wardān among a group of slaves who accepted Islam. When the delegation arrived from the people of al-Ṭā‘if to accept Islam, they asked, “Messenger of God, restore to us our slaves who joined you.” He replied, “No; those have been set free by God.” But he did give the man the clientage to his former slave.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shu‘ba, from ‘Āṣim, who said that he heard Abū ‘Uthmān say, “I heard Sa‘d, the first to shoot an arrow in God’s cause, and Abū Bakra, who climbed over the walls of al-Ṭā‘if to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), both say, ‘We heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, “Anyone who claims to be the son of someone other than his real father, while knowing the facts, will be denied paradise.”’”

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Āṣim.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “Hishām said, ‘Ma‘mar informed us, from ‘Āṣim, from Abū al-‘Āliya – or Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī – as follows, “I heard Sa‘d and Abū Bakra narrate the following *ḥadīth* from the Prophet (ṢAAS), namely, that ‘Āṣim reported having said to him, ‘Two men have testified to you who are to be trusted.’ ‘Yes, that is so,’ he replied. One of these was the first to shoot an arrow in God’s cause. The other was the third of 23 persons who joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ṭā‘if.”’”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “Two of his wives were accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One of these was Umm Salama. He set up two pavilions for them and would pray between them. He besieged the enemy and fought them fiercely, engaging in exchanges of arrow fire.”

Ibn Hishām stated that he also shot at them using catapults.

A trustworthy source related to me that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was the first in Islam to fire a catapult, using them against the people of al-Ṭā‘if.

Ibn Ishāq stated that a number of the Muslims went beneath a testudo and moved it slowly forward to burn the walls of al-Ṭā‘if and heated nails were cast down upon them. When they emerged from beneath the testudo, Thaqīf shot arrows down at them, killing some men. At that point the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the Thaqīf vines be cut down and the Muslims set about this task.

Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba then advanced and called for safe passage to talk with them. This was granted and they invited some women of Quraysh and Banū Kināna to come out to them; they feared that they might be treated as captives if the fortress were conquered. The women refused and Abū al-Aswad b. Mas‘ūd asked the two men, “Can’t I make a better suggestion for you than that you put forward? You well know the whereabouts of the estate of Abū al-Aswad. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been encamped at a valley

called al-‘Aqīq, between the lands of Banū al-Aswad and al-Ṭā’if. There is no property in al-Ṭā’if more distant from irrigation water nor more difficult to supply or more inaccessible to cultivate than it. If Muḥammad cuts it down it will never produce again to him; so suggest that he either take it for himself or leave it alone for the sake of God and our kinship ties.”

They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did leave it alone for them.

Al-Wāqidi quoted his elders similarly. It was his view that it was Salmān al-Fārisī who suggested using the catapult and that he himself operated it. It is said that he brought it forward, along with the two testudos. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī, through Ibn Lahī‘a, from Abū al-Aswad, from ‘Urwa, reported that ‘Uyayna b. Ḥuṣn sought permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to go to the people of al-Ṭā’if to invite them to Islam. He was given this permission. When he went to them, he advised them, in a lengthy address, to stay in their fortification, telling them, “You should not be scared by the strikes of someone who cuts down trees!”

The account continues, “When he returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him what he had told them and he replied, ‘I invited them into Islam, warned them of hell and told them of paradise.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘You lie! You said such-and-such to them!’ ‘Uyayna admitted, ‘You speak the truth, O Messenger of God! I turn to God and to you seeking forgiveness for that.’”

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākīm, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām al-Dustuwā’i, from Qatāda, from Salīm b. Abū al-Ja‘d, from Mi‘dān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ al-Sulamī, he being ‘Amr b. ‘Absa, may God be pleased with him, who said, “We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the siege of the fortress at al-Ṭā’if. I heard him say, ‘Whoever of you can make an arrow reach (them) will reach an extra level in paradise.’ And that day I made 16 arrows reach.

“I also heard him say, ‘Whoever casts an arrow in God’s cause is in effect set free. For whomever turns grey in God’s cause there shall be a light on Resurrection Day. Any man who frees a Muslim shall have God render every one of his bones a shield for every other, bone by bone. And any woman who frees a Muslim woman shall have God render every one of her bones a shield for every other bone she has.’”

Abū Dā’ūd and al-Tirmidhī narrated this, and al-Nasā’i declared it *ṣaḥīḥ*, from a *ḥadīth* of Qatāda.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ḥumaydī, quoting Sufyān, quoting Hishām, from his father, from Zaynab, daughter of Umm Salama, who said that Umm Salama stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to see me when I had a *mukhannath*,¹⁴⁶ ‘an effeminate man’, with me. The former heard

146. The term seems to have been applied to men not sexually excited by women; see Ibn Kathīr’s own comments hereafter.

the latter say to ‘Abd Allāh b. Umayya, ‘If God conquers al-Ṭā’if for you tomorrow, be sure to take Ghaylān’s daughter; she exposes four folds of flesh when approaching and eight when she turns her back.’ And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Don’t have such persons in your company!’”

According to Ibn ‘Uyayna and Ibn Jurayj the name of the effeminate was Hit.

Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim, with lines of transmission from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father. In one version there are the words, “whom they considered devoid of normal male sex drive”. And in one there is the phrase, “And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I would not have this man know what is here. Don’t have such people in your company.’”

This implies that if he were someone who understood that, then he would be included (for consideration) with those referred to in God Almighty’s words, “or the children who are not conscious of the private parts of women” (*sūrat al-Nūr*, XXIV, 31).

By the word *al-mukhannath* in the usage of the early authorities is meant those devoid of (sexual) interest in women; the word does not refer to homosexuals. For had he been like that, his execution would certainly have been necessary, as the *ḥadīth* tradition indicates, and as Abū Bakr, ‘the Trusting’, may God be pleased with him, himself decreed execution.

The meaning of the phrase given above, “she exposes four folds of flesh when approaching and eight when she turns her back” is a reference to the folds of flesh on her stomach; these would appear as four folds as she approached and each of these would become two as she moved away. This woman was named Bādiyya, daughter of Ghaylān b. Salama, and she was a lady of Thaḳīf.

Al-Bukhārī quoted Ibn Jurayj as giving the name of this *mukhannath* as Hit. This is widely accepted as fact. However, Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, “With the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there was a freed-man of his aunt Bint ‘Amr b. ‘Āyid, a *mukhannath* named Mātī’. He would go into the presence of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his home; he was not considered as having the normal desire for women that men have. Then he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) overheard him saying to Khālīd b. al-Walīd, ‘Khālīd, if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should conquer al-Ṭā’if, then be sure that Bādiyya, daughter of Ghaylān, does not slip away from you. She exposes four folds of flesh when she approaches you and eight when she turns her back.’ When he heard this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I would not have thought this man would notice such as that.’ He then told his women, ‘Let him not have access to you.’ He was then banned from the house of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Amr, from Abū al-‘Abbās, the blind poet, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged al-Ṭā’if, but did not overcome them, he said, ‘We’ll be leaving tomorrow, if God wills it.’

This disappointed them and they asked, 'Are we to leave without victory?' He replied, 'Then recommence the fighting.' Next day they did so but suffered casualties. He then said, 'We'll be leaving tomorrow, if God wills it.' This pleased them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed." Sufyān, the sub-narrator, once used the wording, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna; he gave the line of transmission as being from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, different from that given by al-Bukhārī. And (this line is given) in another similar version and in one from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Kuthayyir b. Zayd b. al-Walid b. Rabāḥ quotes Abū Hurayra as saying, 'Fifteen days of the siege of al-Ṭā'if having elapsed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought the advice of Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya al-Dīli, asking, "Nawfal, what is your view of maintaining it?" He replied, "Messenger of God, if you wait out a fox in its hole, you'll take it; and if you leave it (where it is) it will do you no harm."'"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "I have been informed that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged in the siege of Taqīf, he asked Abū Bakr, 'Abū Bakr, I had a vision that I was presented with a bowl filled with cream. A cock pecked at it and spilt its contents.' Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, replied, 'I do not think you will achieve with them today what you wish.' 'I don't think so either,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said.

"Khawlā al-Sulamiyya, daughter of Ḥakīm, then said, 'Messenger of God, please give to me, if God gives you victory, the jewellery of Badiyya, daughter of Ghaylān b. Salama, or that of al-Fāri'a, daughter of 'Uqayl'; these were known as the Thaḳīf women with the most jewels. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'What, Khawlā, if I am not awarded control over Thaḳīf?'

"Khawlā then left and reported to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb what he had said and the latter went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, 'Messenger of God, Khawlā has reported to me a conversation she claims to have had with you.' 'I might have said it,' he replied. 'Umar asked, 'Then have you not been awarded control over them?' 'No,' he answered. 'Umar asked, 'Then should I not announce our departure?' 'Yes, do,' he told him.

"'Umar then announced their departure. As the army moved off, Sa'īd b. Ubayd b. 'Asīd b. Abū 'Amr b. 'Allāj commented, 'Well, their tribe is standing fast.' 'Uyayna b. Ḥuṣn responded, 'Yes, I swear by God, nobly and valiantly.' One of the Muslims then addressed the latter, 'Uyayna, God Damn you, would you praise the polytheists for withstanding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when you came here to assist him?' 'Uyayna replied, 'I did not come with you to fight Thaḳīf; I wanted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to conquer al-Ṭā'if so that I could acquire a Thaḳīf woman with whom to have intercourse so she would bear me a son. We hold Thaḳīf in high regard.'"

Ibn Lahī'a narrated, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, the story of Khawlā, daughter of Ḥakīm, and what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said and how

he had told ʿUmar to announce the departure. He went on, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the men that they not disband their force. Next morning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth with his men and as he mounted to leave, he said, 'O God, guide them and spare us the trouble of them!'"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that they (the Muslim forces) said, "O Messenger of God, the Thaqif arrows greatly harmed us; pray to God against them." He responded, "O God, give guidance to Thaqif."

He (al-Tirmidhī) then commented, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as saying that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mukarram, quoting well informed scholars as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭāʾif for some 30 days and then left, not having defeated them. After he had returned to Medina, a delegation of them came to him, in Ramaḍān, and accepted Islam."

Reference to this will come in detail with regard to Ramaḍān of 9 AH, if God so wills it.

The following is the list of names of those Muslims who were, according to Ibn Ishāq, martyred at al-Ṭāʾif.

From Quraysh: Saʿīd b. Saʿīd b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya; ʿUrfuṭa b. Janāb, ally of Banū Umayyya b. al-Asad b. al-Ghawth; ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, who was struck by an arrow there and who died of his wound in Medina, after the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira al-Makhzūmī, struck by an arrow that day; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa, an ally of Banū ʿAdī; al-Sāʾib b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī al-Sahmī, along with his brother ʿAbd Allāh; Julayḥa b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Banū Saʿd b. Layṭh.

From the *anṣār*: from Khazraj: Thābit b. al-Jadhaʿ al-Aslamī; al-Ḥārith b. Sahl b. Abū Ṣaʿṣa al-Mazīnī; al-Mundhir b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Banū Saʿīda.

From al-Aws: Ruqaym b. Thābit b. Thaʿlaba b. Zayd b. Lawdhān b. Muʿāwiya.

Those martyred that day totalled twelve – seven men of Quraysh and four of the *anṣār*. Also killed was one man of Banū Layṭh. May God be pleased with them all.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on his way back from al-Ṭāʾif, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā spoke the following verses concerning the battles at Ḥunayn and al-Ṭāʾif:

'It was a replay of the battles of the Ḥunayn valley,
Awṭās and al-ʿAḥraq;

Hawāzin foolishly assembled their forces but broke up
like birds scattered.

They did not retain a single position against us,
except for their walls and the base of their ditch.

We paraded before them to bring them out, but they fortified against us behind a closed gate.

Our men without armour withdrew to a great force, a squadron whose armour shone with death.

Close-ranked, and green-hued; if sent charging against a fortress, it would be as though never constructed.

They walk like hounds on tree-shed thorns, like horses led separately then brought together again,

Each wearing armour that once firmly set looks like a pool shimmering under a breeze,

Over coats of armour, the hems of which brushed our shoes, finely woven by Dā'ūd and Muḥarriq's family."

Abū Dā'ūd stated that it was related to him by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafṣ, quoting al-Firyābī, quoting Abān, quoting 'Amr – he being Ibn 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Hāzim – quoting 'Uthmān b. Abū Hāzim, from his father, from his grandfather Ṣakhr – he being Abū al-'Ayla al-Aḥmasī – who said that when he, Ṣakhr, heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was attacking Thaqīf, he set off with his cavalry to assist him. When he arrived at al-Ṭā'if, however, he found him already gone. He then made a vow that he would not leave the fortress before they emerged to accept the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And he did not leave them until they had done so. Ṣakhr then wrote to him as follows, "Messenger of God, Thaqīf have now accepted your authority. I am accompanying them to you, along with my cavalry."

(The account continues) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that there be a general assembly for prayer and he spoke ten prayers for Banū al-Aḥmas, saying, 'O God, bless al-Aḥmas for both their cavalry and their foot soldiers.'

"When they arrived al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba spoke, 'O Messenger of God, Ṣakhr took my aunt and she adopted that which Muslims embrace.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for Ṣakhr and said, 'Ṣakhr, when people accept Islam, their blood and possessions are spared; return al-Mughīra's aunt to him.' And he did return her.

"He then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for that water supply belonging to Banū Salīm; they had fled from Islam and abandoned that water. He asked, 'Messenger of God, settle me and my people there.' 'Yes,' he agreed and he agreed to settle him and Aslam – the tribesmen of Aslam, that is – there. They then went to Ṣakhr and asked him to give the water supply to themselves, but he refused. And so they went again to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, we have accepted Islam and went to Ṣakhr to have him give us our water supply, but he refused. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Ṣakhr, when people accept Islam their blood and possessions are spared. Deliver their water supply over to them.' He replied, 'Yes, O Prophet of God.'

"I then saw the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turn red with embarrassment at his (Ṣakhr's) having taken the women and also the water!"

Abū Dāʿūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*. And there is some difference of opinion about its chain of authorities.

I observe that it was the Divine Wisdom that determined that the conquest should be postponed that year so that they (Thaqif) would not be annihilated. It has been related above how, following the death of his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone earlier to al-Ṭāʿif. He had invited them to come to God Almighty and to provide him sanctuary, so he could go on conveying the message of His Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, but they had rejected him and called him a liar.

He had then departed for home in a state of depression from which he had only emerged at Qarn al-Thaʿālib. There he saw a rain cloud in which was Gabriel. The angel of the mountains had then called out to him, saying, "Muḥammad, your Lord greets you. He has heard how your people have spoken to you and have rejected you. Would you like me to level the Akhshabayn mountains upon them?" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had replied, "No; give them respite so that God might bring forth from their loins those who will worship Him alone, associating no other with Him."

His statement, "No; give them respite ..." was consistent with his not conquering their fortress so that they not be annihilated, and that the conquest should be delayed to allow them to come forth as Muslims thereafter, in Ramaḍān of the following year. This will be related hereafter, if God Almighty so will it.

Chapter.

The return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ṭāʿif and the division of the spoils taken from Hawāzin at Ḥunayn; this division occurred following his entry from al-Jiʿrāna to perform the *ʿumra* pilgrimage.

Ibn Ishāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following his departure from al-Ṭāʿif, went through Daḥnā and made camp at al-Jiʿrāna, accompanied by his men and by many Hawāzin captives. One of his men had asked him, as he was leaving Thaqif, "O Messenger of God, speak a prayer against them," but he had prayed, "O God, guide Thaqif and bring them."

(Ibn Ishāq continued) "At al-Jiʿrāna a delegation of Hawāzin came to him. At that time he held captive 6,000 women and children and innumerable camels and sheep."

He went on, "ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb related to me (and there is a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. Bukayr also from ʿAmr) quoting his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Ḥunayn and after he had taken captives and possessions from Hawāzin, a delegation came to him at al-Jiʿrāna from them; they had now accepted Islam. They addressed him as follows, "O Messenger of God, we are one people, one tribe. You well know what disaster has befallen us. Be kind to us and may God be kind to you."

“Their spokesman, Zuhayr b. Ṣurad Abū Ṣurad, then arose and said, “Messenger of God, those in the enclosures for the captives are nothing but your own maternal aunts and nursemaids who cared for you. If we had suckled Ibn Abū Shamir or al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir and then had suffered from them what we have from you, we would have at least hoped for some special consideration and compassion from them. And you are the Messenger of God, the most trustworthy of men.”

“He then recited the following verses,

“Be kind to us, Messenger of God, in your nobility, for you are the man from whom we hope and expect this.

Be kind to womenfolk ruined by fate, their community destroyed and ruined.

Fate has imposed upon us circumstances of great sorrow, the hearts of our people overwhelmed with misery and pain.

If there does not reach them comforts that you deliver, O most wise of men when tested,

Be kind to women from whom you suckled, your mouth filled with pearl-like drops of their pure milk.

Be kind to women from whom you suckled, for then your actions will adorn you and not be wasted.

Do not render us like those whose joy is gone for ever; let us survive, for we are a noble people.

We will surely express thanks for favours for, if given us, we will remember them forever hereafter.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, “What matters most to you – your women and children or your possessions?” “What?” they replied. “Would you have us choose between our honour and our goods? Of course, our women and children matter most to us.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, “As for what was mine or belonged to Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is yours. After I have prayed with the people, say, ‘We ask the Messenger of God to intercede with the Muslims; and we ask them to intercede with him for us for our women and children.’ When you ask this, I will grant your wish and make a request on your behalf.”

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the noon prayer, they arose and they spoke as he had asked. He then said, “As for what was mine or belonged to Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is now yours.” The *muhājirūn* responded, “Whatever (rights) we had now go to the Messenger of God.” The *anṣār* said the same.

“However, al-Aqra‘ b. Ḥābis said, “For myself and Banū Tamīm, no!” ‘Uyayna stated, “For myself and Banū Fazāra, no!” Al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī said, “For myself and Banū Sulaym, no!” But Banū Sulaym disagreed, saying, “What was ours is now that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).” ‘Abbās b. Mirdās then asked Banū Sulaym, “Would you disgrace me?”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stated, “Whoever withholds his right shall have six camels due from the first booty that we obtain. Now return their women and children to these people.”

“He then mounted and the people followed after him, saying, “O Messenger of God, divide up for us our share of the booty!” They forced him over close to a tree which pulled off his cloak. He asked them, “Please return my cloak to me. For I swear by Him who has my soul in His hand, if the camels I had for you numbered as many as all the trees of Tihāma, I would divide them up among you. Moreover, you have never found me miserly, cowardly or untruthful!”

“He then went over to a camel and took from its hump a piece of its fur which he held up in two fingers, saying, “People, I swear by God, I have nothing from your booty – not even this hair – except for one-fifth of it. And that too is given back to you. ‘A needle for a needle’.¹⁴⁷ For theft of booty means sin, and hell-fire and disgrace on Resurrection Day for those who take it.”

“One of the *anṣār* then came carrying a strand of hair rope and said, “Messenger of God, I took this to sew up a saddle-cloth for a camel of mine with ulcers.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I award to you my rights in it. Since word of this might spread, I don’t need it.” And he threw it from his hand.”

This text requires that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned their captives to them before the division of the spoils, a view held by Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yaṣār, but one opposed by Mūsā b. ‘Uqba and others.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a *ḥadīth* from al-Layth, from ‘Uqayl, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Hakam. It states that when the delegation of Hawāzin came to him, having accepted Islam, and asked to have their property and women returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, “There are with me those you see. The talk that is most favoured by me is what is most true. Choose one of two options – either the captives or their possessions. I have been waiting for you.”

(The narration continued) “He had delayed the distribution for ten days following his return from al-Ṭā’if. When it was clear to them that he would return to them only one of the two categories, they replied, ‘We choose those of us who are captives.’

“He then arose among the Muslims and, having given appropriate praise to God, said, “These brothers of yours have come in repentance and I have decided to return those of them taken captive. Whoever of you wishes to do that as a favour should do so. Those of you who would prefer to receive this (full) share, we will give it with the first booty God awards us.”

“The Muslims responded, ‘We are pleased to return them as a favour, O Messenger of God.’ He then told them, ‘We do not know which of you have agreed and which have not. So go back and let your leaders inform us.’ They did return and their leaders talked with them and came to him and informed him that they (all) had agreed and had given their assent (to the release of the prisoners).”

147. Perhaps: that is, “Be absolutely scrupulous over issues of value”.

This is what we have been informed about those Hawāzin taken captive.

Al-Bukhārī did not refer to the objection raised by al-Aqrā', 'Uyayna and their families; he remained silent on the issue. A positive (statement) generally takes priority over a denial. And more so if there be silence.

Al-Bukhārī related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri as follows, "ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim informed me, from his father, that Jubayr b. Muṭʿim informed him that while he was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accompanying the men returning from Ḥunayn, the bedouin so crowded around him questioning him that they forced him against a tree which pulled off his cloak. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped and asked, 'Hand me back my cloak. If I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would distribute them among you. You know me not to be miserly, untruthful or cowardly.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated that he was informed by Abū Wajra, Yazīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib a slave girl named Rayṭa, daughter of Hilāl b. Ḥayān b. 'Umayya, and to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān he gave a slave-girl called Zaynab, daughter of Ḥayān b. 'Amr b. Ḥayān. He also gave a slave girl to 'Umar, but he gave her to his son, 'Abd Allāh.

Ibn Ishāq went on to state that Nāfi' quoted 'Umar's son 'Abd Allāh as having said, "I sent her off to my aunts of Banū Jumah to prepare her properly for me while I circumambulated the *ka'ba* and arranged to come and take her on my return from the mosque. When I had finished at the mosque, I went there and found everyone in turmoil. I asked what was going on and they replied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had returned their wives and children (to Hawāzin). I then said, 'Your woman friend is with Banū Jumah; go and get her.' And they did so."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "'Uyayna b. Ḥisn took an elderly Hawāzin woman, saying as he did so, 'I can see an old lady who I think is of high standing in her tribe; ransom for her may be substantial.' When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned the captives at a rate of six camels per person, 'Uyayna refused to give her back. Zuhayr b. Ṣurad then told him, 'Let her go; I swear, her mouth is not cool, her breasts are not rounded, she has no child in her womb, she has no upset husband, and her milk is not abundant. It's not as if you've taken a woman who is fair-skinned and a virgin, or even someone who is plump and mature!' And so 'Uyayna gave her back in exchange for six camels."

Al-Wāqidi stated that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the spoils at al-Ji'rāna, each warrior received four camels and forty sheep.

Salama quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr to the effect that a man who took part in the Battle of Ḥunayn said, "I was riding along on my camel at the side of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I was wearing heavy boots. My camel bumped against that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the toe of my boot struck and hurt his leg. He then tapped my foot with his whip, saying, 'You hurt me! Go further away from me!' So I moved off. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to see me and I assumed this was

because I had struck his leg the day before. So I went to him, feeling apprehensive, but he said, 'You struck my leg yesterday and hurt me and I tapped your foot with my whip. I have called for you to give you compensation for that.' He then awarded me 80 ewes for the blow he had struck me.'"

The import of all of this is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave back the captives only after the division of the spoils, as this text and others show.

The clear text of the *ḥadīth* of 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, who was quoted by Muḥammad b. Ishaq, from his father and from his grandfather, is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned the captives to Hawāzin before the division of spoils. This is why, when he mounted, that the bedouin crowded around him asking that the division of the spoils take place, forcing him over to a tree which tugged off his cloak, so that he said, "Please return my cloak to me. For I swear, by Him who has my soul in His hand, if I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would distribute them among you. You know me not to be miserly, untruthful or cowardly."

This is also related in similar words by al-Bukhārī, from Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm.

Since the men feared that Hawāzin would have their possessions returned to them as their women and children had been, they asked him to divide it up at al-Jirāna, as God Almighty and Glorious is He, had ordered him. He gave preference and priority to some persons and some of the tribal leaders in this distribution and some of the *anṣār* complained to him until he addressed them and explained the wisdom of his actions, in order to placate them.

Some foolish and ignorant persons, including some from the *khawārij*,¹⁴⁸ such as Dhū al-Khuwayṣira,¹⁴⁹ may God rebuke him, and the like, made certain criticisms, as will be related and explained in detail in a *ḥadīth* relating thereto. And help is to be sought from God.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ārim related to us, quoting Muṭ'amir b. Sulaymān, quoting his father, quoting al-Sumayṭ al-Sadūsī, to the effect that Anas b. Mālīk said, 'Having conquered Mecca, we sent an expedition to Ḥunayn. The polytheists advanced in the most impressive lines I had ever seen. First came the lines of cavalry, then the fighters, then the women and children, then the sheep and goats, then the camels. We were a large force, some 6,000 strong, and Khālīd b. al-Walīd was in command of our vanguard of cavalry. Our cavalry began to take shelter behind us but they left themselves open. It was not long before the bedouin forces along with others we know fled. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then called out, 'O *muhājirūn*! O *anṣār*! Where are you now?'"

148. The so-named "Kharijites" (*Khawārij*) were the first group to dissent on doctrinal reasons from orthodox Islam. They were active in the last two years of the Caliphate of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb and engaged in sporadic uprisings throughout the Arab-Islamic empire thereafter. The Ibādiyya of North Africa and the lower Arabian (Persian) Gulf consider themselves heirs to the early *khawārij*. See also pp. hereafter.

149. For reference to the bedouin Dhū al-Khuwayṣira see hereafter.

Anas explained that this was according to an account of his aunt.¹⁵⁰ He then went on, "We said, *Labbayka!* 'At your service, Messenger of God!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then advanced and by the time we came to them God had already defeated them.

"We seized their property and went on to al-Ṭā'if which we besieged for 40 nights before returning to Mecca. There we stayed, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was awarding some men 100 (camels) while to another he would give 200.

"The *anṣār* were saying among themselves, 'He gives to those who fought him in the battles, but not to those who did not!'¹⁵¹

"This talk was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he ordered the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* leaders to come in to see him. Then he said, 'Let none but an *anṣārī*' (or he used the word the *anṣār*, plural) 'come in to me.' So we entered his pavilion, which we filled. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then addressed us, saying, '*Anṣārī!*' – or something to that effect – 'What is this that has reached me?' 'What is it that you have heard, Messenger of God?' He asked, '(You tell me) what talk it is I have heard!' 'Well, what have you heard, Messenger of God?' they asked.

"He then asked, 'Are you not content that others receive material goods while you go off with the Messenger of God, whom you have enter your homes?' They replied, 'We are content, Messenger of God.' And they were satisfied."

This is related thus by Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān.

There are strange aspects to this. (For example) His statement that they were 6,000 at the battle with Hawāzin, whereas they were 12,000 strong. Also his statement that they besieged al-Ṭā'if for 40 days, whereas they did so for a month, or even less than 20 days. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Hishām, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, who said that Anas b. Mālīk stated to him, "Some of the *anṣār* began talking when God gave to His messenger the spoils from Hawāzin and he began awarding some men 100 camels. They were saying, 'May God forgive the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for giving to Quraysh but not us, even though our swords drip with their blood!'"

Anas b. Mālīk went on, "What they were saying was reported to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he sent for the *anṣār* whom he gathered in a leather pavilion, allowing entry to no one else at the time. When they were assembled, the Prophet (ṢAAS) arose and said, 'What is this talk that has reached me?' The *anṣār* elders replied, 'Our leaders, Messenger of God, have said nothing. Some of our young men, however, have been saying, "God forgive the Messenger of God! He is giving to Quraysh but not to us, even though our swords drip with their blood."' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'I am giving to these men who were so recently polytheists in order to establish good will with them. Are you not

150. The Arabic text indicates a footnote relating to this woman; however there is no accompanying material in the footnote.

151. By giving to the Meccans and not to the *anṣār*.

content they go off with material things, while you take the Prophet to your homes? I swear by God, what you take home is far better than what they do.' They responded, 'We are content, Messenger of God.' He then told them, 'You will find others much advantaged. But be patient until you meet God and His messenger; for I will be there at the *al-ḥawḍ*,¹⁵² the pool'."''

Anas concluded, "But they were not patient."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving it from this line.

Al-Bukhārī went on to relate, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Awf, quoting Hishām b. Zayd, from his grandfather Anas b. Mālīk, who said, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, Hawāzin attacked. With the Prophet (ṢAAS) there were 10,000 warriors, along with some Meccans who had joined them. They (the Muslims) drew back, and so he called out, '*Anṣār!*' And they responded, '*Labbayka, yā rasūl Allāhi, wa sa'dayk! Labbayka! Naḥnu bayna yadayk!*'"¹⁵³ 'At your service, Messenger of God, and at your assistance! We are here before you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then dismounted and said, 'I am the servant and Messenger of God!' After that the polytheists were defeated and he gave both to those who had joined at Mecca and to those who were *muhājirūn*; he gave nothing to the *anṣār*. They began talking and he summoned them to his pavilion. He asked them, 'Are you not content to have them take away sheep and camels, while you go back with the Messenger of God?' He went on, 'If the rest were to enter some valley, while the *anṣār* climbed up a mountain defile, I would take the path of the *anṣār!*'"

In another narration from al-Bukhārī on this subject, he (Anas b. Mālīk) stated, "At the battle of Ḥunayn, Hawāzin, Ghatafān and others advanced, along with their livestock and families. With the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there were 10,000 warriors and some men who had joined him at Mecca. They (the Muslims) withdrew, so that he was left alone. He made two calls to them, each call separate from the other. Turning to his right, he called, '*Anṣār!*' They responded, 'At your service, Messenger of God! Be content, we are with you!' At the time he was riding his white mule. He dismounted and said, 'I am the servant and Messenger of God!'

"The polytheists were defeated and he won much booty that day and he divided it between the *muhājirīn* and the Meccans who had joined the Muslims (after the conquest). However, he gave the *anṣār* nothing. The *anṣār* said, 'If difficulties arise, we are summoned, but the spoils are given to others!'

"When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he assembled them in a pavilion and asked them, '*Anṣār*, what is this report that has reached me?' They were silent and he asked, '*Anṣār*, are you not content that others have worldly goods while you go away with the Messenger of God, having him for yourselves in your own homes?' 'Yes,' they replied. Then he said, 'If the men

152. That sweet-water source in paradise where, at resurrection, the Prophet (ṢAAS) will meet his community.

153. Their response is both rhythmic and rhymed.

were to make their way through a valley and the *anṣār* were to take a route through a mountain defile, I would follow them.' Hishām asked, 'Abū Ḥamza' (i.e. Anas b. Mālik), 'did you actually witness that?' He replied, 'Where would I have been, away from him?'"

Al-Bukhārī then related it – as also did Muslim – from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assembled the *anṣār* and said, 'Quraysh were still recently in the *jāhiliyya* and have greatly suffered. I wanted to aid them and to establish goodwill with them. Are you not content for others to return with worldly goods, while you go to your homes with the Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He then said, 'If the men were to make their way into a valley while the *anṣār* followed a route into a mountain defile, I would follow the valley – or the defile – of the *anṣār*.'"

They also gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥamīd, from Anas in similar form. In that version they (the *anṣār*) had exclaimed, "By God, that's very strange! While our swords still drip with their blood, the spoils are divided up among them." He then addressed them in the words similar to those given above.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Affān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave from the spoils at Hunayn to Abū Sufyān, 'Uyayna, al-Aqra', Suhayl b. 'Amr and others. The *anṣār* then said, 'Our swords drip with their blood, yet they go off with the spoils!' News of this reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he assembled the *anṣār* in a pavilion of his until it was filled. He asked, 'Is there anyone here who is not of you?' They replied, 'No one except our cousin.' He commented, 'A cousin is of one's own people.' He then asked, 'Have you said such-and-such?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He observed, 'You are the *shī'ār*, "the under-garments", while the people are the *al-dithār*, "the outer-wear".¹⁵⁴ Are you content to have the others receive the sheep and camels while you take the Messenger of God to your homes?' 'Yes,' they agreed. He went on, 'The *anṣār* are my *karsh*, "my very insides", and *'aybatī*,¹⁵⁵ "my closest family". If the men were to take a path through a valley and the *anṣār* were to take a mountain defile, I would follow along the defile. Had it not been for the *hijra*, I would have been one of the *anṣār*.' Ḥammād said, 'He gave out 100 camels (to the foregoing persons). He then named each one of those.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this with this line of transmission. And the *ḥadīth* meets the criteria set by Muslim.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Ibn Abū 'Adī, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "O *anṣār*, did I not come to you when you were lost and did not God then give you guidance through me?"

154. *Al-shī'ār* refers to the clothing directly touching the body, while *al-dithār* is the clothing that covers the undergarments and does not contact the body. The comment is to emphasize the degree of closeness to the Prophet.

155. The translation of these two terms is conjectural.

Did I not come to you when you were scattered, and did not God unite you through me? Did I not come to you when you were enemies (to one another) and did not God then place goodwill in your hearts?" "Yes, Messenger of God," they agreed. He asked, "Do you not say, 'You came to us in fear and we made you secure, in flight and we gave you sanctuary, in failure and we gave you aid?'" They replied, "Indeed yes; God has credit for His favour to us and to His messenger."

The chain of authorities for this *ḥadīth* is tripartite and it meets the criteria established by the *ṣaḥīḥayn*, the two canonical collections.

This *ḥadīth* from Anas b. Mālīk is tantamount to *mutawātir*.¹⁵⁶

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā, from ʿAbbād b. Tamīm, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿĀṣim, who said, "When God gave booty to His messenger (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn, he made distributions to those recently reconciled (to Islam) but gave nothing to the *anṣār*. They seem to have been upset at not having received as had the others, and so he addressed them as follows, 'Anṣār, did I not find you astray and did not then God guide you to me? Were you not divided, and did God not unite you through me? Were you not poor, and did God not unite you through me? Were you not poor, and did God not enrich you through me?' As he asked each of these, they replied, 'God and His messenger give many favours.'

"He went on, 'If you had wished, you could have said, 'You came to us so-on-and-so-forth.' Are you not content to have others go off with the sheep and camels, while you take the Messenger of God away to your homes? Had it not been for the *hijra* I would have been one of the *anṣār*. If the people were to take a path into a valley and a mountain defile, I would follow into the valley and defile taken by the *anṣār*. The *anṣār* are *shīʿār*, while the people are *dithār*.¹⁵⁷ After me you will notice others given preference; be patient until you meet me at *al-ḥamd*, the pool before paradise.'"

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā al-Māzinī.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as saying, "It was related to me by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd that Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had won the spoils at the battle of Ḥunayn and had divided these up as he did to those Meccans of goodwill and to others of the Arabs, but had given none of it whatsoever to the *anṣār*, the latter men were resentful. They said, "So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has met with his own!" Saʿd b. ʿUḇāda went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "O Messenger of God, this tribe of *anṣār* feel resentment towards you." "Why?" he asked. Saʿd explained, "Because you have been distributing booty to your own people and others but giving them, the *anṣār*, nothing." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "And where do you stand in that, Saʿd?" "Well", he replied,

156. That is, the information it contains is affirmed by so many trustworthy persons as to exclude doubt over its veracity.

157. See footnote p.485.

"I'm just one man of my own people." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Assemble your people for me in this enclosure and when they are gathered, let me know." Sa'd then left, called out to them and they assembled in that enclosure. One of the *muhājirīn* also came; he was allowed entry and went in. Others who came were sent away. Eventually all the *anṣār*, without exception, were gathered for him. Sa'd then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, "Messenger of God, this tribe of *anṣār* are now assembled where you told me to gather them."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went and stood among them to address them. He gave fitting praise and thanks to God and went on to say, "*Anṣār*, did I not come to you when you were astray, and did not God then guide you? (Were you not) poor and did God not enrich you? Were you not enemies and did not God create good will between you?" "Yes," they agreed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "Can you not give me response, O *anṣār*?" They replied, "What should we say, Messenger of God? How should we answer you? Our favours are due to God and to His messenger." He replied, "I swear by God, had you wished you could have said, 'You spoke the truth, again and again.' And 'You came to us an outcast and we sheltered you. You came in distress and we comforted you. You were fearful and we made you secure, failing and we gave you aid.'" They responded, "Our favours are due to God and to His messenger."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "Do you find within you, O *anṣār*, a lust for those worldly things whereby I reconciled a people who had accepted Islam, while I entrusted you with that of Islam which God had allotted to you? Are you resentful, for the others to take sheep and camels to their homes, while you return with the Messenger of God to yours? I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, that if the people were to follow one mountain defile while the *anṣār* followed another, I would make my way through the defile of the *anṣār*. Had it not been for the *hijra*, I would have been a man of the *anṣār*. O God, have mercy on the *anṣār*, their children and their children's children!"

"They wept at this until their beards were wet and said, "We are content with God as our Lord and His messenger as distributor."

"He then left and they dispersed."

Imām Aḥmad related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ishāq. None of the compilers of the canonical collections gave it with this line of transmission. It is (to be considered) *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic".

Imām Aḥmad related it also from Yahyā b. Bukayr, from al-Faḍl b. Marzūq, from Aṭīya b. Sa'd al-ʿAwfī, from Abū Sa'd al-Khudarī, who quoted one of the *anṣār* as having said, to his friends, "I swear, I told you, didn't I, that once things settled down, he would give preference to others over you?" They replied to him rudely and that reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then came to them and said some things the narrator said he did not recall. They replied, "Yes, Messenger of God." He told them, "You used not to ride horses" and every time he said something to them, they replied, "Yes, Messenger of God."

He then related the rest of the *ḥadīth* as above. Aḥmad was also alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad was also alone in relating it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sāliḥ, from Abū Saʿīd, in similar words. He related it as well from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, in an abbreviated form.

Sufyān b. ʿUyayna stated, from ʿUmar b. Saʿīd b. Masrūq, from his father, from ʿBāya b. Rāfiʿ b. Khadij, from his grandfather Rāfiʿ b. Khadij, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to each of those whose goodwill he sought 100 camels from the spoils at Hunayn. He gave 100 to each of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ṣafwān b. Umayya, ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn, al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis, ʿAlqama b. ʿAlātha, and Mālik b. ʿAwf. To al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās he gave less than 100, less than to the others, and so he recited the verses,

“Would you divide my share and that of (my horse)
al-ʿUbayd between ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ?

(Their fathers) Ḥiṣn and Ḥābis were not above (my
father) Mirdās in the assembly.

I was not (considered) beneath either of them; and
whomever you demean today will never be raised.

I was fully active in the warfare, yet I was given
nothing, nor was I defended.”

The account concludes, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then awarded him more camels to bring his share up to 100.”

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUyayna in similar terms, and this is (also) the version given by al-Bayhaqī.

There is another version given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and Ibn Ishāq. That quoted al-ʿAbbās as reciting,

“Those were the spoils I gained by charging on my colt
into the plain

And by keeping the tribe alert so that they not doze;
and when they slept, I did not.

But my share and that of (my horse) al-ʿUbayd went to
ʿUyayna and al-Aqraʿ.

I was fully active in the warfare, yet I was given
nothing, nor was I defended,

Given only some weak camels, to the number of their
four legs!

(Their fathers) Ḥiṣn and Ḥābis were not above (my
father) Mirdās in the assembly

And I was not (considered) beneath either of them; and
whomever you put down today will never be raised.”

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhri as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard these verses, he asked al-ʿAbbās, 'Are you the one who said, "But my share and that of al-ʿUbayd went to al-Aqra' and ʿUyayna?"'"

"Abū Bakr observed, 'That's not what he said, Messenger of God. I swear by God, you were never a poet; that would not be fitting for you.'¹⁵⁸ 'Well, what were his words?' asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Bakr then recited the line (reversing the order of the names) and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Well, they're the same; it doesn't matter which you put first!'

"He then said, 'Cut out his tongue for me!' Some people feared that he meant for him (al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās) to be mutilated, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) only wanted payment made to him. And he added, 'And also a share for ʿUbayd, his horse!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā' related to him, quoting Usāma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, "I was with the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was encamped at al-Jiʿrāna, between Mecca and al-Medina, Bilāl being there with him. A bedouin came up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and demanded, 'Well, aren't you going to fulfil your promise to me?' *ʿAbshir!* Rejoice!' The bedouin insisted, 'You've told me that *abshir* too often already!'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went over to Abū Mūsā and Bilāl, looking angry and said, "The *bushrā*, the rejoicing, has been given back; you two have it!" He then asked for a bowl of water in which he washed his hands and face. He then took a mouthful and spat it back in it, saying, "Now, you two drink it and pour the rest over your faces and necks and you two 'rejoice'." They took the bowl and did as he asked. Umm Salama called out from behind the curtain, "Keep some for your mother!" And they did leave some for her.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting Mālik, from Ishāq b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "I was walking with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was wearing a mantle from Najrān that had a rough hem. A bedouin came up to him and pulled on the mantle so roughly that I saw that its hem had made a mark on his shoulder. The bedouin said, 'Order a payment to me from God's property you have!' He turned to him, laughed and then ordered that a payment be made to him."

Ibn Ishāq recorded the names of those to each of whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed 100 camels that day. These were: Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb; his son Muʿāwiya; Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām; al-Ḥārith b. Kalda, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār; ʿAlqama b. ʿAlātha; al-ʿAlā' b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafī, ally of Banū Zuhra; al-Ḥārith b. Hishām; Jubayr b. Muṭʿim; Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī; Suhayl b.

158. C.f. *sūra Yāsīn*; XXXVI, v.69; "And We have not taught him poetry; that would not be fitting for him."

‘Amr; Ḥuwaytib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā; ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn; Safwān b. Umayya; al-Aqra‘ b. Ḥābis.

Ibn Ishāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī, that one of his companions asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “Messenger of God, since you gave 100 camels to each of ‘Uyayna and al-Aqra‘, why did you not do so to Ju‘ayl b. Surāqa al-Ḍamri?” He replied, “By Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in his hand, Ju‘ayl is better than the very best of all those on earth who are like ‘Uyayna and al-Aqra‘! But I wanted to establish goodwill with them for them to accept Islam; I placed the trust of Ju‘ayl b. Surāqa in his Islam.”

Ibn Ishāq went on to mention those to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed less than 100 camels. It would be too lengthy to relate these.

In the authentic *ḥadīth* of Ṣafwān b. Umayya, he is quoted as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on making distributions to me from the spoils of Ḥunayn; he was previously the most hated person to me, but he gave until he became, for me, the most loved thing that God had created.”

*An Account of the arrival of Mālīk b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī
to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).*

Ibn Ishāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke with a delegation from Hawāzin and asked them what had happened to Mālīk b. ‘Awf. They replied that he was in al-Ṭāʾif with Banū Thaḳīf. He told them, “Inform him that if he comes to me as a Muslim, I will return to him his people and their belongings and will award him 100 camels.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “When Mālīk heard this, he slipped away from Thaḳīf and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jīʿrānā – or in Mecca – accepted Islam and became a good Muslim. He then restored to Mālīk both his people and their belongings. When he also gave him 100 camels, Mālīk b. ‘Awf, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses,

‘Never have I seen nor heard of the like of Muḥammad
among all mankind.

He gives in good faith and generously when requested
and if you wish he will foretell what is to come.

When the squadron goes into action with its lances and
strikes hard with its Indian-steel swords

He is like a lion crouching over its cubs within its
den.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him in command over those of his people who had accepted Islam, those tribes being Thumāla, Salima and Fahm. He (Mālīk) had those do battle against Thaḳīf; whenever they brought their flocks out, he would attack, thus causing them great difficulty.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismā'īl related to him quoting Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, quoting al-Ḥasan, who stated that 'Amr b. Thaḳlab related to him as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made distribution to some and did not to others. It seems that some complained to him and he responded, 'I give to those people I fear will be impatient and resentful; and to those who are self-sufficient and whose goodness is inspired in them by God, I give not. Of them is 'Amr b. Taghlib.'

"'Amr went on, 'I would rather have such words about me said by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than have the most choice animals of the herd!'"

Abū 'Āṣim added to this, quoting Jarīr as saying, "I heard al-Ḥasan quote 'Amr b. Taghlib as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then brought property – or captives – and distributed it in this way."

In an account from al-Bukhārī he is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought some property – or something – and gave to some men but not to others. It reached him that those who had been left out were complaining and so he made an address to them. He gave praise and thanks to God, then said, 'And further ...'" He then related it as above.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ibn Hishām quoted Ḥassān b. Thābit as having recited these verses about the *anṣār* having been delayed in receiving distributions from the spoils:

"Sadness grew and water from the eyes fell copiously,
teardrops streaming,

In pain for Shammā' who is young and slender, blameless
and healthy.

But forget Shammā', for her passion has faded; and bad
it is to meet a love now past.

Go to the Messenger and say, 'O most trustworthy of all
men for Believers, if all men be counted,

Why were Sulaym called, though they are to leave, in
preference to those who gave refuge and aid?

God named them *anṣār* for their *naṣr*, "aid", to the true
faith, while warfare dragged on.

They sped to God's cause, exposing themselves to
dangers, never betraying nor complaining.

When people banded against us over you, and our sole
defence was our swords and spear points

We battled them and spared none, ignoring nothing that
the *sūras* revealed.

Those loving war do not dislike meeting us; when its
fire flares, we kindle it even more!

As when we repelled at Badr, before they achieved their
goal, those hypocrites, victory alighting upon us.

We were your troops at the battle on the slopes of Uḥud
when Muḍar insolently assembled their clans.

We were not slow or ineffectual; they found we did not stumble, as did all the rest!"

An Account of the dissatisfaction of some who were ignorant, divisive and hypocritical towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concerning the just distributions he made by agreement.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qabiṣa related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Wāʾil, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) divided up the spoils of Ḥunayn, one of the *anṣār* said, 'By doing this, he was not seeking to serve God!' I then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and informed him of this. His face darkened and he exclaimed, 'May God have mercy on Moses! He was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Jarīr, from Maṣṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh as saying, "At Ḥunayn the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave preferable treatment to some persons. He gave 100 camels to each of al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥabis and ʿUyayna and also made distributions to others. One man said, 'By this division, service to God was not intended!' I said, 'Well, I'm going to report this to the Messenger of God.'

"He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) exclaimed, 'May God have mercy on Moses; he was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!'"

He also related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Maṣṣūr, from al-Muʿtamir.

In one account given by al-Bukhārī, the wording is, "By God, this is a distribution that is devoid of justice; service to God was not intended." So I said, "I will inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this!" When I went to him and told him, he exclaimed, "And who will ever be just, if it not be God and His messenger! May God have mercy on Moses; he was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!"

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that it was related to him by Abū ʿUbayda b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, from Miqṣam Abū al-Qāsim, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, who said, "I and Talid b. Kilāb al-Laythī came to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ while he was circumambulating the *kaʿba*, his sandals hanging from his hand. We asked him, 'Were you present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when the man from Banū Tamīm spoke to him at the battle of Ḥunayn?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'A man of Banū Tamīm named Dhū al-Khuwaysira came and stood nearby while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was distributing the spoils. Dhū al-Khuwaysira told him, 'Muḥammad, I have been watching what you have been doing today.' "Yes", asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "and what have you thought?" "I do not think you have been acting justly." The Prophet (ṢAAS) was very angry and said, "Confound you! If justice is not to be found with me, then with whom is it!"

"Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then asked, 'Should we not kill him?' He replied, 'No; leave him alone. He shall lead a faction who will go deeply into the faith and emerge as an arrow does from its target. When its head is examined, nothing will be seen upon it. Also, its shaft and its notch will have nothing upon them. It will have outstripped the insides and the blood.'"¹⁵⁹

Al-Layth b. Sa'd quoted from Yaḥyā b. Sa'd, from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh as saying, "A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ji'rāna while he was making distributions from the spoils of Ḥunayn. There was silver in Bilāl's cloak which he was taking and handing to people. The man said, 'Muḥammad, be just!' He responded, 'Confound you, who will be just if not me? Otherwise I would have disappointed and failed.' Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, 'Will you permit me, Messenger of God, to kill this hypocrite?' He replied, 'God forbid that people say of me that I kill my men! (When) this fellow and his friends recite the Qur'ān, it doesn't emerge out of their throats; they have it pass straight on through, like an arrow exiting its target!'"

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Rūmḥ, from al-Layth.

Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū 'Āmir, quoting Qurra, from 'Amr b. Dīnār, from Jābir, who said, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was distributing the spoils of Ḥumayn, a man went up to him and said, 'Do be just!' He responded, 'I will be made to suffer if I am not just!'"

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Qurra b. Khālīd al-Sadūsī.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from Abū Sa'd, who said, "While we were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was making distributions of the spoils, Dhū al-Khuwayṣir, a man of Banū Tamīm, came over to him and said, 'Messenger of God, be just!' He responded, 'Confound you, who would be just if I were not? Then I would have disappointed and failed. If I were not just, who would be?' Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, 'Messenger of God, will you give me permission to behead him?' 'Leave him alone,' he replied. 'He has friends. One of you would feel contempt for his prayer and their prayer, his fasting and their fasting. They recite the Qur'ān, but their incantations do not come forth. They slip on through Islam as an arrow slips on through a target. If you examine its head, you'll see nothing on it; then its head binding, you'll see nothing; then its shaft, and you'll see nothing; then its feathers, you'll see nothing. It will have outstripped the insides and the blood. Their sign is that they will have among them a black man, one of whose upper arms reminds you of a woman's breasts, or like a piece of fat meat vibrating; they will appear at a time when people are disunited.'

159. This *ḥadīth* suggests foreknowledge on the part of the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning the schism in Islam resulting from the activities of the *khawārij* of later years. The text of this *ḥadīth* twice employs the word *kharaḥa*, to go out or secede, from which the name of the movement is derived.

“Abū Saʿīd stated, ‘I testify that I heard this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I also testify that ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib fought them while I was present. He gave orders and that man was searched out and brought. I saw him to be as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had described him.’”

Muslim also related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd in similar words.

An Account of the arrival of the foster-sister of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was at al-Jiʿrāna; her name was al-Shaymāʾ.

Ibn Ishāq stated that a man of Banū Saʿd related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle with Hawāzin, “If you capture Nijād – a man of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr – don’t let him escape you.” (He had done something serious.) “When the Muslims took him, they led him and his family away. With him they took al-Shaymāʾ, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-ʿUzzā, the foster-sister of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“They treated her roughly as they took her away and she said to the Muslims, ‘You should know, I swear by God, that I am the foster-sister of your leader.’ They did not believe her until they brought her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“Yazīd b. ʿUbayd al-Saʿdī – he being Abū Wajzā – said, ‘When she was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) she said, “Messenger of God, I am your foster-sister.” “How can you prove that?” he asked. She replied, “There is the mark of the bite you gave me on my back when I carried you on my hip.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recognized the mark and spread out his cloak for her, sat her down on it and treated her well. He told her, “If you wish, you may live with me in honour and affection. If you wish for me to provide for you and to let you return to your people, I will do so.” She replied, “Yes, do provide for me and return me to my people.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her presents and returned her to her people. Banū Saʿd claim that he gave her a slave called Makhūl and a slave-girl, that she married them to one another and that descendants of that union still survive.’”

Al-Bayhaqī related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam b. ‘Abd al-Malik, from Qatāda, who said, “On the day of the conquest of Hawāzin, a slave-girl came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Messenger of God, I am your sister! I am Shaymāʾ, daughter of al-Ḥārith.’ He asked her, ‘If you are telling the truth, then you have a mark I made that would not wear away.’ She then exposed her upper arm and said, ‘Yes, Messenger of God. When you were small, you gave me this bite.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spread out his cloak for her and said, ‘Ask and it will be given; intercede for someone and you will be interceded for.’”

Al-Bayhaqī also stated that he was informed by Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda, quoting ‘Amr b. Ismāʿīl b. ‘Abd al-Sulamī, quoting Muslim, quoting Abū ‘Āṣim, quoting

Ja'far b. Yahyā b. Thawbān, who said, "My uncle 'Umāra b. Thawbān informed me that Abū al-Ṭufayl told him, 'I was a slave who used to care for the camel hides, and I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributing the camels at al-Ji'rāna.

"A woman came up to him and he spread out his cloak for her. I asked who she was and they told me she was his foster-mother."

This is a strange *ḥadīth*; perhaps he meant his foster-sister, who was nursed together with him by her mother, Ḥalīma al-Sa'diyya. If this tradition, as given above, is correct, Ḥalīma would have been very old; the time elapsed between her having suckled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (and their being at) al-Ji'rāna was over 60 years. The youngest she could have been when she suckled him was 30 years of age. Moreover, God knows best how long she lived after that.

A *ḥadīth mursal* exists which relates that both his foster-parents came up to him. But God knows best how true this is.

Abū Dā'ūd stated in *al-Marāsīl* that Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said that) 'Umar b. al-Sa'īb related to him that he was informed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one day seated when his foster-father came up to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spread out part of his cloak for him and he sat upon it. Then his mother came and he laid out another part of his cloak, on his other side, for her to sit upon. His foster-brother next arrived and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and sat him down before him.

It is explained above that all Hawāzin are connected to him due to his having been suckled by Banū Sa'd b. Bakr, who are a clan of Hawāzin. Their spokesman, Zuhayr b. Ṣurad, stated, "O Messenger of God, those in the enclosures for the captives are nothing but your own maternal aunts and nursemaids, so be kind to us, may God be kind to you." He then recited, in part,

"Be kind to womenfolk from whom you suckled, your mouth filled with pearl-like drops of their pure milk.

Be kind to women from whom you suckled, for them your actions will adorn you and not be wasted"

This, then, was the reason why Bakra's father was set free; by so doing, he restored to them all their previous and present rights and privileges, as individuals and as a group.

Al-Wāqidi related from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl, from his father, who said, "Al-Naḍīr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada was one of the most handsome of men. He used to say, 'Praise be to God who was kind enough to award us Islam and Muḥammad (ṢAAS). And we will not die with the same (belief system) of our fathers, and that in which our brothers and cousins were killed.'"

He then went on to relate his enmity for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and the fact that he went out with his people of Quraysh to Ḥunayn still believing in their old faith. He said, "If there were to be a defeat for Muḥammad, we were prepared

to attack him. But we were not able to accomplish that. When he was at al-Ji'rāna, I was still unchanged. Then I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Is that Naḍīr?' 'Labbayka! 'At your service,' I replied. He asked, 'Would you now like something better than what God prevented you from achieving at Ḥunayn?' I went quickly over to him and he said, 'It is now time for you to recognize how wrong you were.' I said, 'I realize that had there been any other (god) than God, he would have helped. I testify that there is no god but God alone and without associate!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, make him ever more firm!' Al-Naḍīr then said, 'By Him who sent him with the truth, it was as though my heart was as firm as a rock in the faith and in enlightenment into the truth.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Praise be to God Who gave him guidance!'"

THE 'UMRA OF AL-JI'RĀNA IN DHŪ AL-QA'DA.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz and 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ma'ni both quoted Ḥammām b. Yahyā as having quoted Qatāda as saying, "I asked Anas b. Mālik the following, 'How many pilgrimages did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make?' 'One full *ḥijja* and four lesser *'umra* pilgrimages. There was one *'umra* at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya truce, another in Dhū al-Qa'da from Medina, another in Dhū al-Qa'da from al-Ji'rāna, where he distributed the spoils of Ḥunayn, and then the *'umra* he performed when he also performed the full *ḥijja* pilgrimage.'"

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī all related this with various lines of transmission, from Ḥammām b. Yahyā. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Naḍr, quoting Dā'ūd – meaning al-'Aṭṭār – from 'Amr, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *'umra* four times: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*, the third from al-Ji'rāna, and the fourth at the time of his full *ḥijja*."

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah related this from a *ḥadīth* of Dā'ūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Aṭṭār al-Makkī, from 'Amr b. Dīnār. He considered it *ḥasan*, "good", as did al-Tirmidhī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yahyā b. Zakariyyā b. Abū Za'ida, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed three *'umra*. All were in Dhū al-Qa'da. He would (continue to) make the call *Labbayka!* until he saluted the (Black) Stone."

This tradition is *gharīb*, "unilateral", from this source.

These are the three *'umra* that occurred during Dhū al-Qa'da; these are apart from the one that coincided with his full *ḥijja*, which took place in Dhū al-Ḥijja. If this source suggests the commencement of his *Ihrām*, state of ritual consecration, through them in Dhū al-Qa'da, it could be because he did not include that of

al-Ḥudaybiyya, since he was blocked from it and did not actually accomplish it. But God knows best.

I observe that Nāfi' and his master Ibn 'Umar denied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fully accomplished the *ʿumra* from al-Ji'rāna. This is according to the account given by al-Bukhārī. He stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Nu'mān, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who quoted 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as having asked, "Messenger of God, (what should I do about) the vow I made before the coming of Islam to spend a day in *istikāf*, prayer in seclusion?" He ordered him to fulfil the vow.

(The narrator went on) "Umar received two slave girls from the captives taken at Hunayn and he accommodated them in a house in Mecca. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released the Hunayn captives and they began to run in the streets. 'Umar asked (his son), "Abd Allāh, what's this you see happening?" He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has released the captives." 'Umar then said, "Go and send the two slave-girls away."

Nāfi' went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not make the *ʿumra* from al-Ji'rāna. Had he done so, this fact would not have been unknown to 'Abd Allāh (b. 'Umar)."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ayyūb al-Sukhtiyānī, from Nāfi', from ('Abd Allāh) Ibn 'Umar.

Muslim also related it from Aḥmad b. 'Abda al-Ḍabbī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi', who said, "Reference was made in the presence of ('Abd Allāh) Ibn 'Umar to the *ʿumra* made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ji'rāna. Ibn 'Umar commented, "He did not make an *ʿumra* from there."

This is very *gharīb*, strange, to be reported of Ibn 'Umar by his freed-man Nāfi', both of them thereby denying his having made an *ʿumra* from there. The transmitters of *ahādīth* other than them do maintain that he did so, as is shown by reports given from them in the mass of authoritative collections of *ahādīth* of all kinds, including the military chronicles.

This is also established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections in a *ḥadīth* of 'Āṭā' b. Abū Rabāḥ from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who contradicted Ibn 'Umar's statement that "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* in Rajab." She stated, "May God forgive 'Abd al-Raḥmān's father! ('Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, that is.) The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never performed the *ʿumra* other than in his presence, and he never did so in Rajab."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting al-A'mash, from Mujāhid, who said, "'Urwa b. al-Zubayr asked Ibn 'Umar in what month the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra*. He replied, "In Rajab." 'Ā'isha was listening to us. Ibn al-Zubayr referred to what Ibn 'Umar had said and asked her to comment. She replied, "May God have mercy on Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never made an *ʿumra* that Ibn 'Umar did not witness, and he never made any *ʿumra* that was not in Dhū al-Qa'da."

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim quoted this from a *ḥadīth* of Jarīr, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, in similar terms.

Abū Dāʿūd and al-Nasāʿī also related this from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr, from Abū Ishāq, from Mujāhid, to the effect that Ibn ʿUmar was asked how many times the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made the *ʿumra*. He replied that he had done so twice. ʿĀʾisha then commented, “Ibn ʿUmar knows well that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made the *ʿumra* three times, apart from the one he combined with the *ḥijjat al-wadaʿ*, the ‘farewell pilgrimage’.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Mufaḍḍal, from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, who said, “I went inside the mosque with ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and there we saw Ibn ʿUmar leaning against ʿĀʾisha’s compartment while people there were performing the *al-ḍuḥā* prayer. ʿUrwa asked him, ‘Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, what is this prayer?’ ‘It is a *bidʿa*,¹⁶⁰ “an innovation”,’ he replied. ʿUrwa asked, ‘Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, how many times did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform the *ʿumra*?’ He replied, ‘Four times; one of them was during Rajab.’ We then heard ʿĀʾisha picking her teeth inside her compartment. ʿUrwa asked her, ‘(Is it then as) Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān says, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times, one of which was in Rajab?’ She replied, ‘May God have mercy on Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān! The Prophet (ṢAAS) never performed the *ʿumra* without him being present, and he never did so in Rajab.’”

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from Aḥmad b. Munīʿ, from al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā, from Shaybān, from Manṣūr. He categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*, “good, authentic, (yet) unilateral”.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Rawḥ, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who stated that he was informed by Muzāḥim b. Abū Muzāḥim, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Mukharrish al-Kaʿbī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left al-Jiʿrāna one evening to make the *ʿumra*, entered Mecca and did so, then travelled that same night back to al-Jiʿrāna, being back there by morning, as if he had spent the night there. After sunset that day, he left from al-Jiʿrāna along the Sarif valley, joining the route to Medina there in Sarif. Mukharrish concluded, “That is why his *ʿumra* remained unknown to many people.”

Imām Aḥmad related this similarly from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj; this *ḥadīth* is one of those that only the latter gave.

The significance of this is that (the fact of) the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna is well established from authentic sources that cannot be refuted or denied. Those who deny this can have no argument to compare with those who affirm it. But God knows best.

160. While later this word became associated with heretical dissent and unacceptable change from established precedent, its use here, and Ibn ʿUmar’s presence along with ʿĀʾisha at the prayer, seem to provide an example of a more favourable connotation implying a praiseworthy new practice.

They are, moreover, essentially unanimous that it took place in Dhū al-Qa'da after the attack upon al-Ṭā'if and the division of the spoils of Ḥunayn.

The treatment of this by the *hāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī in his great compendium is as follows, "Al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq al-Tusturī related to us, quoting 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from Abū al-Zubayr, from 'Umayr, the freed-man of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Ṭā'if, he made camp at al-Ji'rāna where he distributed the spoils. He then made the *umra* pilgrimage from there, two days before the end of Shawwāl.'"

This is very *gharib*, strange; its chain of authorities is controversial. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Ismā'īl, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who said that 'Aṭā' informed him that Ṣafwān b. Ya'qā b. Umayya told him that Ya'qā used to say, "I wish I could see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he is receiving divine revelation. While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at al-Ji'rāna being sheltered from the sun by a cloth, along with some of his Companions came a bedouin wearing a cloak and heavily perfumed. He approached him and asked, 'Messenger of God, what is your view of a man who adopts the state of *iḥrām* for the *umra* and puts on a cloak, after having applied perfume to himself?'"¹⁶¹ 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then signalled to Ya'qā to approach. When Ya'qā did so and placed his head inside (beneath the sunshade) he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be very red in the face.¹⁶² He was immersed in this (divine revelation) for some time and then he was relieved of it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Where is that person who earlier asked me about the *umra*?' The bedouin was searched out and brought and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Regarding the perfume you have on, wash it off three times. Also remove your cloak. Behave on the *umra* just as you would on the *hajj*.'"

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. They (also) gave it from another route, from 'Aṭā', both attributing it to Ṣafwān b. Ya'qā b. Umayya.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Usāma related to him quoting Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in at the time of the conquest from Kudā, from the heights of Mecca. And he also came in for the *umra* from Kudā."

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Mūsā Abū Salama related to him, from Ḥammād, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions performed the *umra* from al-Ji'rāna. They jogged around the *ka'ba* three times, then walked around for four times. They tucked one end of their cloaks beneath their armpits, then tossed them over their left shoulders.

161. This sentence, necessary for the sequence of the narrative, is given in al-Bukhārī's text but omitted from the edited printed version of Ibn Kathīr's work.

162. That is, while receiving divine revelation.

Abū Dāʿūd is alone in giving this. Ibn Mājah also related it, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, but in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Muslim related to him, from Ṭāwus, that Ibn ʿAbbās informed him that Muʾāwiya told him, "I missed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with an arrow head." Or else the words he spoke were, "I saw him missed by an iron arrowhead (shot at him) at al-Marwa."

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. Muslim also related it, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Hishām b. Ḥujayr, from Ṭāwus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Muʾāwiya.

Abū Dāʿūd and al-Nasāʾī also related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Ibn Ṭāwus, from his father.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-Nāqid, quoting Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, quoting Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Muʾāwiya, who said, "I missed (the arrow I fired at the) head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Marwa."

What is implied above is that it is inferred that this was at the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna.

This is because on the *ʿumra* at al-Ḥudaybiyya, he did not enter Mecca but was prevented from so doing, as has been explained heretofore. Regarding the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, Abū Sufyān had not yet accepted Islam and none of the Meccans remained there when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered it, having preferred to leave for that three-day period of his stay. As for the *ʿumra* that was performed in conjunction with his *ḥajj*; it is unanimously accepted that he did not free himself thereof. And so it is obvious that the mistake committed by Muʾāwiya, son of Abū Sufyān, may God be pleased with them both, when he shot close to the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Marwa, could only have occurred during the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna, as we have stated. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq, may God have mercy upon him, stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left al-Jiʿrāna to perform the *ʿumra* and gave orders that the battle spoils be kept at Majanna, near Marr al-Zahrān."

I observe that it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had retained some of the spoils to employ it to gain goodwill with those bedouin he might meet between Mecca and Medina.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed this *ʿumra* he headed back to Medina, leaving ʿAttāb b. Asīd as his deputy over Mecca. He also left with him Muʿadh b. Jabal to instruct the people in the faith and to teach them the Qurʾān."

ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left Muʿadh and ʿAttāb as his deputies in Mecca before he had gone out to battle Hawāzin, and then reappointed them when he returned to Medina.

Ibn Hishām stated that he was informed that Zayd b. Aslam stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed 'Attāb b. Asīd in charge of Mecca, he awarded him payment of one dirham per day. 'Attāb arose and gave the following address, 'May God make hungry indeed the liver of one who still hungers on a dirham! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has awarded me one dirham every day; I have need of no one!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The *ʿumra* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda and he arrived in Medina at the end of that month or early in Dhū al-Hijja."

Ibn Hishām stated that he arrived there six days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, according to Abū 'Amr al-Madīnī.

"That year the people performed the *hajj* in the same manner as the Arabs had previously. That year, 8 AH, 'Attāb b. Asīd performed the *hajj* along with the Muslims.

"The people of al-Ṭā'if continued their polytheism and their abstention (from Islam) in their own city for the period between Dhū al-Qaʿda and Ramaḍān of 9 AH."

*THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY KA'Ḍ B. ZUHAYR
B. ABŪ SULMĀ.*

His father, a poet and son of a poet, was an author of one of the Seven *Muʿallaqāt*¹⁶³ odes. His *qasīda*, his ode, known by its opening words, *Bānat Suʿād ...*, "Suʿād has moved away", was heard by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned (to Medina) after his departure from al-Ṭā'if, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā wrote to his full brother Ka'Ḍ b. Zuhayr to inform him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had executed at Mecca some of the men who had satirized and harmed him with their poetry. He also told him how the remaining Quraysh poets – Ibn al-Zibā'ra and Hubayra b. Abū Wāḥb – had fled in disarray. He advised him, 'If you value your life, then hurry to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for he does not execute anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not do this, then flee far away.' Ka'Ḍ had previously spoken the lines,

'Transmit to Bujayr a message from me: "Confound you
for what you said!

Can you explain to us, since you have not yet, for what
other reason did he lead you

To a religion which I find none of his ancestors
followed, nor you find yours to have done.

If you do not accept it, I'll not be sorry nor merely
say, if you stumble, 'Good luck!'

163. See pages 83–86, Vol. I above.

"Al-Ma'mūn"¹⁶⁴ has given you to drink by it a full cup;
and after the first, 'al-Ma'mūn' has also given you a
second drink."'''

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar in the poetry also quoted to him the following verses,

"Who will deliver a message from me to Bujayr: 'Do you agree with what I told you at the mountain slope?

You have drunk a full cup with "al-Ma'mūn", and after the first draught he also gave you a second.

You abandoned good guidance by following him; to what is it, damned that you are, that he has led you?

Into a religion you'll find no man nor woman ever served, nor any brother of yours.

If you do not do as I say, I'll not be sad; though I'm not one merely to say, "Good luck!" if you stumble.'"

He dispatched this to Bujayr who was reluctant to keep it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and finally recited it to him. When he heard the words, *saqā bihā al-Ma'mūn*, "al-Ma'mūn has given you to drink" he commented, "He speaks the truth here, terrible liar though he is. I am the 'al-Ma'mūn', the 'trustworthy one'." When he heard the words, "Into a religion you'll find no man nor woman ever served" he commented, "That's right; you'll not find his father or mother in it."

(Ibn Ishāq narrated) "Bujayr then wrote back to Ka'b the following verses,

'Who will inform Ka'b, "Would you blame me for serving something foolish when it is very serious?

It is to God, alone, not to al-'Uzzā or to al-Lāt you should flee, while flight and safety are still possible,

At a time when none shall slip away and escape except those who are Muslim, pure of heart.

For the religion of Zuhayr is nothing, and that of Abū Sulmā is forbidden to me.'"

(Ibn Ishāq went on) "When this message reached Ka'b, he was very apprehensive and those about him who were his enemies spread false rumours about him, saying, 'He's as good as dead!'

"When he could see no alternative, he recited his ode praising the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In it he referred to his fear and to the slander being spread by his enemies. He then left and went to Medina and stayed with a man he knew of Juhayna, so I have been told. That man took him next morning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he was performing the morning prayer and prayed with him. The man of Juhayna then pointed out to him the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'That is he. Go over to him and ask him for your safety.'

164. "The trustworthy", the Prophet (ṢAAS), that is.

"I have been told that Ka'b did approach the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sat down beside him and placed his own hand in his. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not know who he was. Ka'b then said, 'Messenger of God, Ka'b b. Zuhayr has come to ask you to guarantee his safety as a Muslim who is repentant. Would you accept this from him if he were to approach you with this request?' 'Yes, I would,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him. 'Then,' said Ka'b, 'I am Ka'b b. Zuhayr!'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that one of the *anṣār* then jumped on him, saying, 'Messenger of God, let me execute the enemy of God!' He replied, 'Leave him alone! He has come expressing regret and repentance.'

"Ka'b b. Zuhayr was enraged at the *anṣār* for how one of them had treated him; this was because none of the *muhājirūn* spoke anything but good about him. In the ode that he delivered when he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said,

'Su'ād has gone away and my heart is sad, enslaved to her, unransomable, and chain-bound;

And Su'ād, the day of departure, when they left, was like a gazelle, her eyes down-cast and black-rimmed

Slender as she approaches, full of rear when she turns her back; she could not be faulted for being short or tall.

When she smiles, she reveals gleaming teeth, sweet as though bathed repeatedly in fine wine,

Wine mixed with ice-cold water from a pure pool on a valley bend cooled by a north wind,

All dirt kept from it by the breeze, its sides brimming over with white torrents stemming from a morning rain-cloud.

What a friend she would be if only she kept her promise, or would accept advice!

But she is a friend whose blood is a mix of lust and desire with deceit and changeability.

She never stays in one state but resembles a genie, ever-changing its guise.

She only keeps promises made to the degree that a sieve can hold water!

Be not deceived by her kindness and promises; one's hopes and expectations can lead astray.

The false promises of al-'Urqub are her model and her vows are mere foolishness.

How I hope and long for her intimate love; yet I think women are never prepared for this.

Su'ād is in some land so far off that only fine, swift, full-bloodied camels could reach,

Where only a big, strong she-camel, swift and sure-footed,
though tired, could attain her,

A camel whose ear-bone would stream with sweat, heading
into unknown featureless wastes.

She scans into the distance with the eyes of a lone
white bull in broiling rocky terrain

Stout her neck, full-fleshed her ankles, superior to
all others of the stallion's foals.

Strong her brother, her father from high-bred stock,
her uncles all swift and strong-necked.

When insects walk upon her, she shakes them off her
smooth chest and sides.

(Like a) wild ass with heavy flesh on her flanks, her
knee-joints set well away from her ribs

Her nostrils prominent; breeding is evident in her
ears, her cheeks smooth.

Her muzzle, jutting out past her eyes and neck and
jawbones, prominent like axe heads.

(Her tail) hanging down like a leafless palm frond with
hairy tufts over her udder, its teats unsucked.

Though merely playing, she flies on light, spear-like
feet that brush lightly on the ground.

On a hot day when the chameleon leaves a part of him
exposed to bake it in the sun,

A day when the guide tells his group to siesta, as the
ash-coloured locusts move over the pebbles,

Like the hand-clapping of a grey-haired woman rising in
mourning, while other childless women respond.

One wails, her muscles limp, senseless at the news of
her first-born's death when the mourners report it.

She tears at her breasts, her dress torn in shreds from
her shoulders.

Fools surround my mount, saying, "You're as good as
dead, Ibn Abū Sulmā!"

While every trusted friend responded, "I can't help
you – just too busy!"

"Then out of my way, confound you", I told them, "for
whatever the Most Merciful decrees is done!"

And everyone born to woman, even if safe for long, is
one day borne upon his funeral bier.

I was told that the Messenger of God threatened me,
yet one hopes for forgiveness from the Messenger of
God.

Go easy – may He guide you Who gave you that gift of the
Qur'ān in which there are exhortations and
explanations.

Do not punish me for slanderers' reports, for I have
not sinned, despite all the rumours.

Standing where I am, I see and hear what would, if he
stood and so heard, make an elephant

Tremble, unless there came to him from the Messenger,
with God's permission, some pardon.

(I will travel) until I place my right hand, never to
withdraw it, in that of him who takes revenge, he whose
word is final.

I am more afraid to speak with him – though people call
me of fine lineage and responsible –

Than with a lion in the jungle in the lowlands of
'Aththār, deep within its thickets,

That each morning feeds two cubs, their meat human
flesh thrown down and ripped apart.

When he falls on his prey, he cannot conceive of
leaving it any other way but prostrate.

From him the wild asses flee in terror, and no men may
walk in his valley.

But in his vale there is man of trust, already eaten,
his weapons stained, in rags.

The Messenger is a light-giving illumination, an
unsheathed sword of God, of fine Indian steel

Amidst a band of Quraysh whose spokesman said in
Mecca's valley, when they accepted Islam – "Go away!"

They left, but not from cowardice in battle, nor
without shields or weapons.

They walk like proud camels, striking out in defence
when the short, black men take flight,

Proud chiefs, dressed for battle in chain-mail made by
Dā'ūd,

Shining and full, its rings joined together like those
of the *qaf'ā'* plant.

They do not exult if their lances strike home, nor are
they despairing if themselves struck.

Enemy thrusts only ever strike their throats, and they
are not afraid of the pools of death."

Ibn Hishām stated that in quoting the poem as above Muḥammad b. Ishāq gave
no chain of transmission.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave its text in his *Dalā'il al-Nubūwwa* with a complete
chain of transmission. He stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting
Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Asadī Bahmadhān,
quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥazāmī,
quoting al-Ḥajjāj b. Dhū al-Ruqayba b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Zuhayr b.
Abū Sulmā, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, 'Ka'b and Bujayr,

both sons of Zuhayr, travelled out as far as Abraḡ al-‘Azzāf. There Bujayr told Ka‘b, “Stay here until I go to this man” – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – “and hear what he says.” Ka‘b did remain there, while Bujayr went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who offered Islam to him and he accepted it. When news of this reached Ka‘b, he spoke the following,

“Send from me a message to Bujayr: ‘To what – confound the rest – is it he is leading you?

To a faith you’ll find no one – mother, father or brother of yours – ever belonged.

Abū Bakr poured out a full cup of it for you, while al-Ma‘mūn refilled it again and again.’”

“When these verses reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he made permissible the execution of Ka‘b, he said, ‘Whoever encounters Ka‘b should kill him!’

“Bujayr wrote to his brother telling him this and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had authorized his execution. He told him to escape while he could. Thereafter he again wrote him saying, “You should know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepts when anyone comes and makes an affirmation of his faith in Islam and considers the past over and done with. If this note of mine reaches you, do come and accept Islam.””

The quoted source went on, “And so Ka‘b did accept Islam and composed his ode praising the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and entered it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there with his Companions, like a food-table, with ring after ring of people seated around it, looking first towards one group and talking with them, next to another and talking with them.”

Ka‘b stated, “So I made my mount kneel at the mosque door. I recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from his description and went and sat down near him. I then affirmed my acceptance of Islam, saying, ‘I bear witness that there is no god but God and that you are Muḡammad, the Messenger of God. Safety, Messenger of God!’ ‘And who are you?’ he asked. ‘Ka‘b b. Zuhayr,’ I replied. ‘That fellow who recited ...?’ asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then turned and asked, ‘What was it he recited, Abū Bakr?’ Abū Bakr then recited,

‘Al-Ma‘mūn has given you to drink by it a full cup;
after the first, al-Ma‘mūr¹⁶⁵ has also given you a second drink.’

“Ka‘b said, ‘Messenger of God, I did not recite like that.’ ‘How did you speak, then?’ he asked. Ka‘b said that what he had said was,

‘Al-Ma‘mūn has given you to drink by it a full cup;
after the first al-Ma‘mūn has also given you a second drink.’

165. In this version the name given al-Ma‘mūr means “the one given orders”; al-Ma‘mūn means “the one who is trusted”.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'Yes indeed, Ma'mūn, "trust-worthy".'

"Ka'b then recited to him the entire ode, to its end."

This was the poem that begins,

"Su'ād has gone away and my heart is sad, enslaved to her, unransomable and chain-bound ..."

We have referred above to those phrases which differ in the versions of Ibn Ishāq and al-Bayhaqī, may God, Almighty and Glorious is He, have mercy upon them both.

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr stated in his book *al-Istī'āb* that when Ka'b had completed the verses,

"The Messenger is a light giving illumination, an unsheathed sword of God, of fine Indian steel ...

I was told that the Messenger of God threatened me; yet one hopes for pardon from the Messenger of God."

Abū 'Umar went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gestured to those with him to listen well."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba preceded Abū 'Umar in stating this, in the former's military chronicles. To God belong all praise, all credit.

I observe that it is given in some accounts that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented Ka'b with his cloak when he recited the ode. Al-Ṣarṣarī wrote a verse on this in some of his *madā'ih*, "poems of praise". The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr gave a similar account in his work *al-Ghāba*. He stated, "It is this cloak that is in the possession of the Caliphs."

I note that this matter is very broadly known. However, I do not see in any of these well-known written accounts any chain of authorities that I find satisfactory. But God knows best.

It is related that when Ka'b recited the line, "Su'ād has gone away ..." the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "And who is Su'ād?" "My wife, Messenger of God," responded Ka'b. "Nay, she did not!" he then said.

However, that is not true. It seems to imply that he imagined that his wife had gone away because of his acceptance of Islam. But it is obvious that what he was referring to was an emotional distancing, not a juridical one.

But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda said, 'When Ka'b, in his poem, spoke the words, "when the short black men take flight" he could only have been referring to the *anṣār* because of how one of us had treated him, whereas he had singled out the Quraysh *muhājirīn* for his praise. Since the *anṣār* were therefore angry at him, he recited the following verses after he had accepted Islam. In them he praised the *anṣār* and referred to the suffering they had undergone with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to their success:

"Let those who love a noble life remain in the cavalry
of the fine *anṣār*.

They inherited noble qualities from father to son; the
finest of men are they, sons of the finest,

Men who hurl from their arms strong spears, long like
Indian swords.

And they stare ahead, their eyes red as embers but
their sight untired.

Men who expend their souls for their Prophet by death
in battles of hand and horse,

They cleanse themselves with piety by the blood of the
unbelievers they spill.

They act like fierce, strong-necked lions used to
hunting in secluded valleys.

If you go to them so they may protect you, you'll feel
as safe as if in the haunts of young mountain goats.

At the battle of Badr they struck 'Alī such a blow as
to bring down all of Nizār.

If the tribes had my knowledge of them, those whom I
oppose would believe me.

(They are) a people who, at times when the stars have
given no rain, will still feed well their guests.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is said that when Kaʿb recited to him his poem, 'Suʿād has gone away' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Even though you have not spoken well of the *anṣār*, don't they still deserve that?' And so Kaʿb spoke these verses which are included in a *qaṣida* of his."

He went on, "I learned on the authority of 'Alī b. Zayd b. Jadʿān that Kaʿb b. Zuhayr recited the verses of 'Suʿād has gone away' to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the mosque."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it, with its chain of authorities given above, back to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Hizāmī (who said), "Maʿān b. ʿIsā related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aʿṭas, from Ibn Jadʿān, who gave it." This chain of transmission is *mursal*, incomplete.

Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr, God have mercy upon him, stated in his book *al-Istīʿāb fī Maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb* after having given some biographical details about Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, "Kaʿb b. Zuhayr was a prolific poet considered pre-eminent in his class, along with his brother Bujayr. Kaʿb was the better poet of the two, while their father Zuhayr was superior to both. Among the fine poetry of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr are the lines,

'Were I surprised by anything, it would be how a young
man goes forward though his fate is hidden from him.

He will strive to achieve what he cannot attain; the
soul is one, while worry is all-encompassing.

As long as a man lives, hope extends before him; the sight goes out as far as the full extent of space.”

Thereafter Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr gave other verses too numerous to mention. He did not record the date of his death. Similarly, Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr, in his book *al-Ghāba fī Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥāba* did not give this information. However, it is related that his father died one year before the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, “Among the finest verses of Ka‘b b. Zuhayr are those he spoke in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

‘The brown she-camel carries him on, wrapped in his cloak, like the full moon shining bright on a dark night

Inside his wrappings or folds of his cloak there is such religion and such nobility that God well knows.’”

Chapter: Concerning those well-known events and deaths that occurred in 8 AH.

In Jumādā that year the battle of al-Mu‘ta took place. In Ramaḍān there was the expedition resulting in the conquest of Mecca. Thereafter, in Shawwāl, there was the conflict with Hawāzin at Hunayn which was followed by the siege of al-Ṭā‘if. In Dhū al-Qa‘da the ‘umra was performed from al-Ji‘rāna and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina for the remainder of that year.

Al-Wāqidi stated that his return to Medina from that journey came six days prior to the end of Dhū al-Ḥijja.

Al-Wāqidi went on, “That year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ to Ja‘far and ‘Amr, sons of al-Julundi, of Banū Azd; the *jizya* tax was taken from the *magūs*, ‘the Magians’, of the country of these two men and from the bedouins in the areas around there.

“That year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān al-Kilābī, in Dhū al-Qa‘da. She, however, spoke a plea of refuge in God from him,¹⁶⁶ and so he forsook her. It is also said that he gave her the choice and that she chose the worldly life and so he left her.

“In Dhū al-Ḥijja that year, Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Māriya, the Copt, was born. The envy of his other wives, the *ummahāt al-mu‘minin*, was aroused when she bore him a male child. The midwife was Salmā, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She came out and informed Abū Rāfi‘, who went and delivered the good tidings to the Messenger

166. She invoked the *isti‘ādha* when he first walked into his apartment where she was. Sources suggest that she had been tricked into saying this by the other wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who were envious of her beauty.

of God (ṢAAS), who presented him with the gift of a slave. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent him (the baby) to Umm Barra, daughter of al-Mundhir b. Usayd b. Khidāsh b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār and her husband al-Barā' b. Aws b. Khālīd b. al-Ja'd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdūl."

That year there occurred the deaths in military engagements of those martyrs to whom we made reference above.

We earlier referred to the destruction by Khālīd b. al-Walīd of the temple where al-ʿUzzā was worshipped at Nakhla, between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. That was five days prior to the end of Ramaḍān that year.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "That year the destruction was carried out of Suwāʿ, (the idol) at Rahāṭ that Hudhayl had worshipped. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, may God be pleased with him, destroyed it, but he found nothing in its treasury. (The idol) Manāt was also destroyed at al-Mushallal; it had formerly been venerated by Aws and Khazraj, the *anṣār* tribes. Saʿb b. Zayd al-Ashhalī, may God be pleased with him, destroyed it."

We referred to this event in a useful and full section of our exegesis of *sūrat al-Najm*, with reference to the words of the Almighty, "and have you considered al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, the third, the last?" (*sūrat al-Najm*; LIII, v.19–20).

Al-Bukhārī made reference, after the material relating to the conquest of Mecca, to Banū Khathʿam's destruction of the temple where they used to worship, and which they called the "*Yemeni*", the "southern" or "*Yemeni*", *kaʿba*, in imitation of the *kaʿba* at Mecca. The latter they knew as the "*Shāmi*", the "northern" or "Syrian", *kaʿba*.

Al-Bukhārī stated: "Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālīd, from Qays, from Jarīr, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, "Will you not relieve me of Dhū al-Khalāṣa?" "Yes indeed!" I replied. So I set off with a force of 150 cavalry from (Banū) Aḥmas, who were good horsemen. I used not to feel secure on horses and I told this to the Prophet (ṢAAS). He hit me on the chest with his hand so that I could see its imprint and said, "O God, set him firmly, and make him a guide who is rightly led." And I never fell off a horse thereafter.'"

Dhū al-Khalāṣa was a temple in Yemen belonging to Banū Khathʿam and Banū Bajayla which contained idols they worshipped.

Al-Bukhārī's account continued, "Jarīr went there and destroyed it. When he arrived he found a man who foretold using divining arrows. He was told, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is here! If he gets hold of you he will behead you!'

"While one day he was using his divining arrows, Jarīr came and stood over the man and said, 'You had better break them up and testify that there is no god but God! Otherwise, I'll strike your neck!' The fortune teller broke them and so testified.

"Then Jarīr sent one of the Banū Aḥmas men, called Abū Arṭāt to the Prophet (ṢAAS) to inform him of the good news. When the man reached him, he said, 'Messenger of God, by him who sent you with the truth, by the time I left it

(the temple) it was like nothing but a scabby camel!' Thereat the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) blessed the horses and men of Banū Aḥmas five times."

Muslim related this with various lines, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālīd, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajalī, in similar words.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Ya'qūb b. 'Utba' means 'Ya'qūb, son of 'Utba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas' the names of Ya'qūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name 'Ā'isha bt. Abū Bakr refers to 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ṢAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who

officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

ʿarab al-ʿāriba: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

ʿarab al-mustaʿriba: 'the arabized Arabs', initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Hījāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

ʿArafāt (also ʿArafa): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *hajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

ʿashira (pl. ʿashāʾir): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An ʿashira is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several ʿashāʾir form a single *qabīla* (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *hajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believed suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam's sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabīla* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

dafʿ: the word used to denote the act of departure from ʿArafāt during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's 'ashīra (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfū': a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣāhib*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufāẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qur'ān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Hijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *ka'ba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

hijra (or *hegira*): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāda: the movement or departure of pilgrims from 'Arafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

kaʿba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwāʾ: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *kaʿba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rakʿāt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *ka'ba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabila (pl. *qabā'il*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabila* is larger than an *ashira* (q.v.) but smaller than a *sha'b* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *ka'ba* there.

rak'a (pl. *rak'āt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rak'āt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridā': a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *ihrām* state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-sa'ī: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

saba': the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣāḥib (pl. *aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥīḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth*.

ṣamʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabila* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *ṣunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

tubbaʿ (pl. *tabābiʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wuḍūʿ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

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VOLUME IV

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VOLUME IV

CENTER FOR MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION

The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, a non-government, non-profit making cultural organization, strives to lead Muslims and non-Muslims alike to a better understanding of the Muslim contribution to civilization and to a better knowledge of Islam.

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In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

FOREWORD

THE interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilisations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzī (Rhazes), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilisation as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam's Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilisation in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria, used to select individual books, were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make

the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today's world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

ABOUT THIS SERIES

THIS series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

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The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

This series is distinguished from other similar intercultural projects by its distinctive objectives and methodology. These works will fill a genuine gap in the library of human thought. They will prove extremely useful to all those with an interest in Islamic culture, its interaction with Western thought, and its impact on culture throughout the world. They will, it is hoped, fulfil an important rôle in enhancing world understanding at a time when there is such evident and urgent need for the development of peaceful coexistence.

This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhwī, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Muhammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to

* Died 1994, may Allāh have mercy on him.

a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.

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1. Dr Kamal Naji, former General Supervisor, Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, Qatar (7 October 1997).
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INTRODUCTION

THE work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr,¹ and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qurʾān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*.² He argues that the *sīra* section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the *al-Bidāya*. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it *al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathīr*.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfi, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Harrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, *Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafsīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr's Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*. Unpublished dissertation. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr's name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, *Dhayl Tadhkirat al-Huffāẓ*, gives Ibn Kathīr's name as Ismāʿīl b. Umar b. Kathīr b. Daw b. Kathīr b. Zarʿ. Other versions have been given, however, such as appears in al-Ziriklī's *al-Aʿlām* (1: 320) and ʿUmar Riḍā Kāhhālā's *Muḥjam al-Muʿallifīn* (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzālī's chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).

colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzī, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Šālihiyya.³

Ibn Kathīr, true to the pre-eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the *muḥaddith*, the scholar of *ḥadīth* traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muḥammad: the *ḥadīth* literature and the *sira*; the Qurʾān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of *ḥadīth* material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, “followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of *ḥadīth*, and that of the tribes (i.e. the *ayyām* anecdotes as narrated by the *akhbārīs* and the *ruwāt*), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities. “These two lines”, he explains, “reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life.”⁴ According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muḥammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qurʾān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of *ḥadīth* traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, “a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the *ḥadīth* which flourished in the second and third centuries.”⁵ A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a

3. Curtis, 23.

4. Professor Duri’s article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls “the tribal type of history.” See in this regard “The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century”, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).

5. M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Hadith Literature* (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1983), 186.

rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (*fitna*), whereupon sources were no longer regarded, *prima facie*, as trustworthy, but were instead increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate *isnād* system where every *ḥadīth* was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text (*matn*) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of transmitters (*sanad*) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such information from the Prophet himself.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathīr's method in this particular work is more that of the *ḥadīth* scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhārī, Muslim and more so, al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū Nu'aym thus feature more prominently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām or al-Ṭabarī. But, as 'Abd al-Wāḥid rightly points out, Ibn Kathīr, on occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Mūsā b. 'Uqba, and the *al-Rawḍ al-Anf* of al-Suhaylī are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Hishām, are Ibn Kathīr's copious citations of poetry, almost all of which seem to have been taken from Muḥammad b. Ishāq's biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of Ka'ab b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, *Bānat Su'ād*; there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the haunting ode of Abū al-Bakhtārī b. Hishām, when he speaks so movingly of his virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the evocative panegyrics of Ḥassān b. Thābit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and his Companions.

Ibn Kathīr, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of *ḥadīth* methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars such as Ibn Ishāq, but also, at times, the very *ḥadīth* material he so often quotes. He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī or that of Muslim. 'Abd al-Wāḥid offers two possible reasons for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathīr was simply quoting from memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis is, I believe, somewhat unconvincing for it requires, amongst other things, that Ibn Kathīr possessed not one, but an entire set of *ḥadīth* works unique to his library alone!

The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabarī, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathīr's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of *ḥadīth* literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the *sīra* material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth."⁶ Not that the method of Ibn Kathīr is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for *sīra* studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathīr's *sīra* are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., *sīra* material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet".⁷ And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."⁸

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathīr's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.⁹

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by

6. See Robin L. Fox, *The Unauthorized Version: Truth and Fiction in the Bible* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

7. This particular statement appears in the introduction to Maxime Rodinson's own biography of the Prophet. See Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed*. Trans. Anne Carter (London, 1971).

8. For the full text of this article see R. Paret, "Recent European Research on the Life and Work of Prophet Muhammad, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi, 1958.

9. See in this regard G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia: University of Southern California Press, 1989).

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sīra* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former's mission – if it can be described as such – is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad" points out, that "even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear."¹⁰

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and stratagems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to "holy orders".¹¹ Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was "not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system."¹² As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era "so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption."¹³ Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars *vis-à-vis* the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex'd*

10. F. E. Peters, "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad", in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (1991), 291–315.

11. See P. M. Holt, "The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 290–302.

12. *Ibid.*, 300.

13. *Ibid.*, 300.

for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age.¹⁴ Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a “much more solid contribution to historical knowledge” as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did “not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as ‘the great Imposter’ and then describing the Arab conquests as ‘that grievous calamity’.”¹⁵ The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: “With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muḥammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his.”¹⁶

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel “the historical person of Muhammad”, Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating “the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sīra*”. Lammens’ efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muḥammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. “Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam’s obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence.”¹⁷

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *ḥadīth* traditions as well as the *sīra* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *ḥadīth* material was but a “pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (*isnād*) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the ‘Companions’ who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

14. *Ibid.*, 291.

15. *Ibid.*, 311.

16. P. M. Holt, *The Treatment of Arab History*, 300.

17. K. S. Salibi, “Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens”, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 330–342.

in pertinent ways.”¹⁸ Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that “hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards.”¹⁹ From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: “that the bulk of the *sīra* . . . consists of second century *ḥadīths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded.”²⁰

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht’s conclusion. He thus maintains that “In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a ‘tendential shaping’ of the material . . .”²¹

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *ḥadīth* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutūn* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *ḥadīth* and *sīra* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.²² He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *ḥadīth* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title “al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah” in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islamī*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah*.²³

18. See Goldziher’s chapter on the development of the law in Islam in *Introduction to Islamic Law and Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

19. J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

20. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 14–15.

21. W. G. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford University Press, 1953), xiii.

22. M. N. Al-Albani, *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa al-Mawḍūʿah*. Vol. i. Damascus?: Manshurāt al-Maktab al-Islami, 1376 h.

23. *Ibid.*, 6.

Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *ḥadīth* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *ḥadīth* literature has attempted to show that *ḥadīth* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

“In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *aḥādīth* narrated by ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr’s books. ‘Urwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet’s letters in a very early period.”²⁴

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than “the rubble of early Muslim history”. For Patricia Crone therefore, the “inertia” of material such as appears heretofore “comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam.”²⁵ “The bulk of it”, she argues, “has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles.”²⁶

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, “a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship.”²⁷ For him therefore, the *ḥadīth* traditions “taken as a whole” do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and “a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of ‘what really happened’.”²⁸

24. Azami, *Early Hadith*, 7–8.

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. (Cambridge University Press, 1980).

26. *Ibid.*, 13.

27. See G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith*. (Cambridge University Press, 1983), I.

28. *Ibid.*, 7.

Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*,²⁹ "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."³⁰

Muneer Fareed
Reviewer of Volumes II–IV

29. H. G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London, 1975).

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

AS has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathir repeats anecdotal *aḥādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathir's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *aḥādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted

have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathīr's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as *Abū* and *sūrat* – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial *hamza*, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathīr himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 2000

VOLUME IV

THE YEAR 9 AH.

An Account of the Expedition to Tabūk in Rajab of 9 AH.

God Almighty stated, “O you who believe, the polytheists are nothing but unclean; and so they shall not come near the Sacred Mosque after this year. If you should fear poverty, (then remember that) God will enrich you from His bounty, if He so wishes. God is Omniscient, Wise. Battle against those who do not believe in God or in the Last Day, who do not prohibit what God and His Messenger prohibited and who do not follow the religion of the truth. (Battle against) those to whom the (Holy) Book was brought until they pay the *jizya* tax ‘*an yadin*,¹ ‘being in a state of submission’” (*sūrat al-Tawba*, (or *al-Barāʿa*); IX, v.28–29).

It is related from Ibn ‘Abbās, Mujāhid, ‘Ikrima, Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, Qatāda, al-Ḍaḥḥāk and others that when God Almighty decreed that the polytheists should be prevented from approaching the Sacred Mosque, whether in the pilgrimage or at other times, that Quraysh said they would be deprived of the commercial activity that took place during the pilgrimage, and that they would therefore suffer financial loss. And so God compensated them for that by ordering them to battle the people of the scriptures so that they either accepted Islam or paid the *jizya* tax ‘*an yadin*, “being in a state of submission”.

I comment that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore decided to battle the Byzantines. This was because they were the people nearest to him and those most appropriate to invite to the truth because of their proximity to Islam and to those who believed in it. God Almighty had stated, “O you who believe, fight those unbelievers who are near you. Let them see severity in you; and know that God is with those who are pious” (*sūrat al-Tawba* (or *al-Barāʿa*); IX, v.123).

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) determined to send an expedition against the Byzantines – this being the time of the battle of Tabūk – it was at a period of extreme heat and discomfort. He explained the expedition to people and invited the bedouin tribes around him to go forth with him and a large force of, as we shall see, some 30,000 men did join him. Others, however, held back, and God criticized those who were hypocritical and neglectful. He expressed His extreme displeasure and censure to them and brought them great disgrace, giving revelation of verses for recitation about them. It was in *sūrat al-Tawba*

1. ‘*an yadin*, lit. “from a hand”, has been variously interpreted as “in acknowledgement of Your power”, or “obediently”, or “with ready money”.

IX (or *al-Barāʾa*) that He made clear reference to them; we explained this at length in our *Tafsir (Exegesis)*. He ordered the Muslims to go forth no matter how, saying, "Proceed forth, whether light or heavy, and put your possessions and your persons vigorously to work in God's cause. That is best for you, if you but know it. Had it been an objective close by and a short journey, they would have followed you. But the long journey was too far for them. (Yet) they will swear by God, 'Had we been able, we would have departed with you!' They destroy themselves; God knows that they are liars!" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.41, 2) and other verses follow these.

The Almighty went on to state, "It was not for the believers to proceed forth all together. Why then should not a group from every party among them go forth to seek expertise in the faith and to warn their people when they return to them, so that they may be on their guard?" (*sūrat al-Tawba*: IX, v.122). It is said by some that this verse abrogates the former; others say not. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina between the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja and Rajab – of year 9 AH that is – and then ordered the men to prepare for an expedition against the Byzantines.

"Al-Zuhri, Yazid b. Rūmān, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda and others of our scholars relate as follows of what was told them concerning the expedition to Tabūk; some give information not presented by others.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his men to make an expedition against the Byzantines. This was at a time when there was considerable suffering from poverty, extreme heat and drought. The fruit was now ripe and people wanted to enjoy it in the shade; they hated the idea of leaving right away at that season.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rarely went forth on an expedition without disguising its purpose. The expedition to Tabūk, however, he explained fully because of the great distance, the severity of the season and the large size of the enemy force he intended to battle; he gave this explanation so that his men could make proper preparations. He ordered them to ready their equipment, telling them he was going to attack the Byzantines.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while readying his own equipment, asked Jadd b. Qays, a man of Banū Salama, 'Jadd, would you like now to attack the *banū asfar*, the "yellow skins"?'" He replied, 'Messenger of God, do excuse me and not tempt me; I swear by God, my people well know there's not a man more attracted to women than myself. I fear that if I saw the *banū asfar* women, I'd not be able to restrain myself!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned away from him, saying, 'I excuse you then'.

2. An epithet referring to the light skin coloration of the Byzantines.

"It was about Jadd that God revealed the verse, 'Among them are those who will say, "Do not tempt me!". But they have already fallen to temptation. Hell encompasses those who disbelieve' (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.29).

"The hypocrites told one another, 'Don't go forth in the heat'. They did this to avoid the warfare and doubting the truth and discrediting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And so God revealed about them, 'They say, "Don't go forth in the heat!" Say: "The heat of the fires of hell is more severe!" If only they understood! Let them laugh a little and weep a lot for the punishment they have earned'" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.81).

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable source quoted someone as quoting Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥāritha, from his father, who quoted his father as saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed that some hypocrites were meeting in the home of Suwaylim the Jew – his dwelling being at Jāsūm – and that they were dissuading people from accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his expedition to Tabūk. The latter then dispatched Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh and some men with orders to burn down Suwaylim's house about them. Ṭalḥa did this. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfa jumped down from the roof of the house, breaking his leg. His companions leaped down too, but escaped. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk spoke the following verses about this:

"By God's house, Muḥammad's fire almost burned
al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Ibn Ubayriq!

Having climbed atop Suwaylim's house, I crawled away on
a broken leg and an elbow.

Greetings to you! I'll not do the same again. I am
afraid; he whom fire encompasses is burned."'''

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made energetic preparations for his trip, ordering the men to get ready quickly. He urged the wealthy to provide funds and mounts for God's cause. Some of them did so and thus stored away (later reward) for themselves. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān made a greater outlay than anyone had done."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Someone I trust related to me that 'Uthmān paid out 1,000 dinārs for the army going on the *al-ʿusra* expedition to Tabūk. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'O God be pleased with 'Uthmān, for I am pleased with him.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥārūn b. Ma'rūf related to him, quoting Ḍamra b. Shawdhab, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qāsim, from Kaththa, the freed-men of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samra, who said, "'Uthmān b. 'Affān took 1,000 dinārs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his clothing when the latter was preparing the army for the *al-ʿusra* expedition. He poured out the money into the lap of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who began turning the coins over in his hand, saying, 'Affān's son can do no wrong, after what he has done today!'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, from al-Ḥasan b. Wāqif, from Ḍamra. He categorized it as *ḥasan gharīb*, “good but unilateral”.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad stated, in his father’s *ḥadīth* collection, “Abū Mūsā al-ʿAnazī related to me, quoting ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting Sakīn b. al-Mughīra, quoting al-Walid b. Abū Hishām, from Farqad Abū Ṭalḥa, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khabbāb al-Sulamī, who said, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address urging support for the army for the *al-ʿusra* expedition and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān said, “I take responsibility for providing 100 baggage camels with their saddle blankets and pack-saddles.” He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) then came down one step on the *minbar*, the pulpit, and again urged support. At this ʿUthmān said, “I take responsibility for another 100 baggage camels complete with their blankets and pack-saddles.”’”

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khabbāb al-Sulamī went on, “I then saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) use his hand to speak with, moving it thus.” And Abū Mūsā al-ʿAnazī stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad put out his hand and moved it as though in delight (and saying), “For what he has done, ʿUthmān has no more responsibility hereafter.”

Al-Tirmidhī related this from Muḥammad b. Bashshār, from Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī, from Sakan b. al-Mughīra Abū Muḥammad, the freed-man of ʿUthmān’s family. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the *ḥadīth* as *gharīb min ḥādḥā al-wajh*, “unique from this line”.

Al-Bayhaqī related it through ʿAmd b. Marzūq, from Sakan b. al-Mughīra. He said it happened three times and that ʿUthmān took responsibility for providing 300 baggage camels with their blankets and saddles.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān stated, “I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say while he was upon the *minbar*, ‘Uthmān did no wrong after this’. Or he may have said, . . . ‘after today’.”

Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated, “Abū ʿAwāna related to us, from Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAmr b. Jāwān, from al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, who said, ‘I heard ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān say to Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, ʿAlī, al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥa, “I adjure you by God to say whether you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Whoever equipped the army for the *al-ʿusra* expedition has been forgiven by God’, and that I equipped them so that they did not lack so much as a halter or a headband?’” They responded, “Yes, indeed, by God!”’”

Al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥuṣayn.

THOSE WHO WEPT AND ALSO THOSE WHO MADE EXCUSES TO REMAIN BEHIND.

God Almighty stated, “And when a chapter (of the Qurʾān) is revealed saying, ‘Believe in God and strive along with His Messenger’, those among them of ample means seek your permission (to remain) saying, ‘Leave us behind with those who remain.’ They are pleased to be with those who stay back; their hearts

have been sealed over, and they do not comprehend. However, the Messenger and those who believe with him dedicate fully their property and themselves. These persons shall have the benefits, and it is they who shall succeed. God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow; they shall rest therein for eternity. That is the great success. Then the excuse-makers from among the bedouin came seeking permission (to stay behind) and those who denied the veracity of God and His Messenger also stayed. Those of them who disbelieved shall suffer painful punishment. There shall be no blame for the weak and the sick or those without the means to expend, provided that they are sincere with God and His Messenger; there is no cause to blame those who do good. And God is Forgiving and Beneficent. Nor is there blame upon those who, coming to you for mounts, have you tell them, 'I have nothing on which to transport you', with the result that they turn away, their eyes welling tears of regret that they do not have the means to expend. Cause for blame rests with those who seek your permission to stay back even though they are wealthy, preferring to be with those who remain behind. God has placed a seal over their hearts, and they do not know" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v. 86-93).

We have provided sufficient interpretation of this in our *Tafsir (Exegesis)*; and to God is due all praise and credit.

What is referred to here is those who wept when they came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to provide them transportation to accompany him on this expedition of his but found him without mounts for them. They then retired weeping, sad at their inability to participate in, or contribute to, the fighting for God's cause.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "These totalled seven persons, consisting of *anṣār* and others. Of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf there were: Salīm b. 'Umayr; 'Ulba b. Zayd, brother of Banū Ḥāritha; Abū Laylā 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b, brother of Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār; 'Amr b. al-Ḥumām b. al-Jumūh, brother of Banū Salama; 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughaffal al-Muzanī. Some maintain that this last-mentioned was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr al-Muzanī. (They also include) Haramī b. 'Abd Allāh, brother of Banū Wāqif and 'Irbāḍ b. Sāriya al-Fazzārī.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "I have been told that Ibn Yāmīn b. 'Umayr b. Ka'b al-Naḍrī met Abū Laylā and 'Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal who were both weeping. Ibn Yāmīn asked them, 'What is making you weep?' They replied, 'We have been to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to provide us mounts but he had none to carry us. And we lack the means to proceed out with him.' So he (Ibn Yāmīn) gave them a water-transport camel he owned and they saddled it. He also provided them with some dates and so they proceeded forth with the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Yūnus b. Bukayr added the following from Ibn Ishāq, "'Ulba b. Zayd went outside at night, spending that part of it in prayer that God wished. He then wept and said, 'O God, You have ordered to battle and inspired enthusiasm for

it, but then not provided me with the means for it, not given to Your Messenger a mount to transport me. I wish to donate to all Muslims (the compensation I received for) whatever wrongs may have befallen me, whether in money, in bodily harm or in honour.'

"Next morning he arose with the rest and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'Where is he who spent the night making donation?' No one got up. He next said, 'Let the man who made the donation get up now.' He (ʿUlba) then went over to him and told him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Rejoice! By Him in whose hand is my soul, you have been inscribed among those having made a *zakāt* donation that is found acceptable (by God)!'"

At this point the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, stating, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh *al-ḥāfiẓ* related to us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid al-Māzinī, quoting Abū Usāma, from Burayd, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, 'My companions sent me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to ask him for mounts for them to accompany him with the army for the *al-ʿusra* expedition to Tabūk. I said, "Prophet of God, my companions have sent me to you to provide them mounts." He replied, "By God, I won't mount you on anything." I had happened to go to him, without realizing it, when he was in an angry mood.

"So I left, sad that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had rejected me and fearful that he bore me some ill-will. When I returned to my friends, I told them what he had said. Very soon after that, I heard Bilāl calling out, "Where is ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays?" When I responded, he said, "Make answer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who is calling for you." When I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, "Take these two camels tied together, and these two and these two." He was referring to six baggage camels he had just bought from Saʿd. Then he said, "Take these to your companions and say, 'God' (or 'the Messenger of God') 'will mount you upon these'."

"So (I went to them and) I said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounts you upon these. But, I swear by God, I'll not allow you this until some of you accompany me to someone who heard what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said when I asked him on your behalf and how he at first refused, then later gave them to me. I don't want you to think I reported to you something he did not say." They replied, "By God, we consider you entirely credible; but we'll do whatever you wish."

"Abū Mūsā then left with a group of them and they went to those who had heard what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said – how he had at first refused and then had given to them. They confirmed to them exactly what Abū Mūsā had said."

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma.

In one account of theirs they both quote Abū Mūsā as saying, "I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along with a group of Ashʿaris to provide us mounts

and he replied, 'I swear by God, I'll not give you mounts; I have none on which to transport you.'"

He went on, "Some camels taken as booty were then brought to him, and he ordered that we be given six young ones. We took them, but then we said, 'We caused the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to break his oath, and God will not bless us.' So we went back to him and told him this. He replied, 'It is not I who gave you mounts; it is God who did so.' He then said, 'I swear by God, if God wills it, I will never swear an oath then find that its opposite is better without then nullifying that first oath.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "There were a number of Muslims whom absence delayed and so they lagged behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but not because of any doubt or indecision on their part.

"Among these were Kaʿb b. Mālik b. Abū Kaʿb, a brother of Banū Salama; Marāra b. Rabiʿ, brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf; Hilāl b. Umayya, brother of Banū Wāqif, and Abū Khaythama, brother of Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf. These were men of high honour against whose adherence to Islam no one could make any charge."

I note that the story of the first three of these men will be related at length shortly hereafter, if God Almighty wills it. It is these men about whom God gave the following revelation: "As for the three who were left behind so that the earth became constricted for them, though it was spacious. And their spirits also felt constrained, and they thought there to be no refuge from God, except in Him" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.118).

Abū Khaythama changed his mind and determined to catch up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as will be shown.

DIVISION

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, "Having made his arrangements, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) decided to set off. When, on a Thursday, he departed, he made camp at Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ; with him there were more than 30,000 men. That enemy of God ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy pitched his camp lower down, his being, so they say, no smaller in number. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth again, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy remained behind, along with a group of the hypocrites and doubt-mongers."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed Muḥammad b. Maslama, the *anṣārī*, in command of Medina. Al-Darāwardī related that it was Sibāʿ b. ʿUrfuṭa whom he left in command at the time of the expedition to Tabūk."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib behind to care for his family, ordering him to stay with them. The hypocrites spread lies about ʿAlī, maintaining that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found his presence onerous and wished to alleviate this.

“When they said this, ‘Alī took up his weapons and proceeded forth, catching up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while the latter was making a halt at al-Jurf. ‘Alī told him what people were saying and he responded, “They lie; I left you there to care for those I have left behind. Go back and act on my behalf with my family as well as your own. Are you not content, ‘Alī, to have the same status with me as Aaron had with Moses? There will, however, be no prophet after myself.”

“‘Alī did return and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed on his journey.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna related to me, from Ibrāhīm b. Sa’d b. Abū Waqqās, from his father Sa’d, (who said) that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make this comment to ‘Alī.”

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both related this through Shu’ba, from Sa’d b. Ibrāhīm, from Ibrāhīm b. Sa’d b. Abū Waqqās, from his father.

Abū Dā’ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated in his *ḥadīth* compendium, “Shu’ba related to us, from al-Ḥakam, from Muṣ’ab b. Sa’d, from his father, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb behind from the expedition to Tabūk. ‘Alī then asked him, “Messenger of God, would you leave me behind with the women and children?” He replied, “Are you not content to have with me the status Aaron had with Moses? Although there will be no prophet after myself.””

Both authorities gave this on lines of transmission from Shu’ba in similar form. Al-Bukhārī also gave it on a line from Abū Dā’ūd, from Shu’ba.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Qutayba b. Sa’d related to him, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismā’īl, from Bukayr b. Mismār, from ‘Āmir b. Sa’d, from his father, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows. ‘Alī, having been left behind by him at one of his expeditions asked, “Messenger of God, would you leave me behind with the women and children?” He replied, “‘Alī, are you not content that you have the same status with me that Aaron had with Moses? However, there will be no prophet after myself.”

Muslim and al-Tirmidhī related this from Qutayba. Muslim and Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād both added to this, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismā’īl. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as being *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, *gharīb*, good and authentic, and unique from this line.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Abū Khaythama returned on a hot day to his family several days after the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He found two wives he had each in a bower in his garden; each one had sprinkled and cooled her bower with cold water and had prepared him food.

“When he entered, Abū Khaythama stood at the door of a bower, gazed at his two wives and at what they had done, and said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is out there in the sun, wind and heat, while Abū Khaythama is in the cool shade with food prepared for him with beautiful women and on his own property! This is not fair. By God, I swear I’ll not enter the bower of either one of you before joining up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! Prepare provisions for me!” And they both did so.

"He then brought up his camel, saddled it, and left to seek the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He reached him after he had encamped at Tabūk. 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumāhī, himself heading for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had overtaken Abū Khaythama on the way and they had travelled on together until they neared Tabūk. Abū Khaythama then said to 'Umayr b. Wahb, 'I am at fault. Best for you to stay back from me until I go on to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And he did so.

"When Abū Khaythama approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), people told the latter, 'There's a rider approaching along the road.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'That will be Abū Khaythama!' They commented, 'By God, Messenger of God, it is indeed Abū Khaythama!'

"When he arrived, he came up and greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who responded, 'Woe upon you, Abū Khaythama!' He then explained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what had happened and the latter blessed him."

'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. 'Uqba related this story about Abū Khaythama in a similar though more simple form than that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq. Their account states that the departure of the Prophet (ṢAAS) took place in the autumn. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū Khaythama – his given name being Mālik b. Qays – spoke the following verses on this.

'Having seen how people were hypocritical in their faith, I kept to what was more fine and noble.

I gave forth my hand in fealty to Muḥammad and did no wrong nor committed any sin.

I left a woman wearing make-up inside the bower, amidst the palms, along with a feast of ripened dates.

While the hypocrites were in doubt, my soul flowed onwards to the faith, its path wheresoever that would lead.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Muḥammad b. Ishāq quoted from Burayda, from Sufyān, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Tabūk, whenever anyone fell behind people would tell him, 'Messenger of God, so-and-so has stayed back.' He would then say, 'Oh leave him alone. If there is any good in him, then God will bring him up to join you. Otherwise, it is God who will have relieved you of him!'

"Eventually he was told, 'Messenger of God, Abū Dharr has fallen behind, his camel having slowed him down.' He replied, 'Leave him; if there is good in him, God will have him catch up with you. If otherwise, then God will have relieved you of him.'

"Abū Dharr gave his camel time to recover, but when it still moved only slowly, he took from it his equipment, placed it on his own back and walked on

after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter made one of his halts and a Muslim on look-out said, 'Messenger of God, I can see this man walking along the road.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'That will be Abū Dharr.' When they had observed him closely, people said, 'Messenger of God, it is Abū Dharr, by God!' At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'May God have mercy on Abū Dharr! He walks alone, will die alone and will be resurrected alone!'

"And fate did strike its blow at him. Abū Dharr was (ultimately)³ sent to al-Rabdha. When his death was near, he gave instructions to his wife and a slave, saying, 'When I die, wash me and wind me in my shroud at night, then lay me on the crest of the road and tell the first passer-by that this is Abū Dharr.'

"When he died, they did this. Riders came along and unwittingly trod him underfoot. When Ibn Mas'ūd came past in a group of men of Kūfa, he asked 'What is this?' He was told it was the bier of Abū Dharr. Ibn Mas'ūd began weeping upon hearing this and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the truth! He said, "May God have mercy on Abū Dharr! He walks alone, will die alone and will be resurrected alone!"'

"He then dismounted and he himself buried him."

The line of authorities for this is good; but they (the authors of the canonical collections of the traditions) did not give it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by 'Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ma'mar, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl, who said with reference to the words of the Almighty, "who followed him at the time of *al-ʿusra*" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.117). "These men went forth on the expedition to Tabūk; there were two and three to the single camel. They travelled at a time of severe heat and eventually began slaughtering their camels to split open their stomachs to drink the liquid inside them. That was a time of *ʿusra*, 'great difficulty', over water, over the expenses and over the transport."

'Abd Allāh b. Wahb stated that he was informed by 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, from Sa'īd b. Abū Hilāl, from 'Utba b. Abū 'Utba, from Nāfi' b. Jubayr, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, that someone asked 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to tell about the *sā'at al-ʿusra*, "the time of great difficulty". 'Umar replied, "We went out to Tabūk when the weather was extremely hot. At one stop we made, we suffered such severe thirst that we feared our necks would come off! Whenever one of us went out to locate his baggage, he'd come back fearing his neck would come off! Men would slaughter their camels and compress the contents of their stomachs to drink, then place the remainder over their livers. Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', asked, 'Messenger of God, God responds favourably to your prayers. Pray to God for us.' 'You would like that?' he asked. 'Yes,' he replied. The Messenger of God

3. . The text of Ibn Ishāq as translated by Guillaume, *op. cit.*, quotes sources saying that he was exiled there by 'Uthmān.

(ṢAAS) then raised up his hands towards heaven and did not bring them back down until it had prepared to give rain. A drizzle fell and then a torrent, and everyone filled everything available. We then went out and discovered that the rain had not fallen beyond our camp!"

The line of transmission for this is excellent. But the authorities did not give it from this line.

Ibn Ishāq narrated from 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda, from some men of his tribe, that this incident related to when they were at al-Hijr. They had then asked a man accompanying them who was a hypocrite, "Well, do you want still more (proof) after this?" He replied, "It was just a passing cloud!"

Ibn Ishāq also narrated that the she-camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had strayed and men went off to search for it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told 'Umāra b. Ḥazm *al-anṣārī*, who was there with him, "A man said, 'This Muḥammad tells you he is a prophet and gives you news of heaven, but he doesn't even know the whereabouts of his camel!' I swear by God, all I do know is what God tells me. And God has directed me to her; she is in a gully where her halter has caught on a tree."

They then went off and retrieved her and 'Umāra went back to his camp. He told them how someone had made a comment (about the Prophet (ṢAAS)), and one of the men present said, "It was Zayd b. al-Luṣayt who said this." This man had been there in 'Umāra's camp before his return. He now went up to Zayd and poked him in the neck, saying, "There was a disaster right here in my camp without me knowing it! Clear off, you enemy of God! You'll not accompany me!" Some say that Zayd repented, but others say he persisted in his error until he died.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that a similar account about the camel had been related to him from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Mas'ūd. He then narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-A'mash, which Imām Aḥmad also narrated, from Abū Mu'āwiya, from al-A'mash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra – or from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudarī, al-A'mash was not sure which – who said, "At the expedition to Tabūk, the men were greatly afflicted by hunger. They asked, 'Messenger of God, with your permission, we would like to slaughter our water-transport camels; we could eat them and gain some weight.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them to do so.

"Then 'Umar came and asked, 'Messenger of God, if you do this, we'll have a shortage of transport. Invite them instead to bring the remnants of their supplies, then pray to God to bless it for them; perhaps God will place His blessings in it.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Yes, I will.' He then called for a leather coverlet, laid it out and called for the remnants of their food. One man would bring an ear of maize, another a handful of dates, a third a piece of bread. He made a small pile of this on the piece of leather and spoke a prayer blessing it. Then he told them, 'Put this into your containers.' They kept on doing

this until there was not a single container in the camp that was not filled with it. They also ate from it until satisfied and still some remained. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called, out, 'I testify that there is no god but God and that I am the Messenger of God! No doubt-free worshipper who addresses God with this shall be kept from paradise.'"

Muslim narrated this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash. Imām Aḥmad narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Suhayl, from his father, from Abū Hurayra. He did not make reference to the expedition to Tabūk, but said that it related to an expedition on which he went.

*An Account of how, on his way to Tabūk, the Messenger of God
(ṢAAS) passed by the dwellings of Thamūd and their
fortifications at al-Ḥijr.*

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed al-Ḥijr, he made a halt there and the men took water from its well. When they left, he told them, 'Do not drink at all from its waters; do not use its water for your ablutions. Any dough you have made using it you should give to the camels without eating any of it yourselves.'"

This is how Ibn Ishāq related it, without any chain of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿmur b. Bishr related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, who said, "Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh quoted to me his father as having said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, he said, 'Do not enter the houses of those who harmed themselves unless you do so weeping, lest there befall you what did them.' And he masked himself with his cloak while he was on his mount."

Al-Bukhārī related this from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak and ʿAbd al-Razzāq, both of whom cited Maʿmar and gave a similar line of transmission.

Mālik stated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, "Do not enter upon these persons who suffered punishment unless you are weeping; if you do not weep, then do not enter upon them, otherwise there will afflict you what afflicted them."

Al-Bukhārī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, and from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Bilāl, both of whom quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār. Muslim related it from another line from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār in similar form.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, quoting Ṣakhr – Ibn Juwayriyya, that is – from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "At the time of the expedition to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men made a halt at al-Ḥijr, at the dwellings of Thamūd. The men drew water from the wells from which Thamūd used to drink, made dough and set up cooking pots with meat. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to empty out the pots and to feed the dough to the camels. He then left with them and

proceeded on, making another halt at the well from which the camel⁴ used to drink. He forbade them entering the dwellings of those who had been afflicted with punishment, saying, 'I fear that there will befall you what befell them; do not enter in upon them.'"

This *ḥadīth* with this line of transmission conforms with the criteria set in both canonical collections, but they did not include it. However, both al-Bukhārī and Muslim did give it from a *ḥadīth* of Anas b. 'Uyyād, from Abū Ḍamra, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Usāma traced it from 'Ubayd Allāh."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ayb b. Ishāq, from 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi'.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma'mar, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, he said, 'Do not ask for signs. Ṣāliḥ's people asked for them and they would come from this cleft.'⁵ They disobeyed the order of their Lord and hamstrung it (the holy camel). It would one day drink their water and on another they would drink its milk; God destroyed every one of them beneath the surface of the sky, except for one man who was inside God's temple."

"Someone asked, 'And who was he, Messenger of God?' 'That was Abū Righāl,'⁶ he replied. 'And when he left the temple, he was struck down as his people had been.'"

The chain of authorities for this is *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic"; (but) they (the compilers of the canonical collections of traditions) do not promulgate it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting al-Mas'ūdī, from Ismā'īl b. Wāsiṭ, from Muḥammad b. Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī, who quoted his father as saying, "On the expedition to Tabūk, the men raced off to visit the people of al-Ḥijr, to enter their dwellings. This reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he had a call made for a general assembly for prayer.

"I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was there holding his camel, saying, 'What? Would you enter in upon a people with whom God was angry?' One man called out, 'We're curious about them.' 'Do I not tell you of matters more curious than that? A man from among yourselves informs you of what happened before you and what will be after you? Be righteous, and see clearly; God cares nothing for your punishment. A people will come who will not be able to protect themselves at all.'"

4. A reference to the pregnant camel the Qur'ān tells us that the virtuous Thamūd leader Ṣāliḥ conjured up from the rock. Ṣāliḥ's ungodly opponents cut the tendons of the holy camel, thus causing God's retribution that was expressed in the destruction of all Thamūd.

5. An alternate reading in a different manuscript substitutes *wajh*, 'direction', for *fajj*, "cleft", in its first use here.

6. A different, and perhaps similarly mythical, Abū Righāl is mentioned elsewhere in this work.

The chain of authorities for this is good; they (the compilers of the canonical collections of traditions) did not promulgate it.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazam related to me, from al-‘Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa‘d al-Sā‘idī – or from al-‘Abbās b. Sa‘d, I am not sure which – who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, where he made a halt, the men took its water. And when they left there, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, ‘Do not drink any of their water, nor use it for ablutions before the prayer. Feed the dough you have prepared to the camels, eating none of it yourselves. And let none of you go out this night unless accompanied by another.’

“They did as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered them, except for two men of Banū Sā‘idā. One of them went out to relieve himself and the other went to look for a camel of his. The man who relieved himself was choked at the place where he had gone. The one searching for his camel was carried away by the wind and thrown up on Mt. Ṭayyīṣ. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was told of this and commented, ‘Didn’t I tell them not to go out unless accompanied by another?’

“He then spoke a prayer for the man who had been afflicted at the place where he relieved himself, and the man was cured. The other man reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (on his return) from Tabūk.”

In one account there is additional information given from Ibn Ishāq to the effect that a man of Banū Ṭayyīṣ presented him (the second man) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he returned to Medina.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that al-‘Abbās b. Sahl named these two men to him but in confidence and so he did not tell me who they were.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Wahīb b. Khālīd, quoting ‘Amr b. Yaḥyā, from al-‘Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa‘d al-Sā‘idī, from Abū Ḥumayd al-Sā‘idī, who said, “We left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the Tabūk expedition and travelled to Wādī al-Qurā. There we came across a woman in a garden. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his Companions, ‘Guess!’ The men made their guesses, as did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he guessed that the produce from the garden would equal ten *amsaq*, ten camel loads. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the woman, ‘Keep a total of the produce that comes from it until, if God wills it, I come back.’

“He then travelled on to Tabūk. There he told the men, ‘Tonight there will be a severe gale. No one should get up during it. Those of you with camels should fasten down their halters.’

“Abū Ḥamīd said, ‘We did and during the night a severe gale swept over us. One of our men did get up and it carried him away on to Mt. Ṭayyīṣ.’

“Then the Governor of Ayla came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and presented to him a white mule. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), presented him with a robe of honour and wrote a document for him giving them protection.

"He then went on, as did we with him, and eventually we were back in Wādī al-Qurā. He asked the woman, "How much did your garden produce?" "Ten camel loads," she replied. He had guessed correctly.

"He then announced, "I am in a hurry. Any of you who want to hurry too can do so." He then left, and we accompanied him. When he looked down upon Medina, he commented, "That is Ṭaba." When he sighted Mt. Uḥud, he commented, "That is Mt. Uḥud; it loves us and we love it. Shall I tell you which are the best houses of the *anṣār*?" "Please do, Messenger of God," we replied. "The best houses of the *anṣār* are those of Banū al-Najjār, then that of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, then that of Banū Sā'ida; and moreover, there is good in all the houses of the *anṣār*.'" "

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this from another line, from 'Amr b. Yaḥyā in similar form.

Imām Mālik, may God have mercy on him, stated from Abū al-Zubayr, from Abū al-Ṭufayl 'Āmir b. Wāthila, that Mu'adh b. Jabal informed him that they went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the Tabūk expedition. (Mu'adh stated), "He would combine together the prayers of the *al-zuhr*, 'noon', and the *al-ʿaṣr*, 'late afternoon', and those of the *al-maghrib*, 'early evening', and the *al-ʿishā*, 'late evening'. One day he postponed the prayer and came out and prayed the *al-zuhr* and the *al-ʿaṣr* together. He then went back in and came out again and prayed the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishā* together. He then said, 'Tomorrow, if God wills it, you will arrive at the spring at Tabūk. You'll not reach it until forenoon. Those who reach there should not touch any of its water before I arrive.'

"When we arrived there, we had been preceded by two men. The well looked like *shirāk*,⁷ 'sandal straps', just oozing a little water. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the two men, 'Did you touch any of the water?' 'Yes,' they replied. He berated them and said to them what God wished him to speak. They then little by little scooped out water from the spring and put it all in a water-skin. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) washed in it his face and hands then poured it back into the spring. Now the spring produced much water and the men drew from it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Mu'adh, if you live long enough, you'll see that what's here will be enough to fill several gardens!'"

Muslim did include this in a *ḥadīth* from Mālik.

*An Account of the address the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)
gave at Tabūk at a palm tree there.*

Imām Aḥmad narrated from Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mu'addib and Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad, all three quoting al-Layth

7. The image is unclear. The word is obscure, suggesting: "sandal straps", "a thin planting of palm saplings", or "light shadows".

b. Saʿd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Khayr, from Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave an address at Tabūk while leaning his back against a palm tree. He spoke as follows: 'Shall I tell you who is the best of men and who is the worst? Of the best of men is one who works in God's cause on the back of his horse and on the back of his mule and on his two feet until death comes to him. Of the worst of men is one who is profligate and insolent, a man who recites God's Book but pays no attention to any of it.'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated this from Qutayba, from al-Layth. Concerning Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, he commented, "I do not know of him."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmrān, that Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, from Manzūr b. Jamīl b. Sinān, who quoted his father as saying to him, "I heard ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Juhānī relate as follows, 'We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the expedition to Tabūk. (One night) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in bed without waking up until the sun had risen a spear's length high. He called, 'Bilāl, did I not tell you to announce dawn to us?' He replied, 'Messenger of God, He who bore you away in sleep bore me also!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved a little away from his tent and prayed. He travelled on the rest of that day and night and arrived next morning in Tabūk. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God, then said, 'People, the most truthful speech is that of God's Book. The firmest of bonds is the word "piety". The best of religions is that of Abraham. The best of ways of life is the *sunna*, the practice of Muḥammad. The most noble of speech is mention of God. The finest of narratives is this Qurʾān. The best of practices are those sanctioned by God; the worst of practices are those innovated. The best guidance is that of the prophets. The most noble of deaths is being killed as a martyr. The most blind thing of all is going astray after guidance. The best of deeds are those that are beneficial. The best guidance is that which is followed. The worst blindness is that of the heart. The upper hand is better than the lower hand. That which is little yet suffices is better than that which is much but wasteful. The worst apology is that when death is at hand. The worst repentance is that on Judgement Day. There are those people who only attend the *jumʿa*, the Friday prayers, at the end. There are those people who only mention God in vain. The worst of sins is a lying tongue. The best riches are those of the soul. The best of qualities is piety. The pinnacle of wisdom is fear of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. The best quality within the heart is that of certainty. Doubting is from disbelief. Wailing in mourning is an act from the *jāhiliyya*. Fraud is of the soil spread in hell. Poetry comes from Satan. Wine is the aggregate of sin. Women are the snares of Satan. Youth is an offshoot of madness. The worst income is that from interest. The worst food is consuming the wealth of orphans. The happy man is he who is warned by (the actions of) others. The most naughty is he who misbehaves within his mother's womb. One of you has only to move four arm

lengths away for the matter to lead on to the hereafter. The fundamental of an action is determined by its results. The worst of narratives are those of untruth. All that is to come is near at hand. To swear at a believer is an outrage. To fight a believer is disbelief. To eat his flesh is disobedience of God. The sanctity of his property is as the sanctity of his blood. Whoever takes an oath by God gives the lie to Him. Whoever seeks His forgiveness shall be forgiven. Whoever gives pardon, God will pardon. Whoever suppresses anger, God will reward. Whoever remains firm against calamity, God will compensate. He who desires fame, God will discredit. He who remains firm, God will doubly reward. He who disobeys God, God will punish. O God, forgive me and my people! O God, forgive me and my people! O God, forgive me and my people! He spoke this three times, then added, 'I seek God's forgiveness for myself and for you.'

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*, unilateral, and it has some objectionable aspects; and there is some weakness in its line of transmission. God knows best what is right.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that both Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Hamadānī and Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Mu'āwiya, from Sa'īd b. Ghazwān, from his father (who said) that he passed the night at Tabūk while on his way to the pilgrimage. There he noticed a cripple. (Ghazwān's account goes on), 'I asked him about himself and he replied, 'I will give you an account, but don't tell anyone of it for so long as I live. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was encamped at Tabūk near a palm tree. He said, "This is our *qibla*." He then performed the prayer towards it. I, a youth at the time, came running along and passed between him and the tree. He then said, "He has severed our connection! May God cut out his footprint!" And I've not stood up on it to this very day!'"

Abū Dā'ūd then related it from a *ḥadīth* of Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tanūkhī, from a freed-man of Yazīd b. Nimrān, from Yazīd b. Nimrān, who said, "At Tabūk, I saw a cripple. He told me, 'While riding my donkey, I passed in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he was praying. He said, "O God, cut off his footprint!" And I have not been able to walk on it ever since.'"

In another account, the words are, "He cut off our connection! May God cut out his footprint!"

*An Account of the prayer spoken for Mu'āwiya b. Abū
Mu'āwiya – if indeed authentic.*

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting al-'Alā' Abū Muḥammad al-Thaqafī, who quoted Anas b. Mālīk as saying, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Tabūk. The sun came up with a brightness and with rays of light such as I had never seen before. Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked, 'Gabriel, why do I see the sun today with a brightness and rays of light such as I never before saw it arise?' He replied, 'That is because Mu'āwiya b. Mu'āwiya al-Laythī died today in Medina. God sent to him 70,000

angels to pray over him.' 'And why was that?' he asked. 'It was due to the frequency of his reciting the words: "Say: He is God, One" (*sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*; CXII, v.1). He did so by night and by day, when walking and upon rising or sitting down. Would you like me, Messenger of God, to take hold of the earth for you so you can pray for him?' 'Yes,' he replied. And he then prayed for him and returned."

This *ḥadīth* is extremely strange and objectionable. People base it upon this al-ʿAlāʾ b. Zayd, but he is the object of controversy.

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Hishām b. ʿAlī, quoting ʿUthmān b. al-Haytham, quoting Maḥbūb b. Hilāl, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Maymūna, from Anas, who said, 'Gabriel came and said, "Muḥammad, Muʿāwiya b. Abū Muʿāwiya al-Mazani has died. Would you like to pray for him?"' "Yes," he replied. Gabriel flapped his wings and every tree and mountain top bent over in submission. He then prayed while behind him there stretched two columns of angels in each of which there were 70,000 angels. 'I (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) then asked, "Gabriel, how did he achieve this status with God?" He replied, "By his love for the words, 'Say: He is God, One.' He would recite it standing or sitting, going or coming, and at all times.'"

ʿUthmān went on, "I asked my father where the Prophet was at the time. He replied that he was on the expedition to Tabūk in Syria, that Muʿāwiya had died in Medina and that his bed had been raised up so he could see it and pray for him."

This too is objectionable from this line.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE MESSENGER FROM CAESAR TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AT TABŪK.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Ishāq b. ʿIsā, quoting Yahyā b. Salīm, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Abū Rāshid, who said, "In Ḥims I met al-Tanūkhī, the envoy of Heraclius to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was a neighbour of mine and a very old man who had reached 90 or so. I asked, 'Won't you tell me about the message of Heraclius to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of his message to Heraclius?' 'Certainly,' he replied.

"(He narrated) The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Tabūk and sent Dihya al-Kalbī to Heraclius. When the message from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached him, Heraclius summoned the priests and patriarchs of Rome and locked himself and them inside a building. He told them, 'This man is encamped where you are aware, and he has sent me offering me three alternatives. He invites me to follow him in his religion, or that we give him what we have on this our land, this land remaining ours, or that we go to war with him. By God, you well know from what you read in the books that he will definitely

take our land, so let us either follow him in his faith or give him what we have on our land.'

"They snorted in disgust as one man so hard as almost to burst from their hooded gowns, saying, 'You are inviting us to abandon Christianity or have us be slaves to a bedouin from Ḥijāz?'"

"When he realized that when they left him they would turn the Byzantines against him, he made peace with them immediately, saying, 'I only said that to find out how dedicated you are.'

"He then summoned an Arab of Tajīb who had power over the Christian Arabs and said, 'Find me some man who can well remember speech and whose native tongue is Arabic whom I can send to this man with a reply to his message.'

"He brought me to him and Heraclius gave me a letter, saying, 'Take this letter of mine to this man. Commit to memory what he says and note three specifics: take note of any comment he makes about the letter he wrote me; observe whether he reads my letter and whether he makes mention of "night". and observe whether there is anything you find curious about his back.'

"So I set off with his letter and reached Tabūk where I found him seated among his men, his legs drawn up and wrapped in his garment, over near the spring. I asked, 'Where is your leader?' 'This is he,' I was told.

"I went over and sat down before him, handed him my letter which he placed on his lap. He then asked, 'From whom have you come?' 'I am a brother of Tanūkh,' I answered. He asked, 'Would you like to join Islam, the *ḥanafī* faith of your father Abraham?' I replied, 'I am the messenger of my people and belong to the faith of my people; I cannot turn from it before I return to them!' He laughed and said, 'You cannot lead aright whomever you wish; but God leads aright whomever He wishes; He knows best those who will be led aright' (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.56). Brother of Tanūkh, I wrote a message to Chosroe (and he tore it up) and God will tear him up and tear up his realm. I wrote a letter to the Negus and he burned it; and God will burn him up along with his realm. I wrote a letter to your leader and he kept it; the people will continue to experience courage from him so long as there remains goodness in life.'

"I told myself that this was one of the three things my master had advised me about. So I took an arrow from my quiver and used it to write on the side of my sword. He then took the letter and gave it to a man on his left. I asked, 'Who is the man with your letter who reads to you?' 'That is Mu'āwiya,' they replied. In my master's letter it said, 'You invite me to a paradise as big as the sky and the earth that is prepared for the pious; then where is hell-fire?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Glory be to God! And where is night when daytime comes?'

"I took an arrow from my quiver and noted this on the leather scabbard of my sword.

"When he had finished reading my letter, he said, 'You are right; you are indeed a messenger. If I had some reward, I would give it to you. We are travellers out

of supplies.' One of the group of men then called out to him, 'I will give him a reward.' And he opened his pack and brought me a gold-threaded garment which he placed in my lap. I asked who was the donor of the reward, and I was told it was ʿUthmān.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Which of you will accommodate this man?' One of the young *anṣār* said, 'I will.' The *anṣār* got up and I arose with him. When I had left the group of men, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out to me, 'Come here, brother of Tanūkh!' I hurried over to where I had been sitting in front of him and he lifted off the shirt from his back and said, 'Over here; carry on and do as you were ordered.' I looked over at his back and saw a seal in the place of the fold of his shoulder blades, like a large mole."

This is a *ḥadīth* that is *gharīb*, unilateral; its line of authorities is not bad. Imām Aḥmad is alone in giving it.

THE PEACE PACT THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) MADE WITH THE GOVERNOR OF AYLA AND THE PEOPLE OF JARBĀ' AND ADHRUH WHILE HE WAS ENCAMPED AT TABŪK, BEFORE HIS RETURN.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached Tabūk, Yuḥanna b. Ruḥba, the Governor of Ayla came to him. He made peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and paid him the *jizya*, the alms poll-tax. People also came from Jarbā' and Adhruh and also gave him the *jizya*.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote a document for them which they retain. He wrote the following to Yuḥanna b. Ruḥba and the people of Ayla: 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This is a guarantee of safe passage from God and Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to Yuḥanna b. Ruḥba and the people of Ayla and their transports by land and sea. They have the protection of God and that of Muḥammad, the Prophet and those with him, of the people of Syria, Yemen and the sea. Those of them who cause any incident (breaking this treaty) shall not find that their wealth protects them; (their property) shall be fair game for whoever seizes it. It shall not be permissible to prevent their passage to any well to which they go or any path they take, whether by land or sea.'"

Yūnus b. Bukayr added the following from Ibn Ishāq: "This is the document of Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana, (made) by permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, "He also wrote to the people of Jarbā' and Adhruh, as follows, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent; this is a document from Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to the people of Jarbā' and Adhruh: that they are secure under the protection of God and Muḥammad. That they shall pay 100 dīnārs each Rajab and 100 *awqiyya* weight of *ṭiba*, fine perfume. Moreover, God holds them responsible for providing friendship and kindness to Muslims, and to any Muslims who might seek refuge with them.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) awarded the people of Ayla his cloak, along with his treaty for them."

He went on, "Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad purchased it (the cloak) thereafter for 300 dinārs."

*THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF
KHĀLID B. AL-WALID TO UKAYDIR DŪMA.*

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for Khālid b. al-Walid and dispatched him to Ukaydir Dūma, he being Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a man of Banū Kinda who had been their king; he was a Christian. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Khālid, 'You will find him hunting for cattle.'

"Khālid travelled until Ukaydir's fortress was in sight. It was a summer's night with a full moon, and Ukaydir was on the roof of his fortress with his wife. Cattle spent the night rubbing their horns against the door of the fortress and his wife asked him, 'Have you never seen anything like that before?' 'No, by God, I have not,' he replied. 'Who could let this go on?' she said. 'No one could,' he replied.

"He then went down and ordered that his horse be brought. It was saddled for him. A number of his family then rode out with him, including a brother of his named Ḥassān. They all left on the hunt.

"When they came out, the cavalry of the Prophet (ṢAAS) engaged them, capturing Ukaydir and killing his brother. He (Ukaydir) was wearing a brocade gown embroidered with gold. Khālid appropriated this and sent it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before his own arrival back to him."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, quoting Anas b. Mālik, as having said, 'I saw the gown of Ukaydir when it was brought in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The Muslims began feeling it in admiration. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Do you so admire this! Why, I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, the kerchiefs of Sa'd b. Mu'adh in paradise are finer than this!"'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "When Khālid brought Ukaydir to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter spared his blood and made a treaty with him on condition that he pay the *jizya*. He then released him and Ukaydir returned to his village.

A man of Banū Ṭayī' named Bujayr b. Bujara spoke the following verses on this:

'Blessed be He who led the cattle! I have seen that
God leads all who guide.

Let whoever wishes turn from Tabūk; we have been
ordered to engage in the fight.'"

Al-Bayhaqī narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to this poet, "May God not close your mouth!" He lived on for 70 years, during which he never lost a molar or any other tooth.

Ibn Lahīʿa narrated from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, that, upon his return from Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Khālīd against Ukaydir Dūma with a cavalry force of 420 men. His account is similar to the above, except that he stated that he tricked him into descending from his fortress. He said that he brought Ukaydir along with 800 prisoners and 1,000 camels, 400 coats of mail and 400 lances. He related that when the Governor of Ayla, Yuḥanna b. Ruʿuba heard the story of Ukaydir Dūma, he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to make peace with him, and that they both met with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Tabūk. But God knows best.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated, from Saʿd b. Aws, from Bilāl b. Yaḥyā, that Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, was in command of the *muhājirīn* on the expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal, while Khālīd b. al-Walid commanded the bedouin in that expedition. But God knows best.

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there for some ten days, but not longer, and then left to return to Medina.

“On that route there was a spring that oozed from a rock in a valley that could give enough water for one, two or three riders; the valley was known as Wādī al-Mushaqqaq. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Those who reach there before us should not take any of that water, but should await our arrival.’

“A number of hypocrites did precede him there and took its water. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, he stopped there but found nothing and asked, ‘Who preceded us here?’ He was told, ‘Messenger of God, it was so-and-so and so-and-so.’ He then said, ‘Did I not forbid them to take its water till I arrived?’ He then cursed them and spoke a prayer against them.

“He then dismounted and placed his hand beneath the rock and there began to flow into it that amount of water that God determined. He then splashed the water over the rock and stroked it with his hand, praying as God wished him to do. At that there came forth from the water – as those say who heard it – a sound like that of a thunder-clap. The men went on to drink from it and to satisfy all their needs from it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘If you live on – or those of you who do – will hear of this valley as more fertile than any other either before or beyond it.’”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī related to me that ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd used to relate as follows, ‘While I was on the expedition to Tabūk with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I happened to get up in the middle of the night and saw a faint light over towards the camp. I went to see what it was. I found it to be the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. ʿAbd Allāh Dhū al-Bijādayn had died, and they had dug a grave for him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the grave, while Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were lowering the body to him. As they did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

was saying, "Let down your brother close to me!" And they did so. When he placed him in position into his niche, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "O God, I was pleased with him; may You be pleased with him!"

"And 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd would say, "How I wish that grave had been my own!"'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The reason he was known as 'Dhū al-Bijādayn', 'he of the two pieces of coarse cloth', is because when he wanted to accept Islam, his people prevented him. They persecuted him, and when he eventually escaped them, all he had on was one piece of *bijād*, 'coarse cloth'. He ripped it into two pieces and used one as a waist-wrapper and the other as a shirt. He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and became known as Dhū al-Bijādayn."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri related, from Ibn Ukayma al-Laythi, from his nephew Abū Ruhm al-Ghifāri, who stated he heard Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. al-Husayn, who was one of those who pledged allegiance at the tree, say, 'I went on the expedition to Tabūk with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One night I was travelling with him at al-Akhḍar, when God sent sleep down upon me. I awoke to find that my mount was very close to that of the Prophet (ṢAAS). I was shocked to find it so close to him, afraid I might strike against his leg in the stirrup. I therefore set about moving my mount away from him. Eventually, some distance further on, my eyes were again overcome and my mount approached him and his leg in the stirrup. This time I only awoke when he shouted, "*Huss!*", "*careful!*". I exclaimed, "Please forgive me, Messenger of God!" He replied, "Ride on!"

"He then began asking me about those men of Banū Ghifār who had fallen behind, and I told him. He then asked me, "What happened to those men with long, red, thin beards who had no other facial hair?" I told him they had dropped behind.

"He went on, "And what about those men with short, black, curly hair?" I replied, "By God, I don't know any like that among us." "Yes," he insisted, "they're the ones who own camels at Shabakat Shadakh."⁸ I then remembered them to have been among the Banū Ghifār, but I could not identify them until I recalled them to have been a clan of Aslam who were allied to us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What prevented one of them, when he fell behind, from giving transport on one of his mounts, to some man eager to participate in God's cause? It troubles me greatly to have *muhājirūn* and *anṣār*, along with men of Ghifār and Aslam, fall behind."

Ibn Lahī'a quoted Abū al-Aswad as telling him that 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out to return from Tabūk to Medina, a group of hypocrites plotted to assassinate him by casting him down from a steep ridge on to the path below. He was informed of this and ordered the men

8. A well in Hijāz belonging to Banū Aslam.

to pass through the valley while he mounted the ridge. Those who had plotted accompanied him, having muffled their faces. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered ‘Ammār b. Yāsir and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān to proceed along with him, ‘Ammār holding the bridle of his camel, while Ḥudhayfa urged it forward.

“While they were proceeding, they heard the group (of assassins) descending upon them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became angry and when Ḥudhayfa saw this, he went back towards the assassins carrying a bent cudgel that he waved in the faces of their mounts. When they saw Ḥudhayfa, they realized that the terrible deed they planned had been discovered, so they hurried away and mingled with the rest of the force.

“Ḥudhayfa returned and caught up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He ordered his two guides to hurry ahead and they traversed the ridge trail and halted, waiting for the others. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked Ḥudhayfa, ‘Did you recognize those men?’ ‘No,’ he replied, ‘all I could see was their mounts as I came down at them in the dark of night.’ He then asked, ‘And do you two men know anything about what these men were doing?’ ‘No,’ they replied. And he told them both of what they had conspired to do to him; he named them, and asked the two men to keep this confidential.

“They asked, ‘Messenger of God, won’t you order us to kill them?’ He replied, ‘I dislike to have people say that Muḥammad kills his own men.’”

Ibn Ishāq gave this account, except for relating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the names of the conspirators only to Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān. This is more likely; but God knows best.

Evidence for this is in the words of Abū al-Dardā’ to ‘Alqama, the friend of Ibn Mas‘ūd: “Do you not have among you” – meaning the people of Kūfa – “the *ṣāhib al-sawād wa al-wisād*?” (By this he meant Ibn Mas‘ūd.) “And do you not have among you the *ṣāhib al-sirr*, ‘he in charge of the secret’?” (By this he meant Ḥudhayfa.) “And do you not have among you he whom God protected from the devil through the tongue of Muḥammad?” (By this, he meant ‘Ammār.)

And the Commander of the Believers, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, has been quoted as having said to Ḥudhayfa, “I adjure you by God to say whether I was one of them!” “No,” he replied, “But I’ll not declare innocent anyone else after you!” Meaning, in order not to disclose the secret of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

I observe that they were 14 men, though some say they were 12. Ibn Ishāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān to assemble them and that the former then told them what they had conspired to do. Ibn Ishāq proceeded to list their names and said, “And it was about them that God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed the words, ‘And they set out to do what they did not accomplish.’ (*sūrat al-Tawba*; X, v.74).

9. Lord of the fertile plains and of the hills.

Al-Bayhaqī related through Muḥammad b. Salama, from Abū Ishāq, from al-A'mash, from 'Amr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtarī, from Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, who said, "I was holding the halter of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and leading it ahead, while 'Ammār drove it" – or his words were, "I was driving it while 'Ammār was leading it". "Suddenly, there on the ridge trail were 12 men blocking our way along it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was startled at this and shouted out at them, and they turned and went back.

"He then asked us, 'Did you recognize them?' We replied, 'Messenger of God, they were muffled. We did recognize their mounts, however.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, 'Those are men who will be hypocrites right on until Judgement Day! Do you know what they intended?' 'No,' we replied. 'They wanted to crowd out the Messenger of God, on the trail, to cast him down from it!'

"We asked him, 'Messenger of God, would you not have us contact their tribes to have each one send us the head of their man?' 'No,' he replied. 'I dislike having the Arabs discuss how Muḥammad had his people fight with him until God gave him victory, and that he then turned on them and killed them.'

"He proceeded to say, 'O God, cast *al-dubayla* at them!' We asked, 'Messenger of God, what is this *al-dubayla*? He replied, 'It is a flame that strikes a person's aorta and kills him.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated, on a line of authority through Shu'ba, from Qatāda, from Abū Naḍra, from Qays b. Ubayda, who stated, "I said to 'Ammār, 'Do you regard this action of yours – relating to 'Alī, that is – to be an opinion you hold, or something that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) enjoined upon you?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never enjoined upon us anything he did not require of the people as a whole. Except that Ḥudhayfa quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said, "Among my men there are twelve hypocrites; of these, eight will not enter paradise until camels pass through the eyes of needles!"'"

In an account on a different line of transmission from Qatāda, he is quoted as having stated, "In my nation there are twelve hypocrites who will not enter paradise until camels go through the eyes of needles! And *al-dubayla* will take care of eight of them for you – a glowing fire that will appear between their shoulders and pass on through them to emerge from their chests."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "It was related to us by Ḥudhayfa that they were fourteen – or fifteen – and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) swore by God that twelve of them would make war against God and His Messenger here on earth and on the day when the witnesses stand and testify. He forgave three of them who said, 'We did not hear anyone make the announcement and did not know what was wanted of us.'"

This *ḥadīth* was related by Imām Aḥmad in his compendium. He stated, "Yazīd related to us, he being Ibn Hārūn, quoting al-Walid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Jami', from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was

coming back from the expedition to Tabūk, he ordered a crier to announce, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is going along the ridge trail and no one should take that route."

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was being led by Ḥudhayfa and urged forward by 'Ammār, a group of men, muffled and on mounts appeared. They descended upon 'Ammār, who was urging ahead the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and 'Ammār advanced at them, striking at the heads of their mounts. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called to Ḥudhayfa, '*Qadin! Qadin!*' 'Lead on! Lead on!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on down from the gully and when he had done so, and 'Ammār had returned, the former asked the latter, "Ammār, did you recognize those men?" He replied, 'I recognized most of their mounts, but the men were muffled.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Do you know what they intended?' 'God and His Messenger know best,' 'Ammār replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) explained, 'They intended to crowd out the Messenger of God and cast him down.'

"Ammār later spoke in confidence to one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), asking him, 'I adjure you by God, how many do you know the group on the ridge trail to have been?' 'Fourteen men,' he replied. 'Ammār commented, 'If you were among them, that would have meant fifteen!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forgave three, who said, 'We did not hear the crier of the Messenger of God, and had no idea what they intended.' 'Ammār stated, 'I declare that the remaining twelve will make war against God and His Messenger here on earth and the day the witnesses stand and testify.'"

An Account of the al-Dirār Mosque.

God Almighty stated, "Those who built a mosque *ḍirāran*, to do harm, in unbelief, to disperse the believers and to subvert those who formerly had fought God and His Messenger. And they will surely insist, 'It was only good we sought.' But God will declare that they are surely liars. Never stand inside it. A mosque built on piety from its first day is more fit to have men stand within it who like to purify themselves; and God loves those who are pure. Is he who founded his building on fear of God and pleasing Him better, or is he who built his structure upon the side of an undercut bank, which will collapse with him into the fires of hell? God does not guide a people who are unjust. Their structure they built will continue to give them discontent in their hearts, unless their hearts are cut to pieces! God is All-Knowing, Wise" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.107–10).

We have discussed interpretation of matters relating to these verses sufficiently heretofore in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And all praise be to God!

Ibn Ishāq discussed how this mosque came to be built, and its evil people, and how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), upon his return from Tabūk and before he entered Medina, ordered its destruction.

The gist of this is that a group of hypocrites built a replica of a mosque near that at Qubā'. They wished for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to pray for them in it in order to further their purposes of corruption, disbelief and obstinacy.

God forbade His Messenger from praying in it. This was because he was in the process of travelling to Tabūk. When he returned from there, he stopped at Dhū Awān – a place an hour's travel from Medina. It was while he was there that revelation came to him about that mosque – namely, the Almighty's words, "Those who built a mosque to do harm . . ." (*sūrat al-Tamba*; IX, v.107).

As for the word *ḍirār*, "harm", used here, it related to their wish to imitate the mosque at Qubā' and did so in *kufṛ*, "disbelief", in God, not in belief in Him, and also as a means of *tafriq*, "causing separation", of the congregation from the mosque at Qubā'.

And they acted *irṣādan*, "in order to subvert", those who had formerly fought God and His Messenger. This referred to Abū 'Āmir, the immoral monk, may God rebuke him. What had happened earlier was that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had invited him to accept Islam, he refused and went to Mecca and incited them to war. Then they attacked at Uhūd, with the outcome we have given above. Having failed in his purpose, he went to the king of the Byzantines seeking his help against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū 'Āmir followed the same faith as Heraclius, along with those other Arabs who had become Christians. He would write to his brothers who were acting in hypocrisy, making promises to them and raising their hopes, Satan merely increasing their delusion. His messages and letters kept coming to them constantly.

And so they constructed this overtly as a mosque, while secretly it was a place of war, and a centre for those who came from Abū 'Āmir, the monk, and a meeting place for those who were hypocrites like themselves. This is why the Almighty stated, ". . . to subvert those who formerly had fought God and His Messenger".

He then stated, "And they will definitely insist," that is, those who built it, "it was only good we sought." That is, "We only wanted good in building it." And God further stated, "But God will declare that they are surely liars."

God then told His Messenger, "Never stand inside it." He forbade standing in it in order not to endorse its cause. He went on to order and encourage him to stand in the mosque that had been established in piety from the very first, this being the mosque at Qubā', for the text and reports that exist praise the purity of its congregation, while making reference to it.

The evidence given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that the mosque (referred to here) is that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) does not refute the above comment. For even if the Qubā' mosque were founded in piety from its very first day, then that applies even more appropriately to the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); the virtue of the latter is even stronger and firmer.

We have commented exhaustively on this in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And all praise be to God.

The outcome was that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Dhū Awān, he called for Mālik b. al-Dukhshum and Maʿan b. ʿAdī – or his brother ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī – may God be pleased with them both – and told them to go to that mosque whose people were evil and to burn it. They did then proceed there and burnt it down, and those who had attended it left it.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Those who had built it were 12 men. These were Khidām b. Khālīd, next to whose home it was built. Then there were Thaʿlaba b. Ḥāṭib, Muʿattib b. Qushayr, Abū Ḥabība b. al-Azʿar, ʿAbbād b. Ḥunayf (a brother of Sahl b. Ḥunayf), Jāriyya b. ʿĀmir and his two sons Mujaḥmiʿ and Zayd, Nabtāl b. al-Ḥārith, Baḥzaj (who belonged to Banū Ḍubayʿa), Bijād b. ʿUthmān (of Banū Ḍubayʿa) and Wadīʿa b. Thābit (who was of Banū Umayya).

I note that on this expedition to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed the *al-fajr*, “the dawn prayer”, behind ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, joining him in the second *rakʿa*. This was because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gone to make his ablutions in the company of al-Mughira b. Shuʿba, and was late in arriving. And so the prayer began with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf leading it. When they made their greetings, the congregation attributed much importance to what had happened. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, however, “You have done extremely well, and acted correctly.” This is according to what al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy on him, related.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the Tabūk expedition and approached Medina, he said, “In Medina there are people who, whatever distance you covered, whatever valleys you crossed, were always there with you.” They asked him, “While they were still there in Medina, Messenger of God?” He replied, “Yes, while there (valid) excuses kept them confined to Medina.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Khālīd b. Makhlad related to him, quoting Sulaymān, quoting ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā, from al-ʿAbbās b. Sahl b. Saʿd, from Abū Ḥumayd, who said, “We returned with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the expedition to Tabūk and eventually saw Medina below us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘This is Ṭaba (Medina); and that is Uḥud, a mountain that loves us and that we love.’”

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Bilāl in similar terms.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Zuhri, from al-Sāʿib b. Yazīd, who said, “I remember going out to Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ with the boys to meet the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his arrival from the expedition to Tabūk.”

Abū Dāʿūd and al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, “good and authentic”.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda quoted Abū ‘Amr b. Maṭar (as having said), ‘I heard Abū Khalīfa say, “I heard Ibn ‘Ā’isha say, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived back in Medina, the women and the boys and girls began calling out, “The full moon has come out for us over Thaniyyat al-Wadā’! We owe our thanks to one who only invited towards God.”’””””

Al-Bayhaqī commented, “Our scholars relate that this is what was said when he arrived in Medina from Mecca, not when he arrived there from Thaniyyat al-Wadā’ on his return from Tabūk; God knows best. We have, in any case, made reference to it here as well.”

*THE ḤADITH OF KA’B B. MĀLIK, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM,
AS QUOTED BY AL-BUKHĀRĪ, MAY GOD HAVE MERCY UPON HIM.*

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from ‘Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka’b b. Mālik, who said that ‘Abd Allāh, son of Ka’b b. Mālik, who was one of the sons of Ka’b and acted as the latter’s guide when he became blind, said, “I heard (my father) Ka’b b. Mālik relate the story of the expedition to Tabūk from which he remained behind, as follows, “The only expedition in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took part in which I did not participate was that to Tabūk. Except, that is, for the battle of Badr. And God did not censure anyone who had not taken part in it because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had actually gone out on that occasion to seek the Quraysh caravan. And then God brought them (the Muslims) and their enemy together without any prior expectation of that. I was present the night of the pledge at al-‘Aqaba when we made our commitment for Islam; and I would not prefer to have attended Badr instead of it, even though people consider that more worthy of prestige.

“The fact was that I had never been stronger nor wealthier than I was when I remained behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he went on that expedition. I swear, never before that had I owned two riding camels, as I acquired from that expedition. Whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intended to send out an expedition, he would talk of one to a different destination. Except for that one. That one he was to make at a time of extreme heat and by travelling very far against a numerous enemy. And so he announced this clearly to the Muslims, so that they could make appropriate arrangements for the expedition. He informed them of the destination for which he was heading. The Muslims accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were many in number; such that a single *kitāb ḥāfiṣ* (by which he meant a *dimān*, “a register”) would not have contained them.’

“Ka’b went on, ‘Every man wishing to be absent from it thought it would remain undisclosed, provided that God did not give any revelation about it. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed on that expedition at a time when the fruits and the shade were very alluring.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his preparations, as did the Muslims accompanying him. I also began hurrying to prepare, but I would retire without accomplishing anything. I would then tell myself, “I can do it!” I kept delaying, while the others were making serious efforts. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims with him departed, I had completed none of my preparations. I said, “I’ll get ready in a day or two and then catch up with them.” The morning after they left, I went off to get ready, but came back again having accomplished nothing. Again next morning I did the same, but returned having done nothing. And so it continued with me while they hurried on and the expedition came to an end. I constantly intended to leave and overtake them – how I wish I had! But that was not fated for me.

“Whenever I went out and mixed with people after the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), it grieved me that the only men I saw were persons suspected of hypocrisy or those excused by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because they were in poor health.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made no mention of me until after he arrived at Tabūk. Then, while sitting there with his men, he asked, “What happened to Kaʿb?” A man of Banū Salama replied, “Messenger of God, he has been detained by his two cloaks, and by his gazing at his own two flanks!” Muʿādh b. Jabal commented, “That’s a rotten thing to say! By God, Messenger of God, we know nothing of him but good!” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent.’

“Kaʿb b. Mālīk went on, ‘When I learned that he had begun his return journey, I began to feel anxious. I began thinking up excuses, wondering how I would be able to avoid incurring his anger. I sought the help of everyone of wisdom in my family. When it was said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was close at hand, all this silliness left me, and I knew I could never extricate myself using any deception; I decided to tell him the truth.

“One morning he arrived back. Whenever he returned from a journey he would first go to the mosque, where he would perform a prayer of two *rakʿāt* and he would then sit down with the congregation. And so when he had done this, those who had remained behind began coming and offering excuses and declaring oaths to him. There were some 80 such men. He accepted from them the statements they made and their pledges of allegiance and then he sought forgiveness for them, relying upon God, Almighty and Glorious is He, to determine their inner thoughts.

“Then I came to him. When I greeted him, he gave me a smile, but it was that of someone made angry. He said, “Come over here.” I walked over and sat before him. He then asked, “What kept you back? Had you not already purchased a mount?” I replied, “Yes, I had. If I were sitting before anyone else in the world than yourself, I would decide to escape his anger by making up some excuse. And I have been gifted with eloquence. But, I swear by God, I am sure that if I were to tell you lies to please you, God would surely soon thereafter make you

angry with me. Whereas if I tell you the truth, though you will be angry with me, I will hope for God's pardon. Actually, I swear by God, I had no excuse; I had never been stronger or more wealthy than when I remained behind."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, "Well, this man has told the truth. Get up until God makes his decision about you."

"I arose, as did those men there of Banū Salama, and they followed me outside, saying, "By God, we never before knew you to commit such a sin! You are at fault. Could you not have made excuses to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as the others did who stayed behind? The request for forgiveness that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have made for you would have been enough for you." They kept on blaming me, so that I thought seriously of going back and denying what I had previously said.

"But then I asked them, "Has anyone other than myself received the same response?" They replied, "Yes; two men. They said as you did, and his response to them was as to yourself." "Who are they?" I asked. "Marāra b. al-Rabī' al-ʿAmrī and Hilāl b. Umayya al-Wāqifi," they replied. Those they mentioned were fine men who had been present at Badr – exemplary men. When they told me their names, I went on my way.'

"Kaʿb b. Mālīk continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) banned Muslims from speaking with all three of us who had remained behind. People avoided us, and so changed their relationships with us that the very land itself seemed unfamiliar to me. We stayed in this state for 50 nights.

"The other two men simply remained inside their homes, weeping. I was the youngest and most resilient. I continued to go out and to participate in the prayers with other Muslims and walked in the markets; no one spoke to me. I would still go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and greet him while seated in his assemblies following the prayers, and I would ask myself whether or not he had moved his lips in response. I would pray close by him and look at him stealthily. As I prayed, he would look over at me, but when I turned towards him, he would look away.

"Finding this rejection by everyone to be onerous, I walked out and climbed over the wall of the garden of Abū Qatāda, my nephew of whom I was very fond. I greeted him, but, I swear by God, he did not even return my greeting. I asked, "Abū Qatāda, I appeal to you by God! Do you not know that I love God and His Messenger?" He remained silent. I appealed to him again, but he made no reply. Again I appealed and now he said, "God and His Messenger know best." At that my eyes streamed tears, and I turned away and climbed back over the wall.

"While one day I was walking in the market of Medina, I saw a Nabatī¹⁰ from Syria who had come to sell his produce in Medina. He was asking, "Who will direct me to Kaʿb b. Mālīk?" People began pointing to me, and he came over and

10. A word apparently used here to indicate a Christian farmer. The Nabateans were centred in S. Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Petra, a mountainous city with its many splendid edifices carved from rock.

gave me a letter from the King of Ghassān enclosed in a silken envelope. The letter stated, "I have been informed that your master has behaved harshly to you. God will not make you stay in a place where you are despised and ill-treated. So join with us. We will relieve you." When I read this, I said, "This also is a trial!" I took it to an oven where I burned it.

"Things went on as before until 40 of the 50 nights had passed. Then an envoy from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to me and said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), orders you to keep away from your wife." "Should I divorce her, or what?" I asked. "No," he replied, "just keep away from her; do not go near her." He sent similar messages to each of the other two men. I told my wife, "Go and join your family. Stay with them until God decides this matter."

"Then the wife of Hilāl b. Umayya went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, "Messenger of God, Hilāl b. Umayya is a needy old man who has no servant. Do you dislike my serving him?" He replied, "No; but he should not come near you." She asked, "I swear by God, he has no desire for anything. He has not stopped weeping since this began, right on up to the present."

"After that some of my family asked me, "Why don't you ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) permission for your wife, as Hilāl b. Umayya asked, that his wife could serve him?" I replied, "I swear by God, I'll not ask his permission about that! How do I know what he might say if I asked him this, since I am still a young man?"

"Ten more days went by as before until we had gone through fifty since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had forbidden people to speak to us. When I had performed the dawn prayer on the fiftieth night on the roof of one of our houses, sitting in that state that God, Almighty and Glorious is He, described, my spirit feeling constrained and "the earth constricted, though it was spacious . . ." (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.118). I heard the voice of someone who had climbed Mt. Sal' shouting at the top of his voice, "Rejoice, Ka'b!"

"I prostrated before God, realizing that relief had come. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had, after he had performed the *al-fajr*, "pre-dawn prayer", announced God's forgiveness of us, and people had come out to tell us the good news. They had gone to the other two men to tell them and a man hurried up on a horse to inform me, while a man of Banū Aslam had climbed up the mountain; his voice had been quicker to reach me than the horse.

"When the man whose voice I heard came to me to inform me, I took off the two garments I was wearing and presented them to him for his having brought me such good news. And I swear to God, at that time those were the only clothes I owned! I borrowed two garments and put them on, then went off to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The people began swarming in to see me, congratulating me on God's forgiveness of me and expressing their delight at this.

"Then I went in to the mosque where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated, with people all around him. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh hurried up to me,

shook hands and congratulated me. I swear, no others of the *muhājirīn* did so, and I will never forget Ṭalḥa's action.

"When I greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said, his face beaming with pleasure, "Rejoice at the best day you have ever had since your mother gave you birth!"

"I asked him, "Does this (forgiveness) come from you, Messenger of God, or from God?" He replied, "No; it is from God." When he was pleased, his whole face would radiate as though a piece of the moon; we well knew this characteristic of his. When I sat down before him, I asked, "Messenger of God, in acknowledgement of God's acceptance of my repentance, I will give up my property as a donation to God and to His Messenger."

"He replied, "Keep some of what you own; that will be best for you." I replied, "I will just keep my share of the booty from Khaybar."

"I then said, "Messenger of God, it is only my honesty that saved me. It shall be part of my repentance that I will speak nothing but the truth for as long as I live." And I swear by God, I know of no Muslim whom God has so helped for telling the truth, since I told him that truth, than He has helped myself. And since I made that pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I have never intentionally told a lie. And I hope very much that God will preserve me from doing so for as long as I live.

"And then God revealed to His Messenger (ṢAAS) the verse: "God has forgiven the Prophet, the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*" up to the words "and be with those who are truthful" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.117-119).

"I swear by God, God never bestowed upon me any greater blessings, after he led me to Islam, than having me speak the truth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that I did not lie to him and so suffer the same fate as those who had lied. For God Almighty spoke to those who lied more terrible things than He ever did to anyone. The Almighty said, "They will swear by God to you, when you turn away from them," and on to the words, "God is surely not pleased with those who are immoral" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.95-6).

"We three men were quite different from those who swore to him, so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted their excuses and their allegiance and forgave them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) postponed judgement over us until God decided the matter. Therefore God Almighty said, "and (forgiveness is) for those three who remained behind" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.118). The reference made here by God is not to our having remained behind from the expedition, but to postponement by the Prophet (ṢAAS), of deciding our case, unlike that of those who swore to him and made excuses that he accepted."

Muslim related this in similar form through al-Zuhri. Muḥammad b. Ishāq related it from al-Zuhri in a text similar to that of al-Bukhārī. We quoted this in our Exegesis from the *Musnad* compendium of Imām Aḥmad; in that account there are minor additions. And all praise and credit are due to God.

REFERENCE TO DISOBEDIENT PERSONS OTHER THAN THOSE
WHO HAD REMAINED BEHIND.

Regarding the words of the Almighty, "And others have confessed their sins, thus mixing a good deed with one that was bad; 'asā, 'perhaps', God will turn to them in forgiveness. God is very Forgiving, Beneficent" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.102). Alī b. Ṭalḥa al-Wālibī quoted Ibn 'Abbās as having said, "They were a group of ten men who remained behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the time of the expedition to Tabūk. When it came time for his return, seven of them attached themselves to pillars of the mosque.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by them, he asked, 'Who are these men?' He was told, 'They are Abū Lubāba and associates of his who remained behind you; (they intend to stay here) until you set them free and forgive them.' He commented, 'I swear by God, I'll not release them, nor will I forgive them until God, the Almighty and Glorious, releases them! They disregarded me and remained behind from the expedition on which the other Muslims departed.'

"When they learned of this, the men said, 'We will not release ourselves until God does so.' And then God the Almighty and Glorious revealed the verse, 'And others have confessed their sins . . .'. The word 'asā used in this verse has the power of certainty when applied to God. When it was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to them, and released and forgave them. They then brought their possessions to him, saying, 'Messenger of God, these are what we own; take them as a donation from us and seek forgiveness from God for us.' He replied, 'I have not been ordered to take your possessions.'

"Then God revealed, 'Take alms from their property; you will purify and cleanse them thereby. And pray for them. Your prayer is a relief for them. God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing . . .' as far as the words ' . . . and others are made to wait for God's command; He would either punish them or turn to them in mercy' (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.103–6).

"This referred to those who had not tied themselves to the pillars and about whom a decision was deferred until there came down the words of the Almighty, 'God has forgiven the Prophet, the *muḥājirīn* and the *anṣār* who followed him . . .'" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.117).

ʿAṭīyya b. Saʿīd quoted Ibn 'Abbās in words similar to these.

Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and Mujāhid b. Ishāq narrated the story of Abū Lubāba in respect to the battle with Banū Qurayza; they told of his attaching himself until he was granted forgiveness. And then he remained behind from the expedition to Tabūk and again tied himself up until God forgave him. He then wanted to give up all his possessions as a donation, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "No; one-third of it will suffice."

Mujāhid b. Ishāq stated, "And it was about him that there was revealed, 'And others have confessed their sins'" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.102).

Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab stated, "And thereafter only good in Islam was seen of him; may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure."

I observe that perhaps the reference here is not to the three above as well as the rest. Perhaps they restricted reference to him (Abū Lubāba) because he was their leader, as the text of Ibn 'Abbās indicates. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Aḥmad b. al-Zubayrī, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from 'Iyād b. 'Iyād, from his father, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us. He said, 'There are hypocrites among you. Let those I name arise. Get up, so-and-so! Get up, so-and-so! Get up, so-and-so!' And he went on until he had given 36 names. He then said, 'There are within you' (or 'there are among you') 'hypocrites. Ask for relief from God.' 'Umar passed by a man concealing his face. He had earlier been acquainted with him. 'Umar asked, 'What is the matter?' He then related to him what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. At this, he ('Umar) said, 'Keep away for the rest of the day.'"

I observe that those who remained behind the expedition to Tabūk consisted of four categories. Those who were ordered to do so and were rewarded, like 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad b. Maslama and Ibn Umm Maktūm. Those who were excused, such as the weak and the sick. Those who were *muqillun*, "ill-equipped", such as those who wept. And there were those who were disobedient and were subject to criticism. These were the three men and Abū Lubāba and his companions mentioned above. There were also others who were blameworthy and were rebuked. These were the hypocrites.

An Account of the events after the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Tabūk to Medina.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-*Ḥāfiẓ* related to us, by dictation, quoting Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Abū al-Bakhtarī 'Abd Allāh b. Shākir, quoting Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā, quoting the uncle of Abū Zakhr b. Ḥiṣn, from his grandfather Ḥamid b. Manḥab, who said, 'I heard my grandfather Khuraym b. Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Lām say, "I emigrated to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on his return from Tabūk and heard al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib say, 'Messenger of God, I want to express some verses of praise in your honour.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Speak on, and may God not block your mouth!' And al-'Abbās then recited:

"Previously, you were content in the shadows and in a storehouse where palm leaves are kept.

Then you came down into the land; you are no more human being, not droplet, no clot,

No; a droplet riding the flow, having bridled an eagle that loves to dive.

You were borne from loins to womb; when one person
passed on, another vessel appeared

Until your guardian house encompassed Mt. Khindif, its
heights towering above other peaks.

When you were born, the earth grew bright and the
horizon was illuminated with your light.

We are now in that brightness and that light, and we
pass on along the paths of righteousness.”””

Al-Bayhaqī then related this from another line, from Abū al-Sakan Zakariyyā⁹ b. Yahyā al-Ṭāṭī. In one part of this line, the above is related from him.

Al-Bayhaqī went on, “He spoke further and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘This is white al-Ḥīra (I see) raised up (in a vision) for me. And this (I see) is al-Shaymā’, daughter of Nufayla al-Azadiyya. She is riding a grey mule veiled in a black scarf.’ I asked, ‘Messenger of God, when we conquer al-Ḥīra and I find her as you describe, may she be mine?’ ‘She will be yours,’ he said.

“‘The *ridda*,¹¹ ‘apostacy’, wars then arose; no one from (Banū) al-Ṭāṭī apostatized. We were busy fighting the neighbouring Arabs over Islam. We battled against Qays, of whom was ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn. We also fought Banū Asad, of whom was Ṭalḥa b. Khuwaylid. Khālīd b. al-Walīd would give us praise, including the following verses he recited:

‘May God requite Ṭāṭī in their homes most handsomely
for fighting like heroes.

They are worthy of the banners of nobility and
magnanimity that flutter when the east wind blows through
every tent.

They struck at Qays for the faith, after the latter had
responded to the calls of darkness and blindness.’

“Khālīd then went on to attack Muslaylima¹² the Imposter and we accompanied him. When we had finished with Musaylima, we proceeded on towards al-Baṣra. There we encountered Hurmuz at Kāzima¹³ with an army larger than our own force.

“There was no Persian more strenuous in his antagonism to the Arabs and Islam than Hurmuz. Khālīd proceeded out against him and challenged him to single combat. He accepted, and Khālīd killed him. Khālīd sent a dispatch to inform (the Caliph Abū Bakr) ‘the trusting’, and he (Abū Bakr) awarded the booty from Hurmuz to Khālīd. The tall headgear of Hurmuz fetched 100,000

11. The term given to the unrest and battles that occurred as a result of dissension and the apostacy of some Arab tribes following the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and the establishment of the Caliphate.

12. See footnote above.

13. A place on the coast between al-Baḥrayn and al-Baṣra, positioned some two days’ journey at that time from the latter city.

dirhams; the Persians were accustomed to awarding headgear worth 100,000 *dirhams* to one of their number who acquired nobility.

"We then moved out along the al-Ṭaff route to al-Ḥira. The first person to meet us there when we entered it was al-Shaymā', daughter of Nufayla, just as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said; she was mounted on a grey mule and veiled with a black scarf. I took her prisoner, saying, 'This woman was gifted to me by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"Khālid asked me to bring witnesses proving this, and so I did. The witnesses were Muḥammad b. Maslama and Muḥammad b. Bashir al-Anṣārī. Khālid then awarded her to me.

"After that her brother 'Abd al-Masīḥ came down to seek peace. He asked me to sell her to him. I replied, 'I swear, I'll not do so for less than 1,000 *dirhams*!' He gave me 1,000 *dirhams* and I handed her over to him. People told me, 'If you had demanded 100,000 *dirhams*, he would have paid it to you.' I told them, 'I could not figure any number larger than 1,000!'"

*THE ARRIVAL OF A DELEGATION FROM THAQĪF TO THE
MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) IN RAMAḌĀN OF 9 AH.*

It is told above how, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Thaqīf he was asked to invoke God against them. But he spoke prayer seeking guidance for them.

It is similarly told above that when Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated him with honour, made presents to him and placed him in command of those of his people who accepted Islam. Thereafter, Mālik would make attacks into Thaqīf territory and harass them until he had forced them into acceptance of Islam.

It is also related above by Abū Dā'ūd about how Ṣakhr b. al-'Ayla al-Aḥmasī remained in Thaqīf until he brought them down from their fortress under the control of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and led him to Medina, with the permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to do so.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived back in Medina from Tabūk in Ramaḍān, and that same month a delegation from Banū Thaqīf arrived.

"It is told of Banū Thaqīf, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left them, 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd followed after him and caught him up before he arrived in Medina. 'Urwa accepted Islam and asked permission to return to his people to bring them into Islam.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him – so his people say – 'They will fight you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew of the strong feeling of resistance they would feel against one of their own. But 'Urwa said, 'I am more beloved by them than their first-born!' And he was indeed thus loved and obeyed among them.

“‘Urwa then left to call upon his people to join Islam, hoping that they would not oppose him because of his high status with them. But when he appeared on his high balcony, revealed his faith to them and called for them to join Islam, they cast arrows at him from every side. One struck him a mortal blow.

“Banū Mālik claim that it was one of their men, named Aws b. ‘Awf, a brother of Banū Sālim b. ‘Awf, who killed him. The Aḥlāf, however, claim that it was one of theirs, a man of Banū ‘Attāb called Wahb b. Jābir. ‘Urwa was asked what he thought about his (imminent) death, and he replied, ‘It is an honour that God has awarded me, a martyrdom God has given me. I am no different from those martyrs killed in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before he went from you. So bury me with them.’ And they did so.

“They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said of him, ‘His position among his people is like that of the hero of (*sūrat*) *Yāsīn* (XXXVI, v.19) among his people.’”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba related similarly the story of ‘Urwa. However, he claimed that this occurred after the pilgrimage made by Abū Bakr, “the trusting”. Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī agreed with this view.

But this is unlikely. What is authentic is that this came about before the pilgrimage of Abū Bakr, as Ibn Ishāq related. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Thaqīf remained thus for some months after the killing of ‘Urwa. They then conferred together and decided they lacked the power to fight all the Arabs around them, and so they pledged their allegiance and accepted Islam.

“Their decision to confer together accorded with the view of ‘Amr b. Umayya, brother of Banū ‘Ilāj. Having conferred, they agreed to send out one of their men, ‘Abd Yālil b. ‘Amr b. ‘Umayr, accompanied by two of the Aḥlāf and three men of Banū Mālik. These men were al-Ḥakam b. ‘Amr b. Wahb b. Mu‘attib, Shuraḥbīl b. Ghaylān b. Salama b. Mu‘attib, ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ, Aws b. ‘Awf, brother of Banū Sālim, and Numayr b. Kharasha b. Rabī‘a.”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, “They were a body of some ten men, including Kināna b. ‘Abd Yālil – he being their leader. They also had with them ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ, who was the youngest member of the delegation.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “When they neared Medina, they halted at Qanāt. There they met al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba, who was taking his turn to pasture the riding camels of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he sighted them, he hurried off to inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their arrival. Abū Bakr, ‘the trusting’, met him and al-Mughīra told him of the men of Banū Thaqīf who were coming to pledge their allegiance and to accept Islam, provided that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met some of their conditions and wrote a document treating their people. Abū Bakr told al-Mughīra, ‘Please don’t go in before me to tell the Messenger of God; let me be the first to tell him.’ Al-Mughīra agreed and Abū Bakr went in and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their

arrival. Al-Mughira then went back to rejoin his companions, and with them brought in the camels.

He also instructed them how they should greet the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since the only greeting they then used was still that of the *Jāhiliyya*.

"When they came in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he had a tent pitched for them in the mosque. It was Khālīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ who walked (with messages) between them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he brought food for them from home, they refrained from eating until Khālīd b. Saʿīd did so first. It was he who wrote out their pact for them.

"One condition they proposed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that he allow them to keep their idol al-Lāt for a period of three years. They kept on bargaining with him regarding the issues of time, with him constantly refusing until ultimately they asked for one month after their return so that the foolish people among them could become accustomed. He refused them any set period and insisted he was going to send Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughira to destroy the Goddess.

"They also requested that they not perform the prayers and that they themselves should not have to destroy their idols. He said, 'Regarding yourselves destroying your idols, this we will excuse you. But concerning the prayer, there is no good in a faith devoid of prayer.' They said, 'Then we will perform them, though it is demeaning.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Salama, from Ḥumayd, from al-Ḥasan, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who said that the delegation from Thaḳīf came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he had them reside in the mosque to have it make an impression on them. They posed the condition that they not be required to take part in expeditions, that they not be required to pay a tithe, not be otherwise taxed, and that no others would be placed in command of them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) agreed, saying, 'You will not be required to fight; you will not have to pay a tithe, and others will not have command over you. And there is no good in a religion without prayer prostrations.'

"ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ asked, 'Messenger of God, teach me the Qurʾān and appoint me Imām for my people.'"

Abū Dāʾūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālīsī, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥumayd.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that al-Ḥasan b. al-Sabāḥ related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿAqīl b. Maʿqīl b. Munabbih, from Wahb (who said), "I asked Jābir about what happened when Thaḳīf pledged allegiance. He replied, 'They proposed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the condition that they should not have to give alms, nor do battle.' Jābir also stated that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say thereafter, 'They will give alms, and will do battle when they become Muslims.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When they accepted Islam and he had written a document for them, he appointed ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ as their commander; he was among their youngest. This was because (Abū Bakr) 'the trusting' told him, 'Messenger of God, I observe this young man to be the one of them most dedicated to Islam, and to learning the Qurʾān.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when their delegation came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they had left ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ behind with their camels, and that when they returned at midday, he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ask him for information and about reciting the Qurʾān. Finding him to be asleep, he then went to Abū Bakr, "the trusting". His training lasted until he had become expert in Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to like him very much.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Saʿīd b. Abū Hind related to me, from Muṭarrif b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shikhkhir, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who said, 'One of the last things the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked of me was when he sent me to Thaḳīf. He told me, "ʿUthmān, be concise in the prayer. Evaluate the people by their weakest member, for they will include the old, the young, the weak and those in need.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Saʿīd al-Jarīrī, from Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, from Muṭarrif, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Appoint me as my people's Imām.' He replied, 'You are their Imām. Be guided by their weakest person. And appoint as your *muʿazzin*, "prayer announcer", someone who will not accept payment for summoning to the prayer.'"

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAliyya, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq. As is related above.

Aḥmad related from ʿAffān, from Wahb and from Muʾāwiya b. ʿAmr, from Zāʾida, both of these quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Dāʾūd b. Abū ʿĀṣim, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, that the last direction the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to him when he appointed ʿUthmān as commander of al-Ṭāʾif, was to say, "When you say the prayers with a group, take it easy on them." He told him further, "Recite: 'In the name of your Lord who created . . . ' (*sūrat al-ʿAlaq*; XCVI, v.1) and similar passages from the Qurʾān."

Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra (who said), "I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab say, 'ʿUthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ spoke as follows, "The last instruction the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave me was to say, 'When you act as Imām for a group, make the prayer easy for them.'"

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and from Bindār, both of whom quoted Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ghundar. Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘lā al-Ṭā‘ifī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam (who said) that he heard ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed me in command of al-Ṭā‘if, and the last instruction he gave me was to say, ‘Make the prayer easy for the people.’”

Muslim is alone in giving it with this line of transmission.

Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd related to him, quoting ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān, quoting Mūsā – he being Ibn Ṭalḥa – to the effect that ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him Imām for his people and then said, “He who becomes an Imām for a people should be easy on them; they include those who are weak, elderly and in need. When he prays alone, he can pray however he wishes.”

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān.

Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, quoting Shu‘ba, from al-Nu‘mān b. Sālim (who said), “I heard some elders of Thaḳīf saying, ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ told us, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me, ‘Be your people’s Imām; and if you are a people’s Imām you should make the prayer easy for them. For among them there will stand the young and the old, the weak and the sick, and those who are in need.’””

Aḥmad also stated that Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm related to him, from al-Jurayrī, from Abū al-‘Alā’ b. al-Shikhīr, that ‘Uthmān said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “Messenger of God, Satan came between me and my prayer and my recitation.” He replied, “That satan is named Khanzab; if you sense him, then seek refuge in God from him and spit three times on your left hand.” (‘Uthmān said,) “I did this, and God sent him away from me.”

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Sa‘īd al-Jarīrī.

Mālik, Aḥmad, Muslim and the orthodox scholars all related from various lines of transmission, from Nāfi‘ b. Jubayr b. Mu‘īn, from ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ, that the latter complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about a pain he was experiencing in his body. He told him, “Place your hand over that part of your body that is hurting and say three times, ‘*Bismi Allāhi*!’, “In the name of God!”” Then say, seven times, ‘*a‘ūdhu bi ‘izzat Allāhi wa qudratihi min sharr mā ajidu wa uḥādhir!*’, “I take refuge in the power and might of God against what I am experiencing, and I am on my guard!””

In some accounts there is an addition in which ‘Uthmān goes on, “I did this and God cured what was wrong with me. And I have advised my own people and others about this.”

Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Māja stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, quoting ‘Uyayna b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān – he being Ibn Jawshin – quoting his father, who stated that ‘Uthmān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed me in command of al-Ṭā‘if, something was impeding my prayers, so that I did not know what it was I was praying. When I recognized this, I travelled to the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He asked, 'You are the son of Abū al-ʿĀṣ, aren't you?' 'Yes, Messenger of God,' I replied. 'What brings you then?' he asked. I replied, 'Messenger of God, something is impeding my prayer so that I do not know what I am praying.' He told me, 'That is Satan. Come close.' I went over close to him and squatted on the soles of my feet. He then slapped me on my chest with his hand and spat in my mouth, saying, 'Begone, enemy of God!' He did this three times. Then he said, 'Get back to your work.' And, by my life, I don't think he ever interfered with me again."

Ibn Māja is alone in giving this.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd Allāh related to me, from ʿAṭīya b. Sufyān b. Rabīʿa al-Thaqafī, that one of their delegation said, 'After we had become Muslims, while engaged in fasting along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for the remainder of Ramaḍān, Bilāl would come to us with our evening and pre-dawn meals. When he brought the pre-dawn meal, I would tell him, "So we see that dawn has broken?" He would say, "I left the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) still eating his meal, for the dawn meal can be eaten this late." When he would bring us our evening meal, we would tell him, "But we don't see that the sun has completely set yet." He would say, "We have only come to you after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has eaten." He would then take his hand to the dish and eat from it.'"

Imām Aḥmad, Abū Dāʿūd, and Ibn Māja all related from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿlā al-Ṭāʿifī, from ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aws, from his grandfather Aws b. Ḥudhayfa, who said, "We came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the delegation of Thaqīf. The *aḥlāf* were given accommodation with al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put up those from Banū Mālik in a tent of his. Every night he would come to us after the evening meal to talk with us, standing putting his weight alternately on each leg to rest them from standing so long. Mostly, he related to us what he had suffered from Quraysh. He would say, 'There was no equivalence. We were treated arrogantly and demeaned in Mecca. After we left for Medina, the tides of war sometimes favoured us, sometimes them.'

"One night, when it was after the time when he usually came to us, we commented, when he arrived, on the fact that he was late. He replied, 'It was my turn to read one-sixtieth part of the Qurʾān, and I hated to come before I had completed it.'"

Aws went on, 'I asked the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'How is it you divide up the Qurʾān into parts?' They replied, 'Into three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, and *ḥizb al-mufaṣṣal*¹⁴ alone.'"

This is the text of Abū Dāʿūd.

14. This is apparently a reference to the latter part of the Qurʾān, which it is recommended should be recited in the daily prayers.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When they had concluded the matter, they returned to their own territory. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba with them to destroy the idol al-Lāt.

"The two men continued on with the others until they arrived near al-Ṭā'if. There al-Mughīra wished to send Abū Sufyān on ahead, but Abū Sufyān refused this. He responded, 'You go on in to your people.' And Abū Sufyān remained on a property he owned at Dhū al-Hadm.¹⁵

"When al-Mughīra entered the town, he went up to the idol and struck it with a pickaxe. His people, Banū Mu'attib, stood in front of him fearing that arrows would be fired at him, or that he would be struck down, as happened to 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd.

"The Thaḳīf women came out with their heads bare, weeping for the idol and chanting,

'We weep for a protector betrayed by those accursed
They have not done well in striking her.'

"While al-Mughīra struck her with the pickaxe, Abū Sufyān was saying, 'Alas! Alas for you!' When al-Mughīra had finished destroying her, he took all she had, including her jewels, and sent a message to Abū Sufyān. He also told him, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us to settle with 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd and his brother al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd, father of Qārib b. al-Aswad, for the debts owed them, using the money from the idol.' And this they did."

I note that al-Aswad had died a polytheist. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the command for this in order to establish goodwill and to honour his son, Qārib b. al-Aswad, may God be pleased with him.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related that the Thaḳīf delegation consisted of some ten men, and that when they arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them accommodation in the mosque so that they would hear the Qur'ān. They questioned him about the taking of interest, fornication and wine, and he forbade them all of these.

They asked him about the goddess and what he would do with her. He replied, "Destroy her!"

They responded, "How terrible! If the goddess knew that you intend to destroy her, she would execute her people!"

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb commented, "Really! Ibn 'Abd Yālil, how ignorant you are! The goddess is nothing but stone." They replied, "We did not come here to see you, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb!"

They then said, "Messenger of God, you undertake destroying her. We'll never do it." He replied, "I'll send someone to take care of her destruction for you."

They gave him a document specifying this and asked him to permit them to arrive back home before his messengers arrived. When they reached their own people, they met with them and were asked what had happened.

15. A spring beyond Wādī al-Qurā.

They expressed sadness, saying that they had just come from an uncouth and peculiar man who had appeared bearing a sword, and made whatever judgements he wished. Having dominated the Arabs, he had forbidden usury, fornication and wine. He had ordered the destruction of the goddess. Thaqīf expressed their aversion, saying, "We'll never obey this!"

He then told them, "Then prepare for battle; prepare your weapons." They did this for two or three days, and then God cast terror into their hearts. Once more they sent representatives, instructing them, "Go back to him and agree to his conditions; make peace with him." The delegation members replied, "We have already done this! We find him to be the most God-fearing of men, very trustworthy, merciful and truthful. We were blessed in having gone to him and in having reached a settlement with him!" They then informed them of what had been agreed, and they accepted what God had favoured them with. They asked, "Why did you conceal this from us at first?" The delegation responded, "We wanted for God to remove Satan's arrogance from your hearts!" They accepted Islam right then and there.

They remained thus for several days, and then the messengers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived. He had placed them under the command of Khālīd b. al-Walīd. Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba was among them. They went to al-Lāt; all Thaqīf, their men, women and children, stood there watching, even the old men having emerged from their pavilions. Most of Thaqīf did not believe that she was to be destroyed, thinking her invincible.

Al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba took up the *al-karzin* – meaning the *miʿwal*, "the pickaxe", and said to his companions, "I'm really going to make you laugh at al-Thaqīf!" So he struck out with the pickaxe, then fell, his legs giving way. The people of al-Ṭāʾif were shaken by this, all crying out in one voice. They were delighted and said, "May God remove al-Mughīra! The goddess has killed him! They then told the others, "Those of you who wish may go close up."

Al-Mughīra then arose, saying, "It's nothing but a pile of stone and clay! Accept God's munificence and worship Him!" He struck the door and broke it, then scaled its walls, as did other men with him, and they kept on destroying it stone by stone until they had levelled it to the ground.

Its guardian then began shouting, "Its foundations will still be angry! They will swallow them up!" When al-Mughīra heard this, he said to Khālīd, "Let me dig up its foundation!" So they dug it all up, collecting all its water and structures.

At this Thaqīf were truly amazed.

Then they all returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he divided up the wealth from it, that very day. They gave praise to God Almighty for inspiring pride in His religion and for aid given to His Messenger.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The document written for Thaqīf by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'In the name of God the most Compassionate, the most Merciful, from Muḥammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to the believers. The

acacia trees of Wajj¹⁶ and the game there are not to be harmed. Whoever is found doing this shall be whipped and his clothing shall be stripped from him. If he should do this a second time, he will be taken to the Prophet Muḥammad. This is the command of the Prophet, Muḥammad. Khalil b. Sa'īd has written (this) by order of the Messenger, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. Let no one transgress this; by so doing, he will harm himself in such as Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has ordered.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī, of Mecca, related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Insān – whom he praised highly – from his father, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, ‘We advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Mt. Liyya until we reached Mt. al-Sidra. There he made a halt by the side of the peak, facing towards it. He directed his gaze towards a *maḥbas* – a valley, that is. He stayed there until everyone arrived and then he said, ‘Hunting in Wajj or (cutting down) its trees is forbidden, made so by God.’ This was prior to his arrival at al-Ṭā'if and his siege of Thaḳīf.”

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Insān al-Ṭā'ifi. Ibn Hibbān includes him among the reliable sources to whom he refers. Ibn Ma'īn stated that there was nothing wrong with him (as a source). Some authorities, however, express their doubts about him.

Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and other scholars classify this *ḥadīth* as *ḍa'īf*, “weak”. Al-Shāfi'ī categorized it as *ṣaḥīḥ*, “authentic”, and stated that it was necessary to comply with it. But God knows best.

*An Account of the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy,
may God find him repulsive!*

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Al-Zuhri related to me, from 'Urwa, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to visit 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy as he lay sick during the illness from which he died. When he saw him to be close to death, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to him, “Well, by God, I used to warn you against loving the Jews!” 'Abd Allāh replied, “And yet did As'ad b. Zurāra¹⁷ not express his hatred of them?”’”

Al-Wāqidī stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy fell ill some days before the end of Shawwāl. He died in Dhū al-Qa'da. His illness lasted for 20 days. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would constantly visit him during it.

“The day of his death, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was being very generous to him with his time, came in to see 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and

16. A valley near al-Ṭā'if.

17. See the references above, for discussion of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy's maintenance of his pact with the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā' contrary to the wishes of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Also see earlier for reference to the death of As'ad b. Zurāra who had broken with the Jews, but died earlier.

commented, 'I advised you against loving the Jews.' He replied, 'As'ad b. Zurāra treated them as enemies; what good did it do him?'

"He then went on, 'Messenger of God, this is no time for complaint; this is my death. Be present when my body is washed and give me your shirt damp from your own skin to wrap me in. And pray and seek forgiveness for me.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did all this for him."

Al-Bayhaqī related, from a *ḥadīth* of Ṣalīm b. 'Ajlān, from Ṣa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, an account approximately the same as that of al-Wāqidi. But God knows best.

Ishāq b. Rāḥawayh stated, "I asked Abū Usāma, 'What was it that 'Ubayd Allāh related to you from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar?' He replied, 'When 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Ṣalūl died, his son 'Abd Allāh came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him to give him his shirt to wrap his body in. He gave it to him. He then asked him to pray for him.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to pray over him, but 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb took hold of his gown, saying, 'Messenger of God, are you going to pray for him even though God prohibited you from keeping company with him?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'My Lord gave me a choice: "Seek forgiveness for them or do not seek forgiveness for them. Even if you do seek forgiveness for them 70 times, God will still not forgive them." I will do so more than 70 times.'

"He ('Umar) objected, 'But he was a hypocrite! Will you really pray for him?' Then God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, 'And never offer prayer for any one of them who dies, and do not stand by their graves. They disbelieved in God and His Messenger' (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.84). Abū Usāma confirmed this, saying, 'Yes.'"

They included this in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Usāma.

In one account, given by al-Bukhārī and others, 'Umar said, "So I asked, 'Messenger of God, would you pray for him, though once he said this-and-that? And then on another occasion he said so-on-and-so-forth?'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Leave me alone, 'Umar. I have two choices. If I knew that forgiveness would be granted for him if I spoke more than 70 prayers, I would do so.' He then did pray for him. And so God the Almighty and Glorious revealed, 'And never offer prayer . . .'"

'Umar went on, "I was myself surprised at my courage with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); God and His Messenger know best!"

Sufyān b. 'Uyayna stated, from 'Amr b. Dīnār, who heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to the grave of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy after he had been placed in it. He ordered that he be brought out and placed upon his knees – or his thighs – and he then discharged some of his spittle upon him and dressed him in his own shirt. But God knows best."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, this is given with the same chain of authorities. According to him, he only dressed him in his shirt in exchange for

‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy having given al-‘Abbās his shirt when he had come to Medina; the only shirt appropriate for him they could find was that of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy.

Al-Bayhaqī related at this point the story of Tha‘laba b. Ḥāṭib, and how he had been led into temptation by the excess of his wealth, and how he had refrained from giving alms. We have dealt with that in our *Exegesis* with regard to the words of the Almighty, “And there are those of them who made a pledge to God; ‘If he gives us of His favour . . .’” (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.75).

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The expedition to Tabūk was the last on which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out.”

“Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses enumerating the battles and expeditions in which the *anṣār* participated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Ibn Hishām attributed these verses to Ḥassān’s son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān:

“Am I not the best of Ma‘ad in family and clan, if
all were collected and brought together?

These are men who all fought at Badr along with the
Messenger and they did not disappoint or desert.

They pledged allegiance to him and none of them
reneged, and there was no falseness in their faith.

That morning at the defile at Uḥud hard blows fell on
them like the burning heat of a fire.

And that day at Dhū Qarad, when fighting arose while on
their mounts, and they did not betray or abstain.

And at Dhū al-‘Ushayra they charged ahead on their
horses with the Messenger, armed with swords and lances.

And at Waddān they drove its people out, their horses
charging ahead until rugged ground and mountain intervened.

And there was that night when they pursued their enemy
for God; and God will reward them for their action!

And that night at Ḥunayn they fought hard with him;
that night he gave them new energy for fighting when they
became tired.

And the attack to Najd, where, with the Messenger, they
gained booty and spoils.

And at the expedition to al-Qa‘ we scattered the enemy
like camel herds to a water-hole.

And that day when allegiance was pledged, it was they
who agreed to go to war; they aided him, and did not
retreat.

And there was the Conquest wherein they were enrolled in
his personal guard, and they were not reckless or hasty.

And at Khaybar they were in his squadron, all marching
ahead, death-defying heroes,

Their bare swords brandished in their right hands,
brought down to strike, then raised again.

And that day the Messenger of God went forth to Tabūk,
willing to suffer for reward, they were his prime standard-bearers.

And leaders into battle when warfare faced them, either
advancing or withdrawing, as they thought best.

Those are they – the Prophet's *anṣār*; these are my
people, those to whom I refer in tracing my descent.

They die with nobility, and do not break their oaths;
if they are killed, it is in God's cause."

*THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF ABŪ BAKR,
'THE TRUSTING', IN COMMAND OF THE PILGRIMAGE IN THE YEAR
9 AH AND THE REVELATION OF SŪRAT BARĀ'A (I.E. AL-TAWBA; IX).*

Following his account of the arrival of the delegation from al-Ṭā'if in Ramaḍān, as detailed above, Ibn Ishāq proceeded to state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there for the remainder of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa'da. He then dispatched Abū Bakr in command of the pilgrimage the Muslims could undertake that year, 9 AH, while the polytheists were at the stations for their own pilgrimage. The Muslims were no longer to be prevented access to the *ka'ba*; some of them (the Arab tribes) had agreements with him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), for specific and temporary periods of time.

When Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and the Muslims with him departed, and he departed from home, God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed the following verses at the beginning of *sūrat al-Tawba* (IX): "(This is a declaration) of immunity by God and His Messenger to those polytheists with whom you made an agreement: move out into the countryside for four months . . ." to the words ". . . and a declaration from God and His Messenger to the people at the time of the Greater Pilgrimage, that God and His Messenger are free of obligation to the polytheists" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.1–3).

Ibn Ishāq went on to discuss these verses. We have expounded upon them at length in our *Exegesis*; and to God belong all praise and credit.

What is referred to here is the dispatch of 'Alī following that of Abū Bakr so that the former could himself make this declaration of immunity to the polytheists on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he did this in his capacity as his cousin and relative on his father's side.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥunayf related to me, from Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who said, 'When the *sūrat al-Barā'a* (*al-Tawba*; IX) was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after he had dispatched Abū Bakr to oversee the pilgrimage of the Muslims, he was asked, "Should you not

send news of the (revelation) to Abū Bakr?" He replied, "Only a man from my own family could transmit this for me."

"He then summoned 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb and told him, "Take this part from the beginning of *sūrat al-Barā'a*, and announce it to the people when they gather on the day at Minā to make sacrifice there. Tell them (also) that no unbeliever will enter paradise, and that after this year no polytheist shall make the pilgrimage. Nor shall anyone circumambulate the *ka'ba* naked. Those with agreements made (individually) with the Messenger of God, can consider them valid until their term expires."

"'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb therefore left on al-'Adbā', the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and travelled to Abū Bakr, "the trusting". When Abū Bakr saw him, he asked, "(Do you come) as a commander, or as one to be commanded?" 'Alī replied, "The latter".

"They proceeded on together and Abū Bakr maintained charge of the pilgrimage. That year the Arabs were keeping to their stations for the pilgrimage as they had previously done before the coming of Islam.

"When it was the day to make the sacrifices, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb arose and made the proclamation as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He gave them a period of four months from the day of that declaration for them all to return to some place of safety, or to their own lands. Thereafter there was to be no pact or protection for any polytheists, except for any individual who had a personal agreement with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); that would remain in force until its expiration.

"After that year, no polytheist made the pilgrimage and no one circumambulated the *ka'ba* naked. Thereafter the two men returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

This account is *mursal*, with the line of authorities as given.

Al-Bukhārī stated as follows in his section entitled: *Chapter on the pilgrimage made by Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, with the men in the year 9 AH*: "Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd Abū al-Rabī' related to me, quoting Fulayḥ, from al-Zuhri, from Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'Abū Bakr, "the trusting", was sent out by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in command of the pilgrimage that preceded the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, "the farewell pilgrimage". With him went a group who were to announce to everyone, "No polytheist shall make the pilgrimage after this year. And no one shall circumambulate the *ka'ba* naked."'"

In another section, al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting al-Layth, quoting 'Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān informed me that Abū Hurayra stated, 'On that pilgrimage, Abū Bakr, "the trusting", sent me out along with those criers he dispatched on the day of the making of the sacrifice, to announce at Minā, "After this year no polytheist shall make the pilgrimage. And no one shall circumambulate the *ka'ba* naked."'"

“Ḥumayd stated, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent ‘Alī forth to make the declaration concerning the *al-barʿa*, “the immunity”.’

“Abū Hurayra stated, ‘He sent out ‘Alī along with us to make the announcement to those at Minā on the day of the sacrifice, concerning the declaration about the immunity, (and) that, “After this year no polytheists shall make the pilgrimage”, and “no person shall circumambulate the *kaʿba* naked”.’”

In his *Kitāb al-Jihād* (*Book of fighting in God’s Cause*) he stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhri, who said that he was told by Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān that Abū Hurayra said, “Abū Bakr, ‘the trusting’, sent me out among those to make an announcement on the day of the sacrifice at Minā, that after that year no polytheist would make the pilgrimage, and that no one should circumambulate the *kaʿba* naked.”

“The term *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar*, ‘day of the greater pilgrimage’, refers to the day when sacrifice is made. It is called the *al-akbar*, ‘the greater’, because of people referring to the *ʿumra* as the *al-ḥajj al-aṣghar*, ‘the lesser pilgrimage’.

“Abū Bakr thus gave warning to everyone that year; in the (following) year of the *ḥijjat al-wadaʿ*, ‘the farewell pilgrimage’, performed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), no polytheist took part.”

Muslim related this in similar form through al-Zuhri.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Mughira, from al-Shaʿbi, from Muḥriz b. Abū Hurayra, who quoted his father as saying, “I was with ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had dispatched him. ‘Alī asked, ‘What was the announcement you were making?’

“He replied, ‘We would announce that no one but a believer would enter paradise, that no one naked should circumambulate the *kaʿba*, and that those having an agreement with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have their pact valid for a term – or a period – of four months. After those four months were over, then God and His Messenger would have immunity from it. Also, that no polytheist would make the pilgrimage after this year.’ He added, ‘I kept making this announcement until my voice became hoarse.’”

This chain of transmission is excellent. However, there is some objection with regard to the narrator’s statement “. . . those having an agreement with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have their pact valid for a term of four months”.

There are those who do not maintain this. However, what is correct is that those with a pact would have it last for its specified duration, even if for more than four months. Those with pacts devoid of a specified duration would have their pacts expire after four months.

There remains a third category – those with pacts terminating in less than four months, before the date being specified. Presumably these would be included

with the first category – that their duration would be for the term (originally) specified, even if less than four months. It could also be maintained that these should be extended to the four months, that being more appropriate than for those whose initial pacts had no specific terms. But God Almighty knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Simāk, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched his declaration of immunity with Abū Bakr, but that when the latter reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Only a man from my immediate family household should announce this."

And so he dispatched 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib to make it.

Al-Tirmidhī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama and categorized it as *ḥasan*, "good"; and *gharīb*, "unique", from the *ḥadīth* of Anas.

'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad related, from Luwayn, from Muḥammad b. Jābir, from Simāk, from Ḥanash, from 'Alī, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked 'Alī to follow after Abū Bakr, the latter received the letter from him at al-Juhfa. Abū Bakr then went back and asked, "Messenger of God, was anything revealed concerning myself?" He replied, "No; but Gabriel did come to me and told me, 'No man but you yourself or one from your family should make this declaration.'"

This *ḥadīth* has a weak line of transmission and its content is somewhat objectionable. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Abū Ishāq, from Zayd b. Athī' – a man of Hamdān – who said, "We asked 'Alī what his mission had been when he was dispatched with Abū Bakr on the pilgrimage. He replied, 'With four messages: that only a believing soul could enter paradise; that no one should circumambulate the *ka'ba* naked; that any pact a person had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would remain valid until its term; and that polytheists would not be able to participate with Muslims in the pilgrimage after that year.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān – he being Ibn 'Uyayna – from Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, from Zayd b. Athī', from 'Alī. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

He went on to state that Shu'ba related it from Abū Ishāq, who quoted it from Zayd b. Athīl. Al-Thawrī related it from Abū Ishāq, one of his companions, from 'Alī.

I note that Ibn Jarīr related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ma'mar, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Ḥārith, from 'Alī.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam related to him, quoting Abū Zur'a Waḥb Allāh b. Rāshid, quoting Ḥaywa b. Shurayḥ, quoting Ibn Ṣakhr (who said) that he heard Abū Mu'āwiya al-Bajali, from Kufa, say, "I heard Abū al-Ṣahbā' al-Bakrī say, 'I asked 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib about the day of the "greater pilgrimage". He replied, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa to conduct the people on pilgrimage, and

then sent me as well bearing 40 verses of *sūrat al-Barāʿa*. When he was at Mt. ʿArafāt, he made a public address on the day of the assembly there. When he had completed his address, he turned to me and said, ‘Now you rise, ʿAlī, and deliver the message of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’

““I got up and recited to them the 4 verses from *sūrat al-Barāʿa*. We then proceeded on up to Minā, where I cast stones and slaughtered a sacrificial camel. I then shaved my head. Having learned that not all those present had attended the address given on Mt. ʿArafāt by Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, I went all around to the camps reciting the verses to them.”

““Alī went on, “From that, I believe you imagined it to have been the day when sacrifice is made, when in fact it was the day of Mt. ʿArafāt.””

We have discussed this in detail in the *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*, reporting the lines of authority for the *aḥādīth* and the various evidences relating to this at sufficient length. And to God be all praise and credit.

Al-Wāqidi stated, “Three hundred of the men departed with Abū Bakr on this pilgrimage, including ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. Abū Bakr took with him five camels for sacrifice. Along with him the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent twenty animals for sacrifice, then sent ʿAlī out to follow him; he caught him up at al-ʿArj. He made the announcement concerning *barāʿa*, ‘immunity’, in the presence of those on the pilgrimage.”

EVENTS THAT OCCURRED IN THAT YEAR, 9 AH DURING RAJAB OF WHICH THE EXPEDITION TO TABŪK TOOK PLACE.

Al-Wāqidi stated that in Rajab of that year the Negus, the leader of Abyssinia, died and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a public address in remembrance of him.

In Shaʿbān that year Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died. Her body was washed by Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays and by Ṣafiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. It is also said that she was washed by *anṣār* wives, including Umm ʿAṭiyya.

I note that this is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections as well as in other *ḥadīth* accounts, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed over her and was about to bury her, he said, “Let no one enter her grave who has tonight experienced desire for his family.” Her husband, ʿUthmān, therefore abstained (from entering the grave) and she was buried by Abū Ṭalḥa al-Anṣārī. May God be pleased with her.

It is likely that by making that comment he was referring to those companions, such as Abū Ṭalḥa and others, who normally volunteered with burial duties. What he meant, then, was “Let no one from among these persons enter her grave except for whoever has not experienced desire for his family”. It is unlikely that ʿUthmān had any other wife than Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). That is unlikely. Though God knows best.

That year there was the peace made with the Governor of Ayla, the people of Jarbā' and Adhruḥ, and the ruler of Dūmat al-Jandal, as has been explained above, each in their appropriate places.

That year the Ḍirār mosque had been built by a group of hypocrites; it had the form of a mosque, but secretly was a house for war. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders and it was burned down. In Ramaḍān that year, a delegation came from Thaqif and made peace on behalf of their people, then returned with a security agreement. Also, al-Lāt was destroyed, as has been related above.

At the end of that year 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, the chief hypocrite, may God curse him, died. A month prior to that occurred the death of Mu'āwiya b. Mu'āwiya al-Laythī – or al-Muzanī. It was he for whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke prayers while he was at Tabūk, if the report about that is true.

That year Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, made a pilgrimage with some of the people with the permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

That year also there came delegations from various Arab tribes. The year 9 AH is therefore known as "the Year of the Delegations". We will therefore now present a section under that heading in emulation of al-Bukhārī and others.

THE BOOK OF DELEGATIONS THAT CAME TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS)

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Mecca and completed the expedition to Tabūk, Thaqif accepted Islam and pledged allegiance, and delegations of Arabs came to him from all directions."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū 'Ubayda related to me that that occurred in the year 9 AH, which was known as the *sanat al-wufūd*, 'the year of the delegations'."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Arabs had only been holding back their acceptance of Islam to observe what became of this tribe of Quraysh. Because it was Quraysh whom the others considered as their leaders and guides; they had charge of the *ka'ba* and the sacred area, and the pure line of descent from Ismā'īl, son of Abraham. And the leading Arabs did not dispute that.

"It was Quraysh who had set up the warfare and conflict with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When Mecca was conquered, Quraysh accepted his leadership. Islam having conquered them, the Arabs realized that they did not have the power either to go to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) or to be antagonistic towards him. And so they entered into God's faith, as God the Almighty and Glorious stated, *afwājan*, 'in droves', coming to him from every side.

"God Almighty stated to His Prophet (ṢAAS), '(Remember) when God's aid came and the conquest. And you saw people entering in droves into God's religion. And so celebrate in praise of your Lord and seek His forgiveness; He is

very ready to forgive” (*sūrat al-Naṣr*, CX, v.1–3). That is, give praise to God for having given victory to your religion; and seek His forgiveness, for He is very ready to forgive.

We have narrated above the *ḥadīth* of ‘Amr b. Salama¹⁸ which states, “These Arabs were delaying their acceptance of Islam until the conquest. They would say, ‘Leave him for his own people to take care of him: if he does overcome them, then he will be a prophet speaking the truth. When the combat at the conquest occurred, each tribe hurried to accept Islam. My father accepted Islam before my tribe did. When he arrived back, he said, “I swear by God, that I have come to you from the Prophet, in truth! He (the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘Perform such-and-such a prayer at such-and-such a time. And when the time for prayer comes, then one of you should call the *adhān* “the summons to prayer”. And then whichever one of you knows the Qur’ān best should lead the prayer.’””

The *ḥadīth* continues thereafter to its conclusion; it is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

I note that Ibn Ishāq, followed by al-Wāqidi, al-Bukhārī and then by al-Bayhaqī, makes reference to various delegations that came prior to those of 9 AH, and even prior to the conquest of Mecca.

God Almighty stated, “Not equal among you are those who spent before the conquest and did battle (and those who did not); they are higher in rank than those who spent and did battle only later. And to all God promises good” (*sūrat al-Ḥadīd*, LVII, v.10). Previous mention has been made above¹⁹ of the words of God Almighty on the day of the conquest, “There is no *hijra*, ‘hegira’, migration, (henceforth); but there is *jihād* and *niyya*, ‘striving in God’s service’ and ‘intent’.”

Distinction must be made between those in these two delegations who came at the time of the conquest and whose participation must be considered a *Hijra*, and those who joined them after the conquest. While these latter were promised good by God, this would not be like the former in time and an earlier (expression of) virtue; but God knows best.

While those *imāms* who concerned themselves with relating the arrival of the delegations have omitted referral to certain matters, we will give not only information they provided, but will also make special references where necessary to issues they omitted, if God so wills it. And in Him is all confidence and reliance.

Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidi stated, “Kathīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Muzanī related to us, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “The first delegation to come in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Muḍar were 400 men of Muzayna; this occurred in Rajab of 5 AH.

““The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) declared the *hijra* as valid for them (while staying) in their own homes. He stated, “You are *muhājirūn* where you were; and so return to your properties.” And they went back home.”

18. See Vol. III.

19. See Vol. III.

Al-Wāqidi then recounted from Hishām b. al-Kalbī, with his chain of transmission, that the first person to arrive from Muzayna was Khuzā'ī Ibn 'Abd Nahm, accompanied by others of his tribe of Muzayna. He pledged to him the allegiance of his tribe, but when he returned to them he did not find them to be as he had thought; they put it off.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Ḥassān b. Thābit to make negative allusions to Khuzā'ī without actually satirizing him. He did speak some such verses and when they reached Khuzā'ī he complained of this to his people and they rallied around him and did accept Islam along with him. He then brought them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

On the day of the conquest (of Mecca) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the banner of Muzayna – a force of 1,000 men at that time – to this Khuzā'ī. He (al-Wāqidi) also stated that Khuzā'ī was the brother of 'Abd Allāh Dhū al-Bijādayn.

Al-Bukhārī, may God forgive him, stated, in a section of his work entitled: *Chapter on the Delegation of Banū Tamīm* "Abū Nu'aym related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Abū Ṣakhra, from Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz al-Māzinī, from 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, 'A group of men came in from Banū Tamīm to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he told them, "Accept the good tidings, Banū Tamīm!" They replied, "Messenger of God, you have already given it to us, so give us (something else now)." Displeasure was to be seen in his face. A group from Yemen then arrived, and he told them, "Accept the good tidings, for Banū Tamīm did not do so." They replied, "We do accept them, Messenger of God."'"

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hishām b. Yūsuf (who said) quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, that 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr informed them that, "Some men of Banū Tamīm rode in to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and Abū Bakr said (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), 'Appoint al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurāra as leader.' 'Umar said, 'No! Appoint al-Aqrā' b. Ḥābis instead.' Abū Bakr commented, 'You just want to oppose my view.' 'Umar responded, 'I don't just want to oppose you.' They argued, their voices raised. Then there was revealed the verse, 'O you who believe! Do not be forward in the presence of God and His Messenger'" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLVIII, v.1).

Al-Bukhārī also related this from a different chain of authorities, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, and with different phraseology. We have made reference to this in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* regarding the words of the Almighty, "Do not raise your voices above that of the Prophet (ṢAAS)" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLVIII, v.2).

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "While the Arab delegations were coming in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurāra b. 'Adas al-Tamīmī arrived accompanied by leaders of Banū Tamīm. These included al-Aqrā' b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī, al-Zibriqān b. Badr al-Tamīmī – a man of Banū Sa'd – 'Amr b. al-Ahtam, al-Ḥabḥāb b. Yazīd, Nu'aym b. Yazīd, Qays b. al-Ḥārith, and Qays b. 'Āṣim, a brother of Banū Sa'd, along with a large delegation of Banū Tamīm.

“With them was ‘Uyayna b. Ḥuṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī. Al-Aqra‘ b. Ḥābis and ‘Uyayna had been present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the conquest of Mecca, and at the battles of Ḥunayn and al-Ṭā‘if. When the delegation of Banū Tamīm arrived, these two men were with them.

“When all these men entered the mosque, they called out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from behind his apartments, saying, ‘Come on out to us, Muḥammad!’ This shouting of theirs disturbed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he came to them. They then said, ‘Muḥammad, we have come to express our admiration for you; give permission to both our poet and our orator.’ He replied, ‘I give permission to your orator; he may speak.’

“‘Uṭārid b. Ḥājib then arose and said, ‘Praise be to God who provides us His grace and favour, for He is worthy of such praise. It is He who made us kings and awarded us great wealth which we donate to charity. It is He who made us the most powerful men of all the East, the greatest in number and equipment.

“‘Who is our equal? Are we not at the leaders of the people, their very best? Any who would challenge us should enumerate their qualities, as we have done. We could, if we wished, speak at greater length, but we are reluctant to speak over much of what He has given us. We are well known for this (reluctance). I say this so that you may speak of similar or even better.’ He then sat down.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās, brother of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, ‘Arise and respond to this man’s address.’

“Thābit got up and said, ‘Praise be to God, Creator of both the heavens and the earth. In these He expressed His will; His throne encompasses all He knows. Nothing ever existed except by His favour.

“‘It was, moreover, by His power that He made kings of us and chose as His Messenger the best of His creation, its most noble in lineage, its most truthful in speech and most respected man. It was to him that He revealed a book, entrusting it to him above all others of His creation. He is the best of God’s creation in the worlds.

“‘He then called upon the people to believe in him. And the *muhājirūn* from his tribe did so, along with his relatives, those most noble in line, those best of all in person and deed. It was we who were foremost in responding to God when the Messenger made his call. We are the *anṣār* “the Helpers”, of God and deputies of His Messenger. We will fight people until they believe. Whoever believes in God and His Messenger is also protecting his own possessions and life. Whoever disbelieves, we will battle for God for ever. And executing them will be a minor matter for us. In speaking this, I ask forgiveness for myself and for you all and for all believers. Peace be upon you.’

“Al-Zibriqān b. Badr arose and spoke the following verses:

‘It is we who are the nobles; no clan can match us.

Kings come from us and among us places of worship are built.

Many are the clans we have defeated, extracting plunder
from all; and the benefits of might are to be pursued.

Even in famines we entertain, our food fine meat stew,
even when no trace of a rain-cloud is visible.

And so you see chieftains arrive from all around,
hurrying for us to serve them a banquet.

We slaughter large, fat, young camels for our guests;
when they are accommodated, they are well satisfied.

You know that every tribe we challenge submits and
becomes as though leaderless.

And whoever may challenge us, we know what will happen;
his people will retreat and that news will spread abroad.

We may decline, but no one declines us; and so it is
that we rise in pride.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Since Ḥassān b. Thābit was absent, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for him. He (Ḥassān later) said, ‘When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and their poet spoke as above, I challenged what he had said and spoke in the same manner as he had.’

“When al-Zibriqān had finished speaking, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Ḥassān b. Thābit, ‘Get up and respond to the man.’

“Ḥassān then recited,

‘The chieftains of Fihir and their brothers have
clarified a way of life for the people that should be
followed

Such as to please any man whose inner purpose is to
fear God and who desires to do good,

A people who, when they fight, destroy their enemy, or,
if seeking advantage to their allies, achieve this.

This is their natural disposition, no acquired trait;
the worst of characteristics – you well know – are those
innovated.

Even if, after they are gone, others surpass them, (it
is true that) anyone who leads still follows those who
preceded him.

Men cannot mend what their own hands have ruined in
battle, nor could others ruin what they have mended.

When they seek to lead, their effort succeeds; if
compared in generosity to other nobles, they tip the scales.

These are fine men, their purity mentioned in the
revelation; no materialists, these, untainted by greed.

From their generosity to neighbours, they are no misers
and they are untouched by any taint of ambition.

When we attack people, we do not crawl as does a wild
calf to its mother;

We get right up when the talons of war attain us,
though the riff-raff submit to its claws.

They are not boastful when they attain their enemy; and
if overcome, they do not turn feeble or despair.

When engaged in battle, when death is close by, they
are like lions of Ḥalya, their claws bent and ready.

If they are angry, take whatever you can get
submissively, and don't worry after what they are refusing.

Do not seek their enmity, for in going to war with them
you will have evil laced with poison.

Honour a people in whose party is the Messenger of God,
at a time when ideas and sects are very diverse.

My heart awards them my praise, helped on in its
favoured task by a creative and inventive tongue.

They are the best of all peoples, whether we talk of
what is serious or what is light.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “A scholar of the poetry of Banū Tamīm told me that when al-Zibriqān came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with the delegation of Banū Tamīm, he arose and spoke the following verses:

‘We have come to you so that people may know our virtue
when they mingle in attendance at the fairs,

And that we are the finest in any place, in all the
land of Hijāz, none the like of Dārim.

We put the medalled champions to flight when they
boast, and strike the heads of warriors seeking fame.

To us goes the one-fourth share of every expedition we
fight, whether in Najd or abroad.’

“Ḥassān then arose and responded to him as follows,

‘Is glory anything but repeated mastery and
magnanimity, the glory of kings and the bearing of great
responsibility?

We give aid and refuge to the Prophet, Muḥammad,
regardless of the resentment or pleasure of Ma‘ad.

In a unique tribe whose origins and wealth stem from a
place in Jābiyyat al-Julān,²⁰ amidst foreigners.

We gave aid when he came to live among us, using our
swords against all the tyrants and aggressors.

We placed our sons and our daughters between us and
him, and put him at ease regarding the spoils gained.

We strike at men with our fine, sharp swords until they
follow into his faith.

20. A village near Damascus, Syria.

It was we who fathered the greatest man of Quraysh, we who fathered the Prophet of good from Hāshim's line.

Banū Dārim, do not boast; your boasting seems shameful when noble deeds receive mention.

You are fools! Do you pride yourselves over us, when you are our vassals, somewhere between wet-nurses and slaves?

If you have come to us to save your blood and property, from being distributed as booty,

Then consider none a peer of God and accept Islam; and do not dress yourselves in such garb as foreigners wear.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When Ḥassān b. Thābit had finished speaking, al-Aqrā' b. Ḥābis said, ‘By my father, this man is certainly well provided for! His orator is more eloquent than ours, and his poet more gifted. Their voices rise higher than ours.’

“Finally they accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented valuable gifts to them. They had left ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam behind with their mounts, he being their youngest. Qays b. ‘Āṣim, who disliked ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam, said, ‘Messenger of God, we do still have one man, a young fellow, out with our mounts.’ And he went on to belittle him. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to ‘Amr what he had given to the others.

“‘Amr b. al-Ahtam recited the following satirical verses when he learned what Qays had said:

‘You hurt me, you lazy, hairy dog, by slandering me to the Messenger; you were not truthful or accurate

We ruled you in broad authority, but your leadership merely consists of sitting on your tail and displaying your molars!’”

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related through Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥanzalī, who said, “Al-Zibriqān b. Badr came in the company of Qays b. ‘Āṣim and ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter asked ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam, ‘Tell me about al-Zibriqān; I won’t ask you about this other man.’

“He thus indicated that he already knew of Qays.

“‘Amr responded, ‘He is obeyed by those closest to him, a good orator and very defensive of those in his care.’

“Al-Zibriqān commented, ‘He has spoken very well, knowing me to be better than what he has said!’

“‘Amr responded, ‘I swear by God, all I know of you is that you are of little manliness, narrow-minded, that your father was a fool and your uncle a rogue!’ He then went on, ‘Messenger of God, I spoke the truth in both my characterizations of him. When he treated me well, I said of him the best I could, and when he angered me, I said the worst I know!’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘Oratory has its own magic!’”
 This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, “incomplete”, from this line of transmission.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “It is related in a *maṣṣūl*²¹ from another line of transmission, as follows, ‘Abū Ja‘far Kāmil b. Aḥmad al-Mustamli informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān al-Baghdādī, quoting Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Allāf of Baghdād, quoting ‘Alī b. Ḥarb al-Ṭā‘ī, quoting Abū Sa‘d b. al-Haytham b. Maḥfūz, from Abū al-Muqawwim Yaḥyā b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘Qays b. ‘Āṣim, al-Zibriqān b. Badr and ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam, all of Banū Tamīm, sat down with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-Zibriqān set about boasting, saying, “I am lord of Tamīm, the one they fully obey and respect. It is I who defend them from aggression and ensure their rights. This man well knows that.” This comment referred to ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam, who responded, “He is a good orator, protective of his own family, and obeyed by those close to him.”

“Al-Zibriqān commented, “I swear by God, Messenger of God, he knows of me other than what he has just said. It is merely his envy that prevents him speaking it.”

“‘Amr b. Ahtam asked, “What? Me envy you! I swear by God, your uncle is a rogue, only recently wealthy, your child is a fool, and you’re a nobody in the tribe! I swear by God, Messenger of God, I spoke the truth in what I first said and I’ve not lied in what I just said. However, I am a man who will speak the best he can if pleased, but the worst he can when angered. But I still tell the truth, both the former and the latter.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “Oratory has its own magic!””

This line of authorities is very *gharīb*.

Al-Wāqidī explains the reason for their coming. They had unsheathed their swords against Khuzā‘a, and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent ‘Uyayna b. Badr to them along with 50 men who included no *anṣār* and no *muhājirīn*. This force had taken prisoner 11 of their men, 11 of their women and 30 children. Because of this capture, their leaders had arrived. Some say that they were 90 men all told – or 80 – and that ‘Uṭārid, al-Zibriqān, Qays b. ‘Āṣim, Qays b. al-Ḥārith, Nu‘aym b. Sa‘d, al-Aqra‘ b. Ḥābis, Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, and ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam were among them. They came into the mosque after Bilāl had announced the *al-ḡuhr* prayer, and the people were awaiting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to come out to them. These men hurried over and called out to him from behind his apartments. And then the revelation came down concerning them.

Al-Wāqidī went on to make reference to their orator and to their poet, and to the fact that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to each of their men a gift of 12 *awqīyya* and 20 *dirhams* in weight.

21. That is, in a fully complete line of transmission.

This did not include 'Amr b. al-Ahtam, to whom he gave five *awqiyya* because of his youth. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was about them that the words of the Almighty were in the Qur'ān: '(As for) those who call out to you from behind the apartments, most of these do not understand; if they were patient until you came out to them, it would be better for them. But God is Forgiving, most Merciful'" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*, XLVIII, v.4, 5).

Ibn Jarir stated that Abū 'Ammār al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth al-Marwazī related to him, quoting al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, from al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', who said, in reference to the verse, "(As for) those who call out . . .", "A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Muḥammad, my praise is *zayn*, "beautiful", and my blame is *shayn*, "ugly!"'. He responded, 'That applies to God, the Almighty and Glorious.'"

The chain of authorities for this is *mutaṣṣil*, "complete and continuous".

This *ḥadīth* is also related from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Qatāda, *mursalan*, "incomplete in its line", in both cases.

The name of this man has been omitted. Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Abū Salama, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from al-Aqrā' b. Ḥābis, (who said) that he called out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!" In one version his words are related to have been, "O Messenger of God!". But he gave no reply. Al-Aqrā' then called out, "O Messenger of God, my praise is beautiful, and my blame is ugly!" He then responded, "That applies to God, Almighty and Glorious is He."

Chapter: On the excellence of Banū Tamīm.

Zuhayr b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Jarir, from 'Umāra b. al-Qa'qā', from Abū Zur'a, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "I have always loved Banū Tamīm since I heard three things that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said about them. These were, 'They are the most severe of my people against *al-Dajjāl*, "the imposter", "Satan". 'Ā'isha had one of them as a slave-girl, and of her he said, 'Free her, for she is of the progeny of Ismā'īl.' And when their charitable donations arrived, he said, 'These donations are from a people – my people, that is.'"

Muslim also related this in similar form, from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb.

This *ḥadīth* offers a response to Qatāda regarding the poetry given by the author of the *ḥamāsa*²² and others, which is critical of them. A poem states,

"Tamīm are better guided than a sand-grouse along the paths of what is blameworthy; if they were to seek to follow the paths of virtue, they would go astray.

If there were a flea upon the back of a tick, Tamīm would see it from a distance and turn aside!"

22. Presumably a reference to the poetry anthology *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tamām.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ ‘ABD AL-QAYS.

Al-Bukhārī then proceeded to a section he entitled, *Chapter on the delegation of ‘Abd al-Qays*. He stated, “Abū Ishāq related to us, quoting Abū ‘Āmir al-‘Aqdi, quoting Qurra, from Abū Jamra, who said, ‘I told Ibn ‘Abbās, “I have a jar that produces wine for me that I drink when it is sweet. If I drink much of it and then sit down among the people, I fear I may be discovered.” He responded, “A delegation of Banū ‘Abd Qays came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he told them, ‘Welcome! You will suffer no disgrace or regret!’ They replied, ‘Messenger of God, in the territory between you and ourselves there are the polytheists of Banū Muḍar and so we can only reach you during the sacred months. Could you kindly tell us of the actions in which we can engage to ensure our entry into paradise? We will tell those of us back home the same.’

““He replied, ‘I order you to accomplish four things and to avoid four things. Faith in God. Do you know what faith in God means? It means to speak the *shahāda*, “to say *Lā ilāha illā Allāh wa Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, ‘there is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God’”. Also, perform the prayers, pay the *zakāt*, “alms tax”, fast for the month of Ramaḍān, and give over the *khumus*, “one-fifth of the spoils”. And I forbid you four things: the wine that is made in al-Dubbā’, in al-Naqir, al-Ḥantam and al-Muzaffat.’””

Muslim related it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Qurra b. Khālīd, from Abū Jamra. And there are other lines of transmission for it in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Abū Jamra.

Abū Dā’ūd al-Tayālīsī quoted in his *musnad* collection from Shu‘ba, who quoted Abū Jamra as having said. “I heard Ibn ‘Abbās say, “When the delegation from ‘Abd Qays came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked, ‘From which tribe do they come?’ ‘From Rabi‘a,’ he was told. He then said, ‘Welcome to the delegation! You will suffer no disgrace nor regret.’ They then told him, ‘Messenger of God, we are a clan of Banū Rabi‘a, and we have travelled very far to be with you. Between you and us there is that tribe of unbelievers, Banū Muḍar. We can only reach you during a sacred month. Give us instructions for our conduct that we can also pass on to those back home to ensure our entry into paradise.’

““The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I order you to do four things and forbid you from doing four things. I order you to have faith in God alone. Do you know what faith in God means? It means to state the *shahāda*, to perform the prayers, to pay the *zakāt* tax, to fast the month of Ramaḍān, and to give over one-fifth of the booty you acquire. I also forbid you four things: (wine) from al-Dubbā’, al-Ḥantam, al-Naqir and al-Muzaffat.’”” (And he may also have said . . . “and from al-Muqayyar”). “““Observe these commandments, and so order those back home.’””

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections also gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba in a similar form.

Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd, that account being similar to this text.

In his (Muslim's) account, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Ashajj ʿAbd al-Qays, "You have two qualities that God, the Almighty and Glorious, much likes: discernment and perseverance." In one version, the words are "that God and His Messenger much like". Ashajj asked, "Messenger of God, was it I who developed these qualities, or God who brought me to them?" He replied, "It was God who brought you to them." Ashajj then said, "Then praise be to God who brought me to two qualities that God and His Messenger much like!"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Saʿīd, the freed-man of Banū Hāshim related to him, quoting Maṭar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who said that he heard Hind, daughter of al-Wāziʿ report that she heard al-Wāziʿ say, "I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the company of al-Ashajj al-Mundhir b. ʿĀmir" – "or ʿĀmir b. al-Mundhir. With their party there was a man who was much afflicted.

"Having reached and seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they jumped down from their mounts. Then they went up to him and kissed his hand. Al-Ashajj also dismounted, hobbled his camel, took out and opened his baggage pack and extracted from it two white garments which he put on. He then went over to the other camels, hobbled them too and proceeded on to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, 'Ashajj, you have two qualities both God the Almighty and Glorious and His Messenger very much like – discernment and perseverance.' Al-Ashajj responded, 'Messenger of God, is it I who developed these, or did God bring them to me?' He replied, 'No, it was God who brought them to you.' Al-Ashajj commented, 'Praise be to God who brought to me two qualities that God the Almighty and Glorious and His Messenger both much like!' "Al-Wāziʿ then said, 'Messenger of God, I have with me an uncle who is much afflicted. Please pray to God for him.' 'Where is he?' he asked. 'Bring him to me.' Al-Wāziʿ went on, 'I then did as al-Ashajj had done: I dressed him in two white garments and took him over to him. He took hold of his outer garment and lifted up both sides so that we could see the white of his armpits. He then struck the man on his back, saying, 'Get out, you enemy of God!' The man then turned around and he was seeing just as does a healthy man.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Hūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, that the latter heard his grandfather Muzīda al-ʿAbdī say, "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged in speaking to his Companions, he told them, 'From over there riders are coming who are the best of the people of the East.'

"ʿUmar arose and went out towards them and met 13 riders. When he asked who they were, they replied, 'We're from Banū ʿAbd al-Qays.' 'And what brings you to these parts; business?' 'No,' they replied. 'Well,' ʿUmar commented, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) just made mention of you and spoke highly of you.'

"They proceeded in with him to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and 'Umar told them, 'This is your master you seek.' The riders threw themselves off their mounts and some walked while others jogged and ran towards him. When they reached him, they took his hand and kissed it. Al-Ashajj remained back until he had hobbled the camels and gathered some of the baggage of the group. He then walked over and took the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and kissed it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You have two qualities that both God and His Messenger much like.' He asked, 'And is that a natural disposition created within me or something I myself have brought about?' 'It is a natural disposition,' he replied. Al-Ashajj commented, 'Then praise be to God who has created within me what both God and His Messenger much like!'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Al-Jārūd b. 'Amr b. Ḥanash, a brother of Banū 'Abd al-Qays arrived to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He was al-Jārūd b. Bishr b. al-Mu'allā, accompanying a delegation of 'Abd Qays; he was a Christian."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Someone I trust related to me that al-Ḥasan said, 'When we reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter explained Islam to him, invited him to accept it, and made him very enthusiastic about it. Al-Jārūd told him, "Muḥammad, I used to follow a faith, but now I am leaving it for yours. Do you guarantee to me your faith?" He replied, "I do indeed guarantee to you that God has led you now to something better than it." And so al-Jārūd accepted Islam, as did his companions.

"He then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for transport, but he replied, "I swear, I've nothing on which to mount you." Al-Jārūd then asked, "Messenger of God, between here and our home there are stray mounts that have wandered away from their owners. May we use them to reach home?" "No," he replied, "beware of them. They would mean the fires of hell."

"Al-Jārūd left to return to his own people; he was a good Muslim and firm in his faith until he died. He lived on into the *ridda*, the wars of apostacy. When some of his people reverted to their former religions along with al-Gharūr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, al-Jārūd arose and gave testimony to the true faith and called for them to join Islam. He said, "O people, I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I consider unbelievers all who do not bear witness."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī out before the conquest of Mecca to al-Mundhir b. Sāwī al-'Abdī, and he became a good Muslim. Al-Mundhir died after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but before the apostacy of the people of al-Baḥrayn; al-'Aṭā' had remained with him as the Governor of al-Baḥrayn on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Consequently al-Bukhārī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from Abū Jamra, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The first *jum'a*, Friday congregational,

prayer to be performed after that held in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the one in the mosque at Jawāthī, in al-Baḥrayn."

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Umm Salama that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) delayed performing the two *rak'āt* prayers after the noon (prayer) because of the arrival of the delegation of 'Abd Qays; he performed them later in her dwelling, following the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer.

I note, however, that there are suggestions in the text of Ibn 'Abbās's *ḥadīth* that the arrival of the 'Abd al-Qays delegation occurred before the conquest of Mecca. This relates to their having said, "Between you and us there is that tribe of unbelievers, Banū Muḍar. We can only reach you during a sacred month." But God knows best.

The Story of Thumāma and the delegation from Banū Ḥanifa, among whom was Musaylima, 'The Imposter', may God damn him!

Al-Bukhārī has a section under the heading, *The delegation of Banū Ḥanifa and the Story of Thumāma b. Uthāl*. He stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting al-Layth b. Saʿd, quoting Saʿd b. Abū Saʿd, who heard Abū Hurayra say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) dispatched some cavalry to Najd. They brought back a man of Banū Ḥanifa named Thumāma b. Uthāl. They bound him to one of the pillars of the mosque. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to him and asked, 'Well, Thumāma, what do you have (in mind I should do with you)?' He replied, 'Muḥammad, I have (a) good (idea). If you kill me, you'll (only) kill a man who has killed others. But if you act kindly, you will be doing so to someone who will be grateful. If it's money you want, just ask for it.'"

"He left him there till the next day, when again he asked, 'Well, Thumāma, what do you have (in mind)?' 'I have what I told you; if you act kindly, you'll do so to a man who will be grateful.' Again he left him, until the following day, when he again asked, 'What do you have (in mind), Thumāma?' 'Just as I told you before,' he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said 'Release Thumāma.'"

"At that the man hurried over to a garden of date-palms near the mosque, washed himself and entered the mosque. He then announced, 'I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Muḥammad, I swear, formerly there was no one on earth I hated more than you. Now I love you best of all men. And, I swear, there was no faith more hateful to me than yours. Now your faith has become the one I love best. Moreover, there used to be no land more hated by me than your land; now your land has become the one I love best. Your cavalry captured me while I was on my way to make the *al-ʿumra* pilgrimage; what do you think (about it now)?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) congratulated him and told him to proceed on the *ʿumra*. When Thumāma reached Mecca, someone asked him, 'Have you adopted the Sabian faith, then?' He responded, 'No, but I have accepted Islam

with Muḥammad (ṢAAS). And I swear, you'll not receive a single grain of wheat from Yamāma until he gives his permission for that!"'''

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another place, as did Muslim and Abū Dā'ūd al-Nasā'ī, from Qutayba, from al-Layth.

Al-Bukhārī's having given this story in his section on delegations is controversial. This is because Thumāma did not come in by himself, but was brought in bonds and was tied up to one of the pillars of the mosque.

It is also questionable whether he should be referred to among the delegations occurring in 9 AH. This is because it is evident from the text of his story that it relates to prior to the conquest of Mecca. This is because the Meccans rebuke him over his acceptance of Islam and ask him whether he has adopted the Sabian faith. He went on to warn them that not a grain of wheat would reach them from al-Yamāma until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave his permission. This shows that at that time Mecca was considered enemy territory, its population not yet having accepted Islam. But God knows best.

This is why the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrates the story of Thumāma b. Uthāl before the conquest of Mecca; this is most likely to have been the case. However, we have given it here in deference to al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Yamān, quoting Shu'ayb, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥusayn, quoting Nāfi' b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "During the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Musaylima, 'the imposter', arrived and began saying, 'If Muḥammad appoints me to rule after him, I will follow him.' He had arrived in the company of a great number of his people.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), holding a stick of date-palm wood in his hand, went out to him, accompanied by Thābit b. Qays. Coming to a stop near Musaylima and his men, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If you had asked me for it, I'd not even give you this stick! You will not avoid God's order concerning you. If you do not turn away, God will destroy you. I believe you to be the person I saw in a dream. This man is Thābit, and he will answer your questions about me.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) then left him.

"Ibn 'Abbās stated, 'I asked about the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "I believe you to be the person I saw in a dream." Abū Hurayra told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "While I slept, I saw on my hand two gold bracelets. This disturbed me. Then I received revelation, in my sleep, that I should blow upon them. I did so, and they disappeared. I interpreted them to be representing two imposters who would emerge after me, one of them being al-Aswad al-Ansī,²³ the other Musaylima."'''

23. 'Ayhala b. Ka'b, of the Madhhij tribe of 'Ans, known as "al-Aswad", led a successful revolt in Yemen both against the authority of the Persians and that of the Prophet (ṢAAS). His assassination at the hand of former allies came shortly before the death of the latter. See the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, under the heading "al-Aswad".

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Ishāq b. Naṣr related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāq, who said, "Ma'mar informed me that Hammām b. Munabbih told him that he heard Abū Hurayra say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'While I slept, I was brought treasures from the earth and two gold bracelets were placed on my palm. They disturbed me, and revelation came to me that I should blow upon them. I did so, and they disappeared. I interpreted them as the two imposters between whom I am – the ruler of Ṣan'ā' and the ruler of al-Yamāma.'"

Al-Bukhārī continued to state that it was related to him by Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Jarmī, quoting Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, quoting his father, from Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Ubayda b. Nashīṭ – his name is given elsewhere as 'Abd Allāh – who said that 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba said, "We learned that Musaylima, 'the imposter', had arrived in Medina and was staying in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith. His wife was the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Kurayz, and she was the mother of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to him, accompanied by Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās; it was he who was known as the orator of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter had a stick in his hand. He stood before Musaylima and spoke to him and Musaylima told him, 'If you wish, we will leave the way clear for you to rule, provided that you make me your successor.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'If you were to ask me for this stick, I'd not give it to you. I believe you are the one about whom I had a dream. This is Thābit b. Qays; he will answer any questions on my behalf.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left."

'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh continued, "I asked Ibn 'Abbās about the vision he had mentioned. Ibn 'Abbās replied, 'I was told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "While I slept, I was given a vision in which two gold bracelets were placed on my hand. I was disturbed by these and disliked them. Then I was given permission to blow on them and when I did so, they disappeared. I interpreted them to represent two imposters who would appear.'"

'Ubayd Allāh stated, "One of these was al-'Anṣī, who was killed by Fayrūz in Yemen; the other was Musaylima, 'the imposter'."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The delegation of Banū Ḥanīfa came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and with them was Musaylima b. Ḥabīb, 'the imposter'."

Ibn Hishām stated, "His name was Musaylima b. Thumāma b. Kathīr b. Ḥabīb b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith b. Haffān b. Dhahl b. al-Dūl b. Ḥanīfa; he was known as Abū Thumāma, and also as Abū Hārūn. He was also referred to as 'al-Raḥmān' and as 'Raḥmān of al-Yamāma'. He was 150 years old at the time of his execution. He knew various forms of magic. He knew how to insert an egg into a long-necked bottle and was the first to do this. He would cut off a bird's wing, then reattach it. It is said that there was a gazelle that would come down from the mountain and he would drink its milk."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "They went into residence in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith, an *anṣārī* woman of Banū al-Najjār."

Al-Suhaylī stated, "She was Zaynab; some say her name was Kaysa, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Kurayz b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams. Musaylima had married her long before, but then separated from her. This is why they stayed in her home."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "One of our scholars of Medina related to me that Banū Ḥanīfa hid him in some clothing and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the latter was sitting among his Companions, holding a palm frond. When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having been completely concealed by the clothes, and began to make requests, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'If you were to ask me for this palm frond, I'd not give it to you!'

"A sheikh of Banū Ḥanīfa from al-Yamāma related to me that the incident concerning him was quite different. He claimed that the delegation from Banū Ḥanīfa came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having left Musaylima with their mounts. Having accepted Islam, they remembered him and asked, 'Messenger of God, we have left a companion of ours with our mounts and baggage to care for them for us.'

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that what had been given to the men of Banū Ḥanīfa should be given to him too, saying, 'His status is no worse than yours.' That is, due to his having looked after his companions' property. That is what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to imply.

"They then all left and took to Musaylima what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given to each one of them. When they reached Yamāma that enemy of God apostatized, proclaimed himself a prophet and told them many lies. He said, 'I have been made his partner in this matter.'

"He then told his delegation, who were with him, 'Did he not say to you, "His status is no worse than yours?"' The only reason he said this was from his knowledge that I had been made his partner in the matter.'

"Thereafter he began to recite doggerel verse to them and to imitate the Qurʾān, saying, 'God has bestowed His favour on the pregnant woman; he has extracted from her a being that moves, from between the skin on her womb and her intestines.'

"He made wine and fornication permissible for them and abolished the need for prayer. He nevertheless testified for the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, being a prophet. And Banū Ḥanīfa was in agreement with him on that."

This is what Ibn Ishāq stated. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī and others related the following about al-Raḥḥāl b. ʿUnfūwa – his other name being Nahār b. ʿUnfūwa; he had accepted Islam and learned some of the Qurʾān and spent a period as a Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter once passed by while al-Raḥḥāl was seated with Abū Hurayra and commented, "One of you has his molar in hell-fire like Mt. Uḥud!"

Both men remained apprehensive until eventually al-Raḥḥāl apostatized with Musaylima. He falsely testified that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made Musaylima his partner in his activities and attributed to the latter some part of the Qur'ān he had learned; this Musaylima claimed for himself. All this resulted in great confusion for Banū Ḥanīfa. Al-Raḥḥāl was killed by Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb at the battle of al-Yamāma.

Al-Suhaylī stated that the *mu'azzin* employed by Musaylima was named Ḥujayr; and the one of his men who most directed the warfare on his behalf was Muḥkam b. al-Ṭufayl. To these should be added Sajāḥ, known as Umm Ṣādir. This was a woman Musaylima married, and there are various shameful reports about his relationship with her. The name of her *mu'azzin* was Zuhayr b. 'Amr, or alternatively Janba b. Ṭāriq. It is also said that Shabath b. Rib'ī also acted as her *mu'azzin* and then later became a Muslim. She too accepted Islam during the reign of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and became a good Muslim.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as having stated, "Musaylima b. Ḥabīb wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as follows, "From Musaylima, Messenger of God, to Muḥammad, Messenger of God. Peace be upon you. To proceed: I have been appointed as your partner in the task, along with you. Half the authority is ours, the other half that of Quraysh. However, Quraysh are an aggressive people."

Two messengers brought this document and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote back to him. He stated, "In the name of God, the most Merciful, most Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Musaylima, 'the imposter'. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. To proceed: the earth belongs to God. He entrusts it to whomever of His servants He wishes. The outcome will favour the pious."

This – the receipt of this message – was at the end of 10 AH. Al-Bukhārī relates the story of this message in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, "Sa'd b. Ṭāriq related to me, from Salama b. Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd, from his father, who said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say to the two messengers of Musaylima when they brought the letter from him, "Do you agree with what he said?" "Yes," they replied. "I swear by God", he told them, "that if it were not for the fact that messengers are not to be executed, I would strike off the heads of you both!"'"

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that al-Mas'ūdī related to him, from 'Āṣim, from Abū Wā'il, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who said, "Ibn al-Nawāḥa and Ibn Uthāl came as messengers to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on behalf of Musaylima, 'the imposter', and he asked them, 'Do you testify that I am the Messenger of God?' They replied, 'We testify that Musaylima is the Messenger of God!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then exclaimed, 'I proclaim my belief in God and in His Messengers! If I were someone who executed messengers, I would execute both of you!'"

'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd went on, "And so the practice was instituted that messengers would not be executed."

He continued, "Regarding Ibn Uthāl, God ultimately gave him his reward. As for Ibn al-Nawāḥa, I continued to feel much anger against him until God took possession of him."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Usāma b. Uthāl accepted Islam. And we referred to this above.

Regarding Ibn al-Nawāḥa, Abū Zakariyyā' b. Abū Ishāq al-Muzanī, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, quoting Ja'far b. 'Awn, quoting Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who said that a man came to 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and said, 'I passed by a mosque of Banū Ḥanīfa while they were making a recitation of something God did not reveal to Muḥammad (SAAS). It was, 'By those women who mill flour; by those women who knead dough; by those women who bake bread; by those women who concoct stew; by those women who swallow morsels . . .'

"'Abd Allāh then sent for them; they were 70 men in number, and their leader was 'Abd Allāh b. al-Nawāḥa. 'Abd Allāh gave orders and he was executed. He then said, 'We'll never acquire Satan out of these; however, we can drive them off to Syria, so that God may take care of them for us!'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The delegation from Banū Ḥanīfa consisted of approximately ten men, under the leadership of Sulmā b. Ḥanzala. They included al-Raḥḥāl b. 'Unfuwa, Ṭalq b. 'Alī, 'Alī b. Sinān, and Musaylima b. Ḥabīb, 'the imposter'. They were accommodated in the home of Maslama, daughter of al-Ḥārith, and they were given full hospitality. They were given lunch and dinner – at times consisting of bread and meat, at others of bread and yoghurt, bread and meat fat, and dates, during their stay.

"When they came to the mosque, they accepted Islam. They had left Musaylima with their mounts and when they wanted to depart, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave them each five *awqiyya* weight of silver. He also ordered the same gift for Musaylima, and when they said he was with their mounts, he commented, 'His status is no worse than yours.'

"When they returned to Musaylima and told him what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said, he commented, 'He only said that because he knows that power will come to me after him.'

"Having said this, Musaylima, may God abhor him, persisted and made claim to the prophethood."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent out with them a vessel containing the remainder of water he had used for cleansing himself. Musaylima ordered his men to revoke their pledge of allegiance to the Messenger of God (SAAS) to pour the water over his dwelling, and to adopt it as a *masjid*, a place of prayer. This they did."

Hereafter we will recount the death of al-Aswad al-'Ansī at the end of the life of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Musaylima was killed during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, 'the trusting'.

THE DELEGATION FROM THE PEOPLE OF NAJRĀN.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by 'Abbās b. al-Ḥusayn, quoting Yahyā b. Ādam, from Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from Ṣila b. Zufar, from Ḥudhayfa, who said, "Al-ʿĀqib and al-Sayyad, rulers of Najrān, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), intending to engage in the *liʿan*²⁴ ceremony.

"One man said to the other, 'Let's not do this. If he is a prophet, and we engage him in this *liʿan*, neither we nor our descendants will have success.' They both then said (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), 'We will give you whatever you want. Send a trustworthy man out with us, but do not send anyone who is not worthy of trust.' He responded, 'I will send with you a man who is truly trustworthy.'

"The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) competed to have this honour, and he ultimately said, 'Stand up, Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh.' And when he did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This is the (most) trustworthy man of this nation.'"

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Abū Ishāq.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Mūsā ibn al-Faḍl, both of whom said, "Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to us, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Salama b. 'Abd Yasūʿ, from his father, from his grandfather. Yūnus, who had been a Christian and had accepted Islam, said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to Najrān before the (sūrat) *Ta Sin*²⁵ of Sulaymān (Soloman) had been revealed to him, 'In the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, from Muḥammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to the bishop of Najrān. Are you peaceable? I praise to you the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. To proceed: I summon you to the worship of God, away from worshipping servants of God. If you should refuse, then you will have to pay the *jizya*. If you refuse, I am warning you of warfare. Peace.'

"When this letter reached the bishop, he was shocked and astounded by it. He sent for a man of Najrān named Shurahbīl b. Wadā'a, who was originally from Hamdān. No one would be consulted in preference to him in the case of some problem – not al-Abḥam, nor al-Sayyid, nor al-ʿĀqib.²⁶

"The bishop gave this letter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Shurahbīl. When he had read it, they asked him, 'Abū Maryam, what do you think?' Shurahbīl replied, 'You well know how God promised Abraham that prophethood would pass on through the progeny of Ismā'īl; don't you believe that this could

24. A practice in which two contending groups attended a remote area to pray to God to punish whichever of their two parties had engaged in lying. See also footnote 27, p.73 hereafter.

25. Ṭ s (Ṭā Sin), the two opening letters of sūrat al-Naml (or sūrat Ṭā Sin).

26. The other leaders of the tribe.

refer to this man? I have no personal opinion about the prophethood question. If this were a worldly matter, I would give you my views on it, and would do my very best for you.' The bishop told him, 'Come aside and take a seat.' Shuraḥbīl then went aside and sat down near him.

"The bishop sent to a man of Najrān named 'Abd Allāh b. Shuraḥbīl, a man of Dhū Asbaḥ, from Ḥimyar. He had him read the letter and asked him his opinion. This man spoke as Shuraḥbīl and the bishop told him, 'Come aside and take a seat', and the man did so and sat near him.

"Next the bishop sent for a man of Najrān named Jabbār b. Fayḍ, of Banū al-Ḥārith, son of Kaʿb, a man of Banū al-Ḥimās. He asked this man to read the letter and to give his opinion of it. Jabbār replied as had Shuraḥbīl and 'Abd Allāh. The bishop then told him to go aside and sit, which he did.

"When they had all agreed on the same statement, the bishop gave orders that the bell be struck and lighted lanterns and hair shirts were lifted up into the monks' cells; they would do this if there were an alarm during the day, but if the alarm were by night, they would merely strike the bell and lift up the lights into the cells.

"When the bell was struck, they assembled and the people of the valley, both in its upper and its lower parts, raised the hair shirts; the valley was the length of a day's journey for a fast rider. It consisted of 73 villages and had 100,000 warriors. The letter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was read to them and the bishop sought their opinion of it. Their leaders agreed that they should send Shuraḥbīl b. Wadā'a al-Ḥamadānī, 'Abd Allāh b. Shuraḥbīl al-Aṣbaḥī, and Jabbār b. Fayḍ al-Ḥārithī to seek information about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The delegation travelled to Medina and when they arrived there, they took off their travel garments and dressed in fine robes of striped cloth and put on gold rings. They then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They greeted him, but he did not respond. They waited there all day long for him to speak to them, but he did not, since they were wearing those garments and gold rings.

"The delegation went to find 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, whom they had known previously; they found them in an assembly, meeting with *anṣār* and *muhājirīn*. They asked them, 'Uthmān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, your Prophet wrote us a letter and we have come in response to it. We have greeted him, but he has not returned our greeting. We waited patiently all day long, but failed to get him to speak to us. What do you both think; do you consider we should return home?'

"They also asked 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib who was also there in the group. He said to 'Uthmān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'I think they should take off these fine robes and rings, dress in their travel garments and then return to him.'

"They did this and when they greeted him, he responded. He then told them, 'By Him who sent me with the truth, when you first came to me, Iblīs (Satan) was certainly with you.' He then asked them questions, as they did him. This

session of questioning continued and they eventually asked, 'What do you say about Jesus? Although we will go back to our people as Christians, it would please us, if you are a prophet, we could hear what you say of him.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'I don't have anything to say about him today; stay here until I tell you what it is God says about Jesus.'

"By next morning God, the Almighty and Glorious, had revealed this verse, 'God considers Jesus to be the like of Adam; He created him from earth, then said to him: "Be!" And he was. The truth is from your Lord; and so do not be of those who make disputes. To those who could dispute with you, after the knowledge that has come to you, say, "Come, let us call our sons and (you) your sons, we our wives and (you) your wives and we our ourselves and (you) yourselves, and then let us make our appeals to God, and pray that God places his curse upon those who lie' (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v. 58-60).

"They refused to agree to this.

"On the next morning following that when he had told them of this, he arrived for a *mulā'ana*,²⁷ 'an oath-taking competition', accompanied by al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. He was dressed in a *khamīl*, 'a coarse-fibred garment', and Fāṭima walked at his back; that day he was also accompanied by several of his womenfolk.

"Shuraḥbīl told his two companions, 'You both well know that the upper and lower parts of our valley join in accepting my views and I have, I swear, reached a weighty conclusion. Given that this man is a powerful leader, if we were the first of the Arabs to spite him and to reject his orders, he and his men would maintain such ill-will for us that they would eventually do us great harm. We are the Arabs who are his closest neighbours, and if this man is truly a prophet, and we challenge him as a liar, then every hide and hair of us is sure to perish!'

"His companions then asked him, 'Well, Abū Maryam, what should we do?' He replied, 'My opinion is that I should recognize his authority. He is, I think, not a man who would ever make an over-harsh judgement.'

Shuraḥbīl then met with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, 'I have something better to suggest than an oath-taking competition with you.' 'And what is that?' he asked. 'Spend this day till tonight and tonight till tomorrow reaching your judgement and whatever you decide concerning us will be acceptable.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, 'Is there anyone else back home behind you who will contradict you?' Shuraḥbīl replied, 'Ask my two companions.' They said, 'Our whole valley will accept his decision.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then returned home without making oaths regarding them. When they went to him next day, he wrote for them the following document, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent. This is written by Muḥammad, the Prophet, the untutored, the

27. A procedure in which contending parties would call down oaths upon their various family members and invoke God's aid to determine which side had been speaking the truth. This practice is inferred in the Qur'an verse quoted in the previous paragraph.

Messenger of God, to Najrān. It is his judgement regarding all their produce and all their assets in gold, silver and slaves to be generous to them and to leave them all this in consideration of a payment of 2,000 sets of garments. Of these 1,000 shall be paid each Rajab, and another 1,000 each Šafar.' He then went on to give the rest of the conditions. The document ends, 'Witnessed by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ghaylān b. 'Amr, Mālik b. 'Awf, of Banū Naṣr, and al-Aqrā' b. Ḥābis al-Hanzali, and al-Mughira.' And he (so) wrote it.

"When they received this document, they left for Najrān. With the bishop there was a brother of his, on his mother's side, he being his uncle's son, a man named Bishr b. Mu'āwiya, known as Abū 'Alqama. The delegation gave the letter of the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) to the bishop. While he was reading it, in the company of Abū 'Alqama, while they were both riding, Bishr's camel stumbled. Bishr swore an oath, although he did not make reference to the Messenger of God (ŠAAS).

"The bishop told him, 'You might have spoken a curse against a prophet who has been sent.' Bishr replied, 'Certainly; and I swear I'll not nullify it until I go to the Messenger of God (ŠAAS).'

"He then directed his camel back towards Medina, but the bishop positioned his own in his way and told him, 'Understand from me, that I only said that so that the Arabs have that reported to them of me, fearing that they might consider that we had accepted his authenticity, or been swayed by his voice, or agreed to something this man wanted to which the Arabs did not comply, even though we are the most powerful and numerous of all.' Bishr replied, 'No; I swear, I'll never accept this attitude of yours.'

"Bishr then spurred his mount into motion, turning his back to the bishop. He also spoke the following doggerel verse:

'To you (my camel) anxiously turns her flank
Though a foal inside her belly objects,
For her religion opposes that of the Christians.'

"When he reached the Messenger of God (ŠAAS), he accepted Islam and stayed on with him until he was eventually killed."

"The delegation entered Najrān and went to the monk Ibn Abū Shamar al-Zubaydī while he was high up in his cell, telling him, 'A prophet has been given a mission in Tihāma!' They narrated how the Najrān delegation had gone to the Messenger of God (ŠAAS), and how he had suggested an oath-swearing competition to them, which they had refused, and how Bishr b. Mu'āwiya had hurried off to him and had accepted Islam.

"The monk replied, 'Bring me down, or else I'll cast myself from this cell!' They did so; he brought with him a present which he took with him to the Messenger of God (ŠAAS). Part of it is that cloak that the caliphs wear, along with a wooden cup and a staff.

"He remained for some time with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), listening to the revelation, then returned to his own people. He is not credited with having accepted Islam. He promised to come back but this was not to be until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died.

"The bishop, Abū al-Hārith, went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with *al-Sayyid*, *al-ʿĀqib*²⁸ and important persons from their people. They stayed with him, hearing what God revealed to him. He wrote the document for the bishop and those bishops to come after him: 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent. From Muḥammad, the Prophet, to Bishop Abū al-Hārith and the bishops of Najrān, and its priests and monks, including all those under their control, few or many. (This gives) protection of God and of His Messenger, which shall not be changed for any of its bishops, monks or priests. Nor shall any of their rights or powers or former practices be changed. The protection of God and His Messenger is for ever, so long as they remain peaceful and sincere and are not subjected to wrongdoing or engage in it.' 'Written by al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related that the delegation of Christians of Najrān included 60 riders, of whom 14 were leaders. These latter consisted of *al-ʿĀqib*, whose name was ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, and *al-Sayyid*, whose name was al-Abḥam, Abū Hāritha b. ʿAlqama, Aws b. al-Hārith, Zayd, Qays, Yazīd, Nubayh, Khuwaylid, ʿAmr, Khālīd, ʿAbd Allāh and Yaḥnūs.

Leadership of these 14 men devolved upon 3 of them. These were *al-ʿĀqib* their leader, opinion-maker and council-leader, whose decision no one would oppose; *al-Sayyid*, their protector, and camel-master; Abū Hāritha b. ʿAlqama, their bishop and pontiff. The last-mentioned was an Arab of Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil. He had entered the religion of Christianity, and the Byzantines had promoted and honoured him, built churches for him and given him power and authority because of the firmness they knew of his faith. He was nevertheless fully aware of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but (his love for) honour and prestige prevented him from following the truth.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, "Burayda b. Sufyān related to me, from Ibn al-Baylamānī, from Kurz b. ʿAlqama, who said, 'A delegation of Christians of Najrān arrived, consisting of 60 mounted men, 14 of whom were their leaders. And there were 24 of them . . .²⁹ Three of them were in charge – *al-ʿĀqib*, *al-Sayyid* and Abū Hāritha, one of the Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil, their bishop, and their *ṣāḥib midrās*.³⁰ This last man they had awarded great honour, power and privileges, and had built him churches because of what they had heard of his great knowledge and zeal for their faith.

28. Titles of authority.

29. Incomplete in the Arabic printed text.

30. Perhaps the guardian of their Midrash, an early Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament.

"When they left Najrān, Abū Ḥāritha was mounted on a mule and by his side rode a brother of his named Kurz b. 'Alqama. The mule of Abū Ḥāritha stumbled and Kurz said, 'May al-Ab'ad, "the one far away", (meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) stumble!' Abū Ḥāritha commented, 'No; it's you who may stumble!' Kurz asked him, 'Why, brother?' He replied, 'I swear by God, he is certainly the prophet whom we have been awaiting!'

"Kurz asked, 'Well, what is holding you back, when you know that?' He replied, 'It's because of what these people have done for us. They have honoured us, made payments to us, and given us authority. But they adamantly oppose him; if I were to take action, they would take everything away from us.'

"His brother Kurz gave much thought to what he had said and eventually accepted Islam."

Ibn Ishāq went on to relate that when they entered the mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS), they were dressed in finery. It was time for the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, and they got up and prayed towards the east. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Let them do so."

Their spokesman was Abū Ḥāritha b. 'Alqama and (their other leaders were) *al-Sayyid* and *al-ʿAqib*. Eventually the major part of *sūrat Āl ʿImrān* and verses about the oath-taking competition were revealed concerning them. But they refused the latter. They asked that a fully trustworthy man be sent out with them.³¹ And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did dispatch Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāh, as is related above in the account of al-Bukhārī.

We have discussed this in detail in our *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* of *sūrat Āl ʿImrān*. And to God be all praise and credit.

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ ʿĀMIR AND THE STORY OF ʿĀMIR B. AL-ṬUFAYL AND ARBAD B. QAYS, MAY GOD DAMN THEM BOTH!

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Then a delegation from Banū ʿĀmir came to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It included ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, Arbad b. Qays b. Jaz' b. Khālid b. Ja'far and Ḥayyān b. Salmā b. Mālik b. Ja'far. These three men were the leaders and chief mischief-makers of their tribe.

"When that enemy of God ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl came to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), it was with the intent of betraying him. His people had told him, 'Abū ʿĀmir, others have accepted Islam, you do so too.' But he replied, 'I swear by God, I made a vow I would never cease striving to get the Arabs to follow me; should I now follow this Quraysh fellow?'

"Al-Arbad then said, 'When we go to see this man, I will get him to turn his face away from you. When I do this, you strike him with your sword!'

"When they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl said, 'Muḥammad, will you come aside with me?' He replied, 'No, by God, not until

31. To act as an arbitrator to settle an internal financial dispute, according to the sources.

you believe in God alone!' Āmir repeated, 'Please, just come aside with me, Muḥammad,' and he began talking to him, waiting for Arbad to act. Arbad, however, did nothing. When Āmir saw that Arbad was taking no action, he again said, 'Muḥammad, do come aside with me,' but he again replied, 'No, not until you believe in God alone Who has no partner.'

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) thus rejected him, Āmir said, 'Then, by God, I'll fill this place with horses and men to fight you!' When Āmir had turned away to leave, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'O God, take care of Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl for me!'

"When they had left the Messenger of God (SAAS), Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl asked Arbad, 'Had I not ordered you what to do? I swear by God, there was no man on earth I considered more fearsome than you! I swear, I'll never fear you again, after today!'

"He replied, 'I pray you, don't blame me too hastily. Whenever I was about to do as you had asked, you got in the man's way so all I could see was you. Should I have struck you with my sword?'

"They headed back home and when they had gone part way, God, the Almighty and Glorious, afflicted Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl with a growth in his neck. And God killed him in the home of a woman of Banū Salūl. He exclaimed, 'O Banū Āmir, shall (my death) be from a growth like that on a young camel in the home of a woman of Banū Salūl?'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "The words are also quoted as, '... a growth like that of a camel and a death in the house of a Salūli woman?'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, quoting Fāṭima, daughter of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Maw'ala, from her father, from her grandfather, Maw'ala b. Ḥumayl, who said, "Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who told him, 'Āmir, accept Islam!' He replied, 'I will do so on condition that I control *al-wabar*, "the nomads", while you control *al-madar*, "the villages".' He refused.

"Again the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Accept Islam!' And again Āmir replied, 'On condition I control the nomads, while you control the villages.' 'No,' replied the Messenger of God (SAAS). Āmir then turned away, saying, 'I swear by God, Muḥammad, I'll fill this place with horses like locusts and men like breadcrumbs; I'll tether a horse to every palm tree!'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'O God, rid me of Āmir and give his people guidance!'

"Āmir then left and when he reached the outskirts of Medina, he happened to meet a woman of his tribe called Salūliyya. He dismounted from his horse and slept in her house. He was then afflicted by a growth in his throat. He mounted his horse and, levelling his lance, he rode away, saying, 'A growth like that on a young camel and a death in the house of Salūliyya!' He kept this up until he fell dead from his horse."

The *hāfiẓ* Abū ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-Barr stated in his work *al-Istī‘āb fī Asmā’ al-Ṣaḥāba* (*A Study of the Names of the Companions*) concerning (a man named) Maw’ala: “He was Maw’ala b. Kuthayf al-Ḍabābī al-Kilābī al-‘Āmirī, of Banū ‘Āmir b. Sa’sa’a. He went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam when a young man of 20, and he lived on in the faith for 100 years. He was known as ‘he of the two tongues’ because of his eloquence. His son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz related materials from him. It was he who recounted the story of ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl and the line, ‘... a growth like that of a baggage camel and a death in the house of Salūliyya!’”

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, “Zamyā’, daughter of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Maw’ala b. Kuthayf b. Ḥaml b. Khālīd b. ‘Amr b. Mu’āwiya, he being al-Ḍabbāb b. Kilāb b. Rabī’a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa’sa’a, said, ‘My father related to me, quoting his father, quoted Maw’ala as having recounted that he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam when he was 20 years old. He pledged him his allegiance, wiped his right arm (in deference to him), and led his camel to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a two-year-old she-camel. After the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), he became a companion of Abū Hurayra and lived on for 100 years into Islam. He was nicknamed “he of the two tongues” because of his eloquence.’”

I note that it is evident that the story of ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl related to a period prior to the conquest of Mecca, even though Ibn Ishāq and al-Bayhaqī include mention of it thereafter.

When al-Bayhaqī gave it, he did so from al-Ḥakīm, from al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Mu’āwiya b. ‘Amr, quoting Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī, from al-Awzā’ī, from Ishāq b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Anas, in the account of the expedition to Bīr Ma’ūna and the killing by ‘Āmir b. Ṭufayl of Ḥarām b. Malḥān, the uncle of Anas b. Mālīk, and his treachery against the men there that resulted in the killing of them all except ‘Amr b. Umayya, as is given above.

Al-Awzā’ī stated that Yahyā said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke prayers against ‘Āmir b. Ṭufayl for 30 mornings, saying, ‘O God, rid me of ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl however You wish, and send upon him what will kill him.’ And God did infect him with a malignancy.”

It is related from Hammām, from Ishāq b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Anas, in the story relating to Ḥarām b. Milḥān. Anas stated, “‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, ‘I give you to choose between three options: you shall govern the people on the plains, while I the nomads, or I shall be your successor after you, or I will attack you with Banū Ghatafān and 1,000 stallions and 1,000 mares.’”

He went on, “He was then, while staying in a woman’s house, afflicted with a malignant growth. At this, he exclaimed, ‘Shall it be a growth like that on a camel and death in the house of a woman of Banū so-and-so? Bring me my horse!’ He rode away and died upon his horse.”

Ibn Ishāq stated. "His companions went out and buried him, then proceeded on to Banū 'Āmir territory to spend the winter. When they arrived there, their people came to them and asked, 'Arbad, how was it back behind you?' 'It was nothing,' they replied. 'I swear, all he did was invite us to worship something or other. I wish he were here now; I'd kill him with an arrow, right on the spot!'"

"A day or two after his having made that comment, he went out with a camel he had to sell and God sent down upon him and it a thunderbolt that burned them both up."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Arbad b. Qays was a brother of Labīd b. Rabī'a on his mother's side. Labīd said, mourning Arbad,

'Death spares no one – not a kindly father, nor a son.

I fear much that death of Arbad more than I do the influence of Pisces or Leo.

Eye, why weep for Arbad, now that both we and the women have stood in mourning?

If others threatened, he ignored their threats; if they were reasoned in judgement, so was he.

A sweet and clever man, though with some bitterness in his sweetness; a man of calm and healthy constitution.

Eye, would you weep for Arbad now that the winter winds sweep the bare trees

And they have become wind-tossed and fruitless, their remnants of fruit revealed?

He was braver than a meat-eating forest-lion, staring forth and determined to prevail.

The eye does not see to its full extent on a night when horses return frail and worn.

He inspired the mourning women to attend his wake, (as evident) as young gazelles on barren terrain.

The lightning and thunderbolt terrified me when they struck this bold warrior that terrible day.

He took from those who robbed and gave back to their victims; if they came in distress, he gave them again and again.

He was generous in bad times, as when spring rain produces growth.

All the sons of a free-born woman must diminish in number, no matter how many they were.

Even though once envied, all shall be brought down; though once leaders, all shall perish and fade.'"

Ibn Ishāq quoted many further lines from Labīd in mourning for Arbad b. Qays, his brother on his mother's side. We have omitted them here for brevity's sake, thinking the verses we have given sufficient. And it is God who leads to what is right.

Ibn Hishām stated that Zayd b. Aslam recounted, from ‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “And God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed the following concerning ‘Āmir and Arbad: ‘God knows what every female bears and what falls short and what comes to fruition in the womb. And with Him everything has its measure. (He it is who is) Knowledgeable of the unseen and what is witnessed; He is the Great, the Most High. Alike (for Him) are those of you who conceal their words and those who speak openly, those who hide by night, and those who go forth by day. He has those (Helpers) who proceed forth on his behalf, both ahead and behind him, who protect him, by God’s command’ (*sūrat al-Ra’d*; XIII, v.9–11). By this latter wording, He is referring to Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

“He proceeded to make reference to Arbad and to his execution. God Almighty stated, ‘And when God intends harm for a people there is no averting it and from Him they have no protector. He it is who shows you lightning bringing fear and expectation, He who summons the heavy clouds. The thunder proclaims His praise and the angels too are in awe of Him. He sends the thunderbolts and uses them to strike whomever He wishes. Yet they dispute concerning God, and He is Mighty in power’” (*sūrat al-Ra’d*; XIII, v.11–13).

We have discussed these honoured verses in our exegesis of *sūrat al-Ra’d*. And to God goes all praise and credit.

Ibn Hishām, may God have mercy on him, did provide a chain of authorities for this additional comment he made.

We are also given an account by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī in his great compendium of *aḥādīth* in which he states, “Mas‘ada b. Sa‘d al-‘Aṭṭār related to us, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Umrān, quoting ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and ‘Abd Allāh, two sons of Zayd b. Aslam, from their father, from ‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who recounted that Arbad b. Qays b. Jaz’ b. Khālīd b. Ja‘far b. Kilāb and ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl b. Mālīk came to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. When they reached him, he was seated and they both sat down in front of him. ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl asked him, ‘Muḥammad, what will you do for me if I accept Islam?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘You will receive the same as the other Muslims and have the same obligations.’

“‘Āmir then asked, ‘If I accept Islam, will you ensure that I become leader after you?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘That shall not be for you or for your tribe. But you may have command over the cavalry.’ ‘Āmir responded, ‘I already now have control over all the cavalry of Najd. Give me control over the nomads, and you control the villages.’

“No,’ he replied. As he was leaving him, ‘Āmir said, ‘I am going to fill up this place with horses and men to fight you.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘God will prevent you.’

“When Arbad and ‘Āmir left, the latter suggested, ‘Arbad, I’ll distract Muḥammad from you by talking to him, and then you strike him with your sword. If you do kill Muḥammad, they’ll want no more than to be satisfied by

payment of the blood-wit. They dislike warfare. You'll just give them the blood-wit.' Arbad replied, 'I'll do it.'

"They proceeded back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and 'Āmir addressed him, 'Muḥammad, get up and come with me so I can talk to you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and went alone with him towards the wall where he stopped to talk to him. Arbad went to draw his sword, but when he touched it, his hand lost its grip on the sword's hilt and he could not unsheath it. Arbad was unable to strike him sufficiently quickly for 'Āmir, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned and, seeing Arbad and what he intended, walked away from them both.

"When Arbad and 'Āmir left the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and reached the lava plain of Wāqim, they halted. But Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Usayd b. al-Ḥudayr went out after them and said, 'Clear off, you enemies of God! God damn you both!' 'Āmir responded, 'Who is that, Sa'd?' 'That is Usayd b. Ḥudayr, of the cavalry squadrons,' he replied.

"They left, and while they were at al-Raqm, God sent a thunderbolt down on Arbad and killed him. 'Āmir then left, and when he was in the lava field, God sent a malignant growth to afflict him. That night he spent in the house of a woman of Banū Sa'lūl. He began feeling the growth on his neck and said, 'A growth like that of a camel, in the house of a woman of Banū Sa'lūl!' He loathed the idea of dying in her house.

"He then rode off on his horse, made it gallop, then died on it as he returned. God revealed about them both, 'God knows what every female . . .' and so on, to the words, 'He has those (Helpers) who proceed forth on his behalf . . .' By this, He was making reference to Muḥammad (ṢAAS). He then made a reference to Arbad and how God had killed him, then quoted the verse, 'He sends the thunderbolts and uses them . . .'"

This account suggests the early time frame of this incident concerning 'Āmir and Arbad; this is because it mentions Sa'd b. Mu'adh in it. But God knows best.

The arrival of the delegations of al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir al-Dawsī, may God be pleased with him, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Mecca and his acceptance of Islam have been treated above,³² and also how God placed a light between his eyes and he made a request to God, who removed it on to the end of his whip. we have detailed that above and have no need to repeat it here, as did al-Bayhaqi and others.

THE ARRIVAL OF ḌIMĀM B. THA'LABA TO SEE THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), ON BEHALF OF HIS TRIBE OF BANŪ SA'D B. BAKR.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Walid b. Nuwayfi' related to me, from Kurayb, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'Banū Sa'd b. Bakr sent Ḍimām b. Tha'laba with a delegation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

32. Vol. II, pp. 48-50.

“When he arrived, he made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it and entered the mosque while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated inside with his men. Ḍimām was a burly and hairy man who had two pigtails.

“He advanced, stood over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked, ‘Which one of you is ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s son?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘I am ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s son.’

“Ḍimām then asked, ‘Muḥammad?’ ‘Yes,’ he asked. ‘Son of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, I’ve got some tough questions to put to you; don’t be offended.’

“‘I’ll not be offended,’ he replied. ‘Ask what you want.’

“‘I adjure you by God, your God, and the God of those who came before you, and the God of those who will come after you, is it God who orders you that we worship Him alone, and associate none other with Him, and that we take down those idols that our fathers worshipped?’ ‘Yes, by God,’ he replied.

“‘I again adjure you by God, your God, and the God of those before and after you, is it God who ordered you that we pray those five prayers?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.

“Ḍimām then began referring to the religious duties of Islam, one by one – alms-giving, fasting, the pilgrimage and all the other ordinances of Islam. He went on to refer to each one specifically. When he had finished, he said, ‘I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. And I shall perform these duties and shall abstain from all that you prohibit. And I shall not add nor subtract anything.’

“He then went to his camel to go home. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘If that man with the two pigtails spoke the truth, he will enter paradise!’

“When Ḍimām reached his camel, he untied it and travelled home. His people gathered to meet him and the first thing he said was, ‘Al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā are evil!’ They told him, ‘Take care, Ḍimām! You might get leprosy! You might get elephantiasis! You might go crazy!’

“He replied, ‘Confound you all! Those two can do no harm nor good. God has sent a Messenger and revealed to him a book with which I will try to save you from your former error. I testify that there is no god but God alone who has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I have come to you from him with orders for what you should do and what he forbids you from doing.’

“And by God, that night and by next morning every man and woman there had become Muslims. And Ibn ‘Abbās said, ‘We never heard of anyone who came as a finer representative of any tribe than Ḍimām b. Thaḡlaba.’”

Imām Aḥmad related this similarly, from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhri, from his father, from Ibn Ishāq.

Abū Da‘ūd related this *ḥadīth* through Salama b. al-Faḍl, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Salama b. Kuhayl, and Muḥammad b. al-Walid b. Nuwayfi‘, from Kurayb, from Ibn ‘Abbās, in similar words.

In this text there is evidence of his having returned to his people before the conquest of Mecca, since Khālīd b. al-Walīd destroyed al-ʿUzzā during the days of that conquest.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Sabrā related to him, from Shurayk b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Nimr, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "In Rajab, 5 AH Banū Saʿd b. Bakr sent ʿĪmān b. Thaʿlaba out in a delegation to meet with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was a burly, thick-haired man with two pigtails.

"When he arrived, he stood over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him questions, doing so brusquely, about who had sent him, what he was sent with, and about the required duties of Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to him concerning all this and he went back to his people as a Muslim. He took down the idols and told them what orders he had received and what he had been forbidden from doing. And by the next morning, every single man and woman of them had become Muslims. They built mosques and instituted the call for prayer."

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim, quoting Sulaymān – meaning Ibn al-Mughīra – from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "We had been forbidden to pose any questions to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and it would amaze us to have some intelligent man come in from the desert and ask him questions while we listened.

"One man arrived from the desert and asked, 'Muḥammad, your messenger came to us and claimed that you claim that God sent you.' 'He spoke the truth,' he replied.

"'So who created the sky?' he asked. 'God.' 'And who created the earth?' 'God.' 'And who set up these mountains and placed things upon them?'

"He went on, 'By Him who created the sky and the earth and set up these mountains, was it God who sent you?' 'Yes.'

"'Your messenger claimed that we are required to perform five prayers each day and night.' 'He spoke the truth.' 'By Him who sent you, was it God who gave you this order?' 'Yes.'

"'Your messenger claimed that we are to give *zakāt* payments from our assets.' 'He spoke the truth.' 'By Him who sent you with the truth, did He really give you this order?' 'Yes.'

"'Your messenger claimed that we are required to fast for one month each year.' 'He spoke the truth.' 'By Him who sent you, was it God who gave you this order?' 'Yes,' he replied.

"'And your messenger claimed that everyone with the necessary means is required to make a pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.' 'He spoke the truth.'

"The man then turned aside, saying, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, I will not add to nor subtract from these at all.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'If he has spoken the truth, he will enter paradise.'"

This *ḥadīth* is included in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, as well as in other compendia, with various phraseology and lines of transmission, from Anas b. Mālīk, may God be pleased with him. Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Naḍr Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra. Al-Bukhārī also gave this *ḥadīth* from this source.

It is also given in similar form from another line. Imām Aḥmad stated, "Al-Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, quoting Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd, from Shurayk b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Nimr, who stated that he heard Anas b. Mālīk say, 'While we were seated in the mosque with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a man arrived on a camel that he made kneel and hobbled it there. He then asked, 'Which of you is Muḥammad?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there, resting among his Companions. We told him, 'He is this white-skinned man, the one reclining.'"

"The man addressed him, 'Son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib . . .' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'I will respond to you.' The man went on, 'Muḥammad, I want to ask you some tough questions; don't be offended at me.' 'Ask whatever you see fit.' The man went on, 'I adjure you by your Lord and the Lord of those who came before you, did God send you to all the people?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Yes, by God.'

"Again, I adjure you by God, was it God who gave you the order that we perform the five prayers each day and night?' 'By God, yes,' he affirmed.

"Then, I adjure you by God, was it God who ordered you that we fast this month each year?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Yes, by God!'

"I adjure you by God, was it God who ordered you to take these alms from our wealthy and to distribute them to our poor?' 'Yes, by God,' responded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The man went on, 'Then I believe the message you bring. I am an envoy on behalf of my people back home; my name is Ḍimām b. Thaʿlaba, a brother of Banū Saʿīd b. Bakr.'"

Imām al-Bukhārī related it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, from al-Layth b. Saʿīd, from Saʿīd al-Maqbūrī.

Abu Dāʿūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja related this from al-Layth.

It is curious that al-Nasāʾī related it from a line other than through al-Layth. He stated, "Ibn ʿAjlān and others of our colleagues, related it to me from Saʿīd al-Maqbūrī, from Shurayk, from Anas b. Mālīk . . ." and he then gave the *ḥadīth*. Al-Nasāʾī also related it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿUmārī, from Saʿīd al-Maqbūrī, from Abū Hurayra. Perhaps it was derived from Saʿīd al-Maqbūrī from both of these other sources. God knows best.

DIVISION

We have given above³³ the account related by Imām Aḥmad, from Yahyā b. ʿĀdam, from Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, from Dāʿūd b. Abū Hind, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr,

33. See Vol. II.

from Ibn 'Abbās, relating to the arrival of ʿĪmām al-Azdī to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca before the Hijra and of the acceptance of Islam by the former and by his people. Our previous account is of sufficient detail to need no repetition here. And to God be all praise and credit.

*THE DELEGATION OF ṬAYYIP WITH 'ZAYD OF THE HORSES'
MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.*

This man was Zayd b. Muḥallil b. Zayd b. Manḥib, known as Abū Muknif al-Ṭā'ī. He was one of the finest of the Arabs, and one of their tallest. He was called, "Zayd of the horses" because of five mares he owned.

Al-Suḥaylī noted, "Each of these horses had a name, but these at present escape me."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A delegation from Banū Ṭā'ī, led by 'Zayd of the horses', came to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When they reached him, they spoke with him, and he explained Islam to them which they accepted; they became good Muslims.

"A man of Ṭā'ī whom I trust told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'I have never met an Arab previously referred to me as of high reputation whom I have not found, on meeting him, to fall short of what is ascribed to him. Except for 'Zayd of the horses'; his reputation did not do justice to him.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then renamed him Zayd al-Khayr, 'Zayd the good', instead of Zayd al-Khayl, 'Zayd of the horses'. He then deeded to him Fayḍ³⁴ and two properties along with it, giving him a document to that effect.

"Zayd then left to travel back to his people; as he did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Let's hope Zayd avoids catching the Medina fever.'

"The source for this report said that he did not actually use the term *ḥummā*, 'fever', nor did he use its commonly used nickname *Umm Maldam*; however, my source did not actually give the term he used."³⁵

Ibn Ishāq continued, "When Zayd travelled on and reached one of the wells in Najd called Farda, he was fatally stricken by the fever. As he sensed the approach of death, he said,

'Shall my people move on in the morning to the East
while I am left in a house in Farda in Nejd?

Many was the day that women would visit with me, even
when sick, or tired but not exhausted by journeying.'

"After his death, his wife, due to her ignorance and the scant nature of both her intellect and her faith, took all the documents Zayd had with him and burned them."

34. Land to the east of Salmā, a mountain in Banū Ṭā'ī territory.

35. The Arabic printed text quotes al-Suḥaylī as stating that the word used was *Umm Kalba*.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Abū Saʿīd, that ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib sent a nugget of gold to the value of a *dhahabīyya* from Yemen to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who distributed it between four persons: Zayd al-Khayl, ʿAlqama b. ʿUlātha, al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis and ʿUyayna b. Badr; this *ḥadīth* is similar to that given above. An account of this will be given hereafter, relating to the dispatch of ʿAlī to Yemen, if God Almighty so wills it.

The Story of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭaʿī.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection under a section headed: *The Delegation from Banū al-Ṭayyʿ and the ḥadīth of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim*. Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to us, as did Abū ʿAwāna and ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, from ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, who said, “We came to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in a delegation and he began calling out to us by name, one by one. I asked, ‘Don’t you know me, Commander of the Believers?’ ‘O yes,’ he replied, ‘you accepted Islam when others disbelieved. You advanced when they retreated. You were true when they betrayed. You recognized when they denied.’”

ʿAdī said, “So I responded, ‘Well, I don’t mind³⁶ then!’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, so I have been told, used to say, ‘No Arab more disliked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he first heard of him than did I. Of high birth, I was also a Christian. I used to move among my people collecting my fourth share. I was content about my religion and was treated by my subjects like a king.

“When I heard about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I hated him. I told an Arab slave of mine who was herdsman for my camels, “Get some of my camels well trained and fattened and keep them close by me. If you hear of Muḥammad’s army setting foot in this area, then warn me.” And he did so.

“He came to me one morning and said, “ʿAdī, do now whatever you intended if Muḥammad’s cavalry were to come; I’ve seen banners, and when I asked about them I was told they were Muḥammad’s armies.” I told him, “Bring up my camels!” And he did so. Having mounted up my family, I announced, “I’m going to join my fellow Christians in Syria.”

“I travelled to al-Jawshiyya, at which town I left a daughter of (my father) Ḥātim. When I reached Syria, I took up residence there. Muḥammad’s cavalry came on after me and among the prisoners they took was Ḥātim’s daughter. She was conducted in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with other prisoners of Banū Ṭayyʿ; he had heard of my flight to Syria.

“Ḥātim’s daughter was placed in an enclosure near the door of the mosque where prisoners were kept. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) happened to pass by there, Ḥātim’s daughter, a woman of fine intellect, arose to greet him and

36. The caliph’s evident high regard for ʿAdī has removed the latter’s sense of offence at not having been called upon earlier.

said, 'Messenger of God, my father is dead and my *wāfid*,³⁷ 'guardian', has gone. So please spare me – and may God spare you!"

"He asked, "And who is your guardian?" "Adī b. Ḥātim," she replied. "The one who fled from God and His Messenger?" he asked.

"She (later) stated, 'He then went away, leaving me there. Next morning, he again passed by; I said as I had before, and he made the same response as the previous day.'

"The following morning, he again passed and I was in despair. A man following behind him gestured to me to get up and speak to him. I did so, saying, 'Messenger of God, my father is dead and my guardian absent; please spare me. And may God spare you!'

"He responded, 'So be it. But do not hasten to leave before you find someone of your people whom you trust who can conduct you home. Let me know.' I asked about the man who had gestured to me to speak to him and I was told that he was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalib.'

"She went on, 'I remained until riders came from Balī or Quḍā'a. All I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, a group of my people have arrived and I consider them trustworthy.'" She went on, "He gave me clothing and a mount and expense money; I then left with them and arrived in Syria."'''

'Adī went on, "There I was, I swear, sitting with my family when I saw a *howdah* heading for our people. I said, 'That will be Ḥātim's daughter.' And there she was! When she stood there before me, she burst out, 'You absolute villain! You carried off your wife and family, yet left your father's daughter unprotected!' I responded, 'Come on now, sister; speak only good! I swear, I have no excuse. I did just as you say.'

"She then dismounted and remained there with me. I asked her, knowing her to be a sensible woman, 'What is your view of this man?' She replied, 'In my opinion you should join him quickly. If the man is a prophet, then all the more virtue to those who go to him first. If he is a king, then you'll not be bringing any shame to the glory of Yemen, being who you are.'

"I said, 'By God, that's good advice.' I then left and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. I went to him in his mosque and greeted him. He asked, 'Who is this man?' I replied, 'Adī b. Ḥātim.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and took me home with him. On the way with me there an infirm old woman came up and stopped him. He stood there talking with her for a long time about her problem. I told myself, 'By God, this is no king!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took me to his home. When I went inside, he picked up a leather cushion stuffed with palm leaves and threw it to

37. An obscure word; the context here seems to require "guardian" as its translation, since her comment refers to her near relative, the narrator.

me, saying, 'Here, sit down on this.' I replied, 'No, you sit on it.' 'No, you,' he insisted.

"So I did sit, while he seated himself on the floor. Again I told myself, 'This is not the action of a king!'

"He then said, 'Well then, 'Adī b. Ḥātim, so you're a *rakūsi*,³⁸ right?' 'That's right,' I agreed.

"'You've been taking a quarter share from your people, haven't you?' he asked. 'Yes,' I agreed. 'But that's not appropriate for you in your religion,' he commented. 'I swear, you're quite right,' I said, conscious of him being a prophet, aware of things not well known.

"He then said, 'Maybe, 'Adī, the only thing preventing you joining the faith is the poverty of our people. I swear by God, wealth is about to flood over them so that there won't be enough to take it! Or perhaps you don't enter the faith because of the large number of our enemies. I swear by God, you'll soon be hearing of women who come riding camels from Qādisiyya³⁹ to visit this house, and without being afraid. Or maybe what's holding you back is your seeing that others have control and sovereignty over them. I swear by God, you'll soon hear of the white castles of Babylon being conquered by them.'"

'Adī concluded, "At that I accepted Islam."

Ibn Ishāq's account continues, "'Adī used to say, 'Two of these (predictions) came to pass, but the third remained unfulfilled. But, I swear, it too was to be fulfilled! I did see the white castles of Babylon conquered. And I also saw women borne on *howdahs* from al-Qādisiyya and make pilgrimage to the *ka'ba* without fear. And, I swear, the third will happen too; wealth will flood in until there won't be those to take it!'"

This is how Ibn Ishāq, may God have mercy on him, gave this text – without a chain of transmission. But there are witnesses to this *ḥadīth* from other sources.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja'far, quoting Shu'ba, quoting Simāk b. Ḥarb, quoting 'Abbād b. Ḥubaysh, who related the following *ḥadīth* from 'Adī b. Ḥātim, who said, "The cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived while I was at 'Aqrab.⁴⁰ They took prisoner my aunt and others. When these were later lined up before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she said, 'Messenger of God, my guardian is far away, and I am separated from my children. I'm just an elderly woman with no servants. Spare me – and may God spare you!'

"He asked her, 'Who is your guardian?' 'Adī b. Ḥātim,' she replied.

38. A religion considered to share elements of Christianity with those of Sabianism.

39. An ancient city in Iraq, the site of the famous battle in the caliphate of 'Umar. By "this house", the *ka'ba* is presumably implied. The comment suggests that Islam would establish an empire in which security would prevail.

40. A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that this might be a mistake for 'Aqrabā, a town in Jūlān, near Damascus.

"He asked, 'The man who fled from God and His Messenger?'"

"Spare me," she asked.

"When he next came back, there was another man at his side who I think to have been 'Alī, who said, 'Ask him for a *howdah*. She did so, and he ordered one.'"

'Adī went on, "Then she came to me and said, 'Your father would never have done as you have! Go to him, whether hoping for gain or pity. So-and-so went and were rewarded, as others have been.'"

"I did go to him and he had with him a woman with two children and another boy. He mentioned their relationship to him. I then knew that this was not the domain of some Chosroe or Caesar.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Adī b. Ḥātim, what made you flee? Was it having the words, "There is no god but God" spoken? Is there any god but God? What made you flee? Was it due to the words, "*Allāhu Akbar!* 'God is most Great!'" spoken? Is there anything greater than God, Almighty and Glorious is He?' So I accepted Islam and saw his face rejoice. He then said, "The ones *al-maghḍūb 'alayhim*, 'who have incurred (God's) wrath', refers to the Jews; the *al-qālin*, 'those who are straying' refers to the Christians."⁴¹

"Then questions were asked of him, and he gave praise and thanks to God. He went on to say, 'To proceed: people, it is up to you to give from (your) surplus. Give a man (the measure of) a *sā'*; or one part of a *sā'*; or a handful; or part of a handful.' (Shu'ba stated, 'As far as I know, he also said, "or a date; or half a date".')

"(The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on) 'Each of you will meet God, saying as I am, "Did I not make you hearing and seeing? Did I not give you wealth and children? Yet what have you offered?" Each person will then look before and behind him, to his right and to his left and find nothing but hell-fire wherever he looks. Fear the fire, even if by giving only half a date! And if you do not possess that, then give a kind word. I fear not poverty for you. God will certainly aid you until a *howdah*-borne woman can travel between al-Ḥira and Yathrib (Medina) with the worst fear she has being to be robbed while travelling.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba and 'Amr b. Abū Qays, both of them quoting Simāk. He then said, "This is *ḥasan*, *gharib*; 'good' and 'unilateral'; we know it only from the *ḥadīth* of Simāk."

Imām Aḥmad also stated, "Yazīd related to us, quoting Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from Abū 'Ubayda – he being Ḥudhayfā's son – from a man who said, 'I told 'Adī b. Ḥātim, "I've heard a *ḥadīth* attributed to you that I would like to hear from you." "Certainly," he replied. "When I learned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had come forth (with his mission) I very much hated his having done so. I left and travelled into Byzantine territory" – in one version the wording is, "until I reached Caesar" – "but I hated my being there even more than I did his having come forth (with his mission)."

41. The Arabic phrases given here are from the *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*; I, v.7.

“““So I told myself, ‘If I go to this man, it will not harm me if he is a liar; and if he is being truthful, then I will have learned.’ So I did go to him and when I arrived, people said, ‘It’s ‘Adi b. Ḥātim!’

“““When I went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked me, ‘Adi b. Ḥātim, *aslim, taslim!*, “accept Islam and be safe!” He said this three times.

“““I replied, ‘But I already have a faith.’ He commented, ‘I know more about your faith than you do!’

““““You know more of my faith than I?’ I asked. ‘Yes,’ he said. ‘Aren’t you of the *al-rakūsiyya*?⁴² And yet you take a fourth of your people’s produce?’ ‘Yes,’ I acknowledged. ‘Well,’ he commented, ‘that’s not permissible for you in your faith.’ ‘Yes,’ I agreed. And as soon as he said this, I came to agree about it.

“““He went on, ‘And I know what is keeping you from Islam. You say, “It’s only those with the least power who follow him, those with no power, and the Arabs attack them.” Do you know al-Ḥira?’ ‘I’ve not seen it; but I have heard of it,’ I replied. ‘I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand,’ he went on, ‘God will so conclude all this that women borne on *howdahs* will come out of al-Ḥira and circumambulate the *ka’ba* without having any to protect them! And He will conquer the treasuries of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz! The treasures of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz, and the money will be distributed bountifully until there will be no one to accept it!’

““““And,’ ‘Adi b. Ḥāzim went on, ‘these women borne on camels did come and circumambulate the *ka’ba* without (needing) any to protect them. Moreover, I was one of those who conquered the treasuries of Chosroe and the third prediction will come about because it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said it!’”””

(Imām) Aḥmad then stated, “Yūnus b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from Abū ‘Ubayda b. Ḥudhayfa, from a man – and Ḥammād and Ḥāshim stated it, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū ‘Ubayda, but not quoting in the chain of authorities from ‘a man’ – who said, ‘I used to ask people about the *ḥadīth* of ‘Adi b. Ḥātim while he was right there nearby, but did not ask him. Then I went and did ask him, and he agreed to recount the *ḥadīth*.’”

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ‘Amr al-Adīb, quoting Abū Bakr al-Isma‘īlī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān, quoting Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, quoting al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, quoting Isrā‘īl, quoting Sa‘d al-Ṭā‘ī, quoting Maḥl b. Khalīfa, from ‘Adi b. Ḥātim, who said, “While I was with the Prophet (ṢAAS), a man came in to see him, and complained about his poverty. Then another man came to him and complained to him about highway robbery.

“He then asked, “Adi b. Ḥātim, have you seen al-Ḥira?” I replied, ‘I’ve not seen it, but I’ve been told about it,’ ‘Well,’ he said, ‘if you live long enough, you’ll see women borne in *howdahs* ride in from al-Ḥira and circumambulate the *ka’ba* fearing no one except God, Almighty and Glorious is He.’

42. A derogatory term applied to a faith said to combine the beliefs of Christians and Sabians.

"I asked myself, 'So where are those toughs of Ṭayyī' who set the country afire?'"

"He went on, 'And if your life continues long enough, the treasures of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz will be conquered.' 'What? Chosroe, son of Hurmuz?' I asked. 'Yes, Chosroe, son of Hurmuz. And if your life continues long enough, you'll see a man come along bearing a palm full of gold or silver who asks everyone he meets to accept it, and he'll find no one. And on the day you each meet with God, you'll find you have no intermediary between yourself and Him, and that you'll see only hell-fire if you look to the right and only hell-fire if you look to the left.'"

'Adī went on, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Fear the fire, even if (by donating) only half a date. And if you can't find half a date, then (speak) a kind word.'"

"And I did see *howdahs* arriving from al-Kūfa so their women could circum-ambulate the *ka'ba* and having fear only of God the Almighty and Glorious. I was one of those who conquered the treasures of Chosroe b. Hurmuz; and if you live long enough, you'll see (fulfilled) all that Abū al-Qāsim, God's peace and blessings be upon him, spoke."

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam, from al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, in full. He also related it on a different line of transmission, from Sa'dān b. Bishr, from Sa'd Abū Mujāhid al-Ṭā'ī, from Maḥall b. Khalifa, from 'Adī. Imām Aḥmad and al-Nasā'ī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Sa'd Abū Mujāhid al-Ṭā'ī.

'Āmir b. Shuraḥbīl al-Sha'bī is also one of those who narrated this, and he did so in similar words. His version has the wording, "... having fear only of God and of wolves attacking their sheep."

It is related in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, and by Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya, both of them quoting Ibn Ishāq, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'qīl al-Muzanī, from 'Adī b. Ḥatīm, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Fear hell-fire, even if only on account of half a date!'"

The phrase given by Muslim is, "Whoever among you can shield himself from hell-fire by means of half a date should do so."

There are other lines of transmission also that testify to the above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting Abū Sa'īd, 'Ubayd b. Kathīr b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Kūfī, quoting Ḍirār b. Ṣurad, quoting 'Āṣim b. Ḥāmid, from Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab, from Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'ī, who said, "'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib stated, 'Glory be to God! How many a man who acts pious for gain! How strange is someone who is approached by his Muslim brother in need yet does not see his way to doing good. For even if he did not hope for reward or fear punishment, he ought to make haste in acting with nobility, for it is such deeds that lead to success.'"

"A man thereupon arose to ask him, 'O Commander of the Believers, I pledge you my father and my mother, did you hear that from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' 'Ali replied, 'Yes. And I have a tale even better than that. When the Ṭayyī women were brought in as captives, one of them was red-haired, cherry-lipped, smooth-skinned, slender-necked, fine-nosed, with an erect figure, raised head, full ankles, plump legs, rounded thighs, slim waist, slender sides and well-shaped body. I was much struck by her when I saw her and said I would request the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to award her to me in my portion of the booty. But when she spoke, I forgot her beauty for the eloquence I heard. She said, "O Muḥammad, will you not release me and spare me the malicious gloating of the Arab tribes, for I am the daughter of the leader of my people. My father was guardian of our sacred objects; he relieved the distressed, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, gave generous hospitality, provided the best of food, spread peace abroad, and never refused the request of the needy. I am the daughter of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī."

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "O girl, all that truly describes the Believers. Had your father been a believer, we would certainly have been merciful to him. Release her, for her father was a man who loved noble character traits, and God Almighty loves noble character traits."

"At that Abū Burda b. Niyār arose and asked, "Messenger of God, does God really love noble character?"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "By Him in whose hand is my soul, no one will enter heaven except by noble character.""⁴³

This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, "good", in its content, but very *gharīb*, "unique", in its line of transmission. Its *mukhrīj*, "narrator", is highly esteemed.

We have reviewed the biography of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī in the *jāhiliyya* period in reference to those men of fame who died during that time. Therein we commented upon those qualities of goodness and kindness that made him believed by people. However, (we showed that) the extent of the advantage to him of these qualities was dependent upon his faith; he was of those who never spoke the words, "O God, forgive me my sins on the Day of Judgement."

Al-Wāqidī claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib in Rabi' al-Ākhir of 9 AH into Ṭayyī territory and brought back prisoners who included the sister of 'Adī b. Ḥātim. With him he also brought two swords that had been in the temple for the idols; one of them was called *al-rasūb*, "the deep-cutter", the other *al-mikhdam*, "the sharp-slicer". Al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shamar had presented them as an offering to the idol there.

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, also gave a section under the heading, *The Story of (Banū) Daws and al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr*.

He stated that it was related to him by Abū Nu'aym, quoting Sufyān, from Ibn Dhakwān – he being 'Abd Allāh b. Ziyād – from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-A'raj, from

43. This *ḥadīth* is also given above: Vol I, pages 152–4.

Abū Hurayra, who said, "Al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, '(Banū) Daws are done for; they have been disobedient and have refused (Islam); so pray to God against them.'

"However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, give Daws guidance and bring them.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this with this line of transmission.

He then went on, "Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Ismā'īl, from Qays, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'As I made my way to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I recited to myself, "O night, how long and difficult you are; however, you have freed me from the abode of disbelief!"

"On the way, a slave of mine escaped and, having reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and pledged my allegiance to him, I was still there with him when the slave suddenly appeared. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, "Abū Hurayra, this is your slave." I replied, "He is freed for God's sake." And I manumitted him."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*, from a *ḥadīth* of Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Hāzim.

The arrival of al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr, to which al-Bukhārī refers here, occurred before the Hijra. Moreover, even if his arrival is calculated as after the Hijra, it came before the conquest of Mecca. This is because Daws brought Abū Hurayra when they came. And his arrival coincided with the siege of Khaybar by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Hurayra then left again and came back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar after the conquest and some of the spoils (of Khaybar) were awarded to them. We have covered all this at appropriate length in its appropriate place.

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, gives a further section entitled, *The Arrival of the Ash'aris and the people from Yemen*.

He then proceeded to relate from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-A'mash, from Dhakwān Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "The people of Yemen have come to you. They are most gentle and kind. Faith is (a characteristic) of Yemen; wisdom is of Yemen. Pride and arrogance reside in those with camels, while tranquillity and seriousness resides in those with sheep."

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba.

Al-Bukhārī then related it from Abū al-Yamān, from Shu'ayb, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-A'raj, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "The people of Yemen have come to you. They are most kind and sensitive. Understanding the faith and wisdom are (characteristics) of Yemen."

He then related, from Ismā'īl, from Sulaymān, from Thawr, from Abū al-Mughith, from Abū Hurayra (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Belief is of Yemen, while *al-fitna*,⁴⁴ 'trouble', is over here. It is over here that Satan's horn appears."

44. The word bears connotations of dissension and civil unrest.

Muslim related it from Shuʿayb, from al-Zuhri, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra.

Al-Bukhārī then went on to relate from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Ismāʿīl, from Qays, from Abū Masʿūd, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Faith is over here” – gesturing towards Yemen – “while insensitivity and harshness of heart are qualities of those concerned only with their camels; and from them the two horns of Satan will emerge. (They are the tribes of) Rabiʿa and Muḍar.”

Thus do al-Bukhārī and also Muslim relate it, from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Abū Masʿūd ʿUqba b. ʿAmr.

Al-Bukhārī proceeded to relate a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū Ṣakhra Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād, quoting Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz, from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, “Banu Tamīm came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he told them, ‘Accept my good tidings, Banū Tamīm!’ They replied, ‘Having now awarded us your good tidings, how about you also giving us something?’ At that the expression of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) changed. Some people from Yemen then came in and he told them. ‘You accept my good tidings; Banū Tamīm have not done so.’ They responded, ‘We do accept them, Messenger of God.’”

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī.

All of this goes to show the superiority of the delegations from the people of Yemen, regardless of the lateness of their arrival. The lateness of the arrival of the Banū Tamīm delegation need not necessarily be placed in comparison with the arrival of the Ashʿarīs. Indeed, the arrival of the delegation of the Ashʿarīs preceded this. They came in the company of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, accompanied by Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and his fellow *muhājirīn* who had been in Abyssinia. And this all happened while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged in the conquest of Khaybar, as we have detailed in its appropriate place above.⁴⁵ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had then made his statement, “I swear by God, I don’t know which makes me happier; the arrival of Jaʿfar, or the conquest of Khaybar!” But God, Almighty and Glorious is He, knows best.

Al-Bukhārī then proceeded with his section on *The Story of ʿUmān and al-Baḥrayn*. He stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr, quoting Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, ‘When the money arrives from al-Baḥrayn, I’ll give you so-much and so-much and so-much.’ He gave three figures. But the money from al-Baḥrayn did not arrive before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died.

“When it came in for (the Caliph) Abū Bakr, he ordered a crier to announce, ‘Anyone having an outstanding debt or payment due him from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should come to me.’”

Jābir went on, “So I went to Abū Bakr and told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, ‘When the money arrives from Baḥrayn, I’ll give you so-much and so-much,’ mentioning three figures. But he turned away from me.

45. In Vol. III, page 245 *et seq.*

"So thereafter I again met Abū Bakr and asked him, but again he gave me nothing. Once more I went and he still did not give to me. And I did this yet a third time, with him still not giving to me. I then told him, 'I have repeatedly come to you and asked you to give me payment but you have not done so. Either you pay me, or you will be treating me in a miserly manner. Are you being a miser?' He replied, 'What curse would be worse than miserliness!' He said this three times, then went on, 'Every time I refused you, I really did want to give to you.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this here in this way. Muslim related it from 'Amr al-Nāqid, from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna.

Al-Bukhārī proceeded to state, "And from 'Amr, from Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh is quoted as having said, 'I went to him and Abū Bakr (gave me the money and) said, "So count it." I did so and found it to be 500 *dirhams*. He then said, "Now, take the same, twice over."'"

Al-Bukhārī also related it from 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, from Sufyān – he being Ibn 'Uyayna – from 'Amr b. Dīnār, from Muḥammad b. 'Alī Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir, from Jābir. This account is similar to that from Qutayba. Both he and Muslim also related it through other lines of transmission, from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from 'Amr, from Muḥammad b. 'Alī, from Jābir in similar form. In another account he is said to have given orders and his hands were piled high with coins which he counted; they amounted to 500 *dirhams*. He then doubled it twice – that is, the total he gave him was 1,500 *dirhams*.

THE DELEGATION OF FARWA B. MUSAYK AL-MURĀDĪ, ONE OF HIS PEOPLE'S LEADERS, TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī came in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having abandoned and separated from the kings of Kinda.

"A conflict had arisen between his people of Murād and (Bantū) Hamdān. In that engagement, known as the battle of Radm, Hamdān had severely beaten his people; the leader of the Hamdān force had been al-Ajda' b. Mālik."

Ibn Hishām stated that he is also said to have been Mālik b. Kharim al-Hamdānī.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Farwa b. Musayk spoke the following verses on that day:

"They passed by Lafāt, their eyes fatigued, pulling at their reins, turning aside.

Should we be conquered, well, we were conquerors once, and if (now) conquered, then by others than those we conquered.

It is not our way to be cowards, but our fate and the wishes of others (influence the outcome).

Thus it is that fate revolves, its revolutions going around and around.

We may be pleased and contented with our lot and may have enjoyed its bounties for years.

The cycles of fate may reverse their course and those formerly envied are suddenly crushed.

Those who are envied for bounty from fate may find the turns of time treacherous.

If kings were immortal, so would we be; and if men of nobility lived for ever, so would we.

The leaders of my people pass away, just as have those of former times."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "And as Farwa left the kings of Kinda on his way to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said:

'Having seen how the kings of Kinda went astray, like a man betrayed by his thigh joints,

I brought up my mount to head for Muḥammad, hoping for his favours and all they entail.'

"When Farwa reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter asked him, so I have been told, 'Farwa, did what befell your people at the battle of al-Radim truly upset you?'

"He replied, 'Messenger of God, what man would not be upset to have happen to his people what happened to mine?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him, 'That can only compound for your people the benefit Islam will bring them.' He then appointed Farwa as governor over Murād, all of Zubayd and Madhij, sending out with him Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ to collect the alms; he remained there with him in his territory until the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

THE ARRIVAL OF 'AMR B. MA'DI KARIB WITH PERSONS FROM (BANU) ZABID.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When news of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached them, 'Amr b. Ma'di Karib had said to Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādi, 'Qays, you are your people's leader; we have been told that a man of Quraysh named Muḥammad has come forth in Ḥijāz saying that he is a prophet. Let's go to him and gain knowledge of him. If a prophet, as he says, we'll find out, and if we decide him to be one, we'll follow him. If not, we'll know that too.' But Qays refused to do this and ridiculed his view.

"'Amr b. Ma'di Karib then left and rode to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he accepted Islam, believing and having faith in him. When news of that reached Qays b. Makshūḥ, he made threats against 'Amr for having acted against his own wishes and views.

"On that subject, 'Amr b. Ma'di Karib spoke the following verses:

'I advised you on that day at Ṣan'a in a manner that was plainly wise

I advised you to fear God, to act with charity and to subject yourself to Him.

But you went off out of your lust, like an ass led on by his member!

He wanted me to be on a horse, seated on it like a lion.

Dressed in a coat of mail (shining) like a pool of water, its water clear, lying on rocky, flat ground.

Armor that will fend off lances having bent their heads, making them fly off in pieces.

Had you met me in battle, you would have found me like a lion with a towering mane,

A fierce lion, its claws raised about its shoulders

Facing its opponent; if his rival makes for him, he throws him over,

Grips him, raises him, brings him down and kills him,

Crushing his brains, smashing him, biting him and devouring him,

Refusing to share what his own fangs and claws grip fast.”

Ibn Ishāq proceeded, “‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib remained there among his people of Banū Zubayd while Farwa b. Musayk was their governor. Following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib apostatized along with the others and spoke the following verses satirizing Farwa b. Musayk:

‘We found the rule of Farwa the worst ever – an ass, his nose sniffing at a female organ!

When one looks at Abū ‘Umayr, one is reminded of the disgusting afterbirth from a camel!’”

I note that he returned to Islam thereafter and was a good Muslim. He participated in many of the conquests made during the rule of Abū Bakr and that of ‘Umar, may God be pleased with them both.

He was a brave and renowned warrior and hero, as well as a fine poet. He died in 21 AH after having taken part in the battle of Nahāwand; it is alternatively said that he took part in the battle of al-Qādisiyya and was killed on that day.

Abū ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Barr stated, “His arrival to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred in 9 AH. However, according to what is related by Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi, this took place in 10 AH.”

I note that al-Shāfi‘ī gives evidence in support of this. But God knows best.

Yūnus stated, quoting from Ibn Ishāq, who said, “It has been said that ‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib did not actually go to see the Prophet (ṢAAS). On that subject he (‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib) is quoted as having spoken the following verses:

‘I am in myself fully convinced by the Prophet, even if I have not seen him with my own eyes.

He is the master of all men, and the closest to God when his stature became manifest.

He brought the law from the presence of God, and he was *al-Amin*, “the trustworthy”, given help thereby.

In wisdom after wisdom and in light by which we were led aright out of our blindness.

We rode along the (right) path when we rode with him, new in both what we dislike and liked.

We worshipped God in truth, whereas before having worshipped idols, in our ignorance,

We became allied with him, whereas we had been enemies, and we came back with him, as friends.

Peace be upon him, and peace from us (to him) wherever we were and wherever he be.

Even if we did not see the Prophet, we followed his path in faith.’”

THE ARRIVAL OF AL-ASH‘ATH B. QAYS IN A DELEGATION FROM KINDA.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Al-Ash‘ath b. Qays came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in a delegation from Kinda.

“Al-Zuhri related to me that he came as one of a party of 80 riders from Kinda. They went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his mosque, having curled their long hair, put *kuhl*, ‘mascara’, around their eyes and dressed in multi-coloured robes with silken edges.

“When they entered in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he asked them, ‘Would you not accept Islam?’ ‘Why yes,’ they replied. ‘Then why is there this silk around your necks?’ They ripped it off and discarded it.

“Al-Ash‘ath b. Qays then told him, ‘Messenger of God, we are, just as you are yourself, from the tribe of the *‘ākil al-murār*, “the one who ate bitter herbs”.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, ‘People do ascribe this ancestry to al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Rabī‘a b. al-Hārith.’

“These two men referred to were merchants and when they travelled out among the Arabs and were asked who they were, they would reply, ‘We are sons of Ākil al-Murār’; that is, they would attribute their ancestry to Kinda to acquire prestige. This is because Kinda had been kings. And Kinda considered that Quraysh were their descendants, because of this comment made by ‘Abbās and Rabī‘a. The full name of this Ākil al-Murār was al-Hārith b. ‘Amr b. Hījr b. ‘Amr b. Mu‘āwiya b. al-Hārith b. Mu‘āwiya b. Thawr b. Murti‘ b. Mu‘āwiya b. Kindī, also known as Ibn Kinda.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told them, 'But really we are descendants of al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we don't cast aspersions on our mothers, nor do we deny our fathers.'

"Al-Ash'ath b. Qays then told his companions, 'By God, people of Kinda, any man I hear say that in future I'll give 80 lashes!'"

This *ḥadīth* is also narrated from a different and unbroken line of authorities. Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Bahz and 'Affān, both of whom said that it was related to them by Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting 'Aqīl b. Ṭalḥa. In his *ḥadīth*, 'Affān said that he had been informed by 'Aqīl b. Ṭalḥa al-Sulamī, from Muslim b. Ḥayṣam, from al-Ash'ath b. Qays, who is quoted as saying, "I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in a delegation from Kinda" – 'Uthmān added the words "... and they did not consider me the best man among them" – "and I told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'I am a cousin; you are one of us.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'We are of Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we neither cast aspersions on our mother, nor do we deny our father.'

"Al-Ash'ath then said, 'I swear by God, anyone I hear denying that Quraysh is descended from al-Naḍr b. Kināna, I'll whip to the limit.'"

Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yazīd b. Ḥārūn; from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Ḥārūn b. Ḥayyān, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Mughira. All three lines give their source as Ḥammād b. Salama.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Shurayḥ b. al-Nu'mān, quoting Hushaym, quoting Mujālid, from al-Sha'bi, quoting al-Ash'ath b. Qays as saying, "I went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in a delegation from Kinda and he asked me, 'Do you have children?' 'A son was born to me as I was leaving to come to you, her mother being the daughter of Jamad. I want his role to be that of our people's provider.'

"He responded, 'Don't say that; they will be made content and given reward, if they should die. And if you say as you have, then they will become cowardly and pitiable; yes, cowardly and pitiable!'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; it is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan*, "good", and it has a fine line of transmission.

THE ARRIVAL OF A'SHĀ B. MĀZIN TO THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

'Abd Allāh, son of Imām Aḥmad, stated that it was related to him by al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-'Azīm al-'Anbarī, quoting Abū Salama 'Ubayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī, who said, "Al-Junayd b. Amīn b. Dhirwa b. Naḍla b. Ṭarīf b. Naḥṣil al-Ḥirmilazī related to me, quoting Abū Amīn, quoting his father Dhirwa, from his father Naḍla, that one of their men, called al-A'shā, his actual name being 'Abd Allāh al-A'mmar, had a wife named Mu'adha. He went forth in Rajab to seek supplies from his family from Hijr. After he had left, his wife fled, in

defiance of him, and took refuge with a man of their tribe called Muṭarrif b. Nahshal b. Naʿb b. Qumaythaʿ b. Dulaf b. Aḥḍam b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥirmāz who hid her. When al-Aʿshā returned home and did not find his wife there, he was told that she had left him and had sought refuge with Muṭarrif b. Nahshal. Al-Aʿshā went to this man and asked him, ‘Cousin, if my wife Muʿādha is with you, hand her over to me.’ ‘She is not here,’ he replied. ‘And even if she were, I’d not give her over to you!’

“Now Muṭarrif was more powerful than him. So al-Aʿshā went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), to seek his help and recited the following verses:

‘Lord of men, he who gives religion to the Arabs, I
complain to you about someone sharp of tongue
Like a long-haired female wolf in the shade of her
lair; I went out to find food for her in Rajab
She left me in dispute and fled; she broke the promise
and hid in disgrace.
She defamed me among the crowd of impure lineage. And
women can be overwhelmingly evil to those they overcome.’

“At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘They can be overwhelmingly evil for those (evil spirits) who control them.’⁴⁶

“Al-Aʿshā went on to complain to him about his wife’s behaviour and how she had gone off to a man of their tribe named Muṭarrif b. Nahshal. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then wrote a letter to this Muṭarrif saying, ‘As for Muʿādha, the wife of this man; return her to him!’

“When he received this note and it was read to him, he told her, ‘Muʿādha, this is a letter from the Prophet (ṢAAS) about you. I’m giving you over to him.’ She replied, ‘Get a firm pact from him and the protection from his prophet that he will not punish me for what I did.’ He obtained this commitment and Muṭarrif gave her back to him, whereupon he (al-Aʿshā) spoke the following verses:

‘Neither my love for Muʿādha, I swear, nor time itself,
will bring change to the slanderer
The evil she wrought is nothing, made trivial by the
lustful calls of men (to her) after me.’”

THE ARRIVAL OF ṢURAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-AZDĪ AMONG SOME MEN OF HIS TRIBE, AND THEN AFTER THEM THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE OF JURASH.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ṣurad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī then came in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), among a delegation of Banū al-Azd. He accepted Islam and was a good Muslim. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him as governor

46. The comment of the Prophet (ṢAAS), despite his use of the same words as the poet, seems to require the interpretation given here.

over those of his people who had accepted Islam. He gave him orders to fight alongside those who had accepted Islam against the polytheists of the neighbouring tribes of Yemen.

"He proceeded to besiege Jurash, wherein were some of the Yemeni tribesmen. Banū Khath'am had taken refuge with them when they had heard of his approach. He besieged them for approximately one month but they held out against him. Šurad then retired to a place close by a mountain called Shakar. The enemy, thinking that he had retired in defeat, went out to chase him. He then turned on them and engaged them in fierce battle.

"Meanwhile, the people of Jurash had sent out two of their men to Medina to observe the Messenger of God (ŠAAS). One day, following the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, he asked, 'In which part of God's earth is Shakr?' The two men of Jurash arose and responded, 'Messenger of God, in our territory there is a mountain called Kashar. That is the name the people of Jurash give it.' He commented, 'Well, it's not named "Kashr"; it's "Shakr".' 'Why do you refer to it, Messenger of God?' they asked. 'Bodies are being offered in sacrifice to God there and now.'

"The two men sat down next to Abū Bakr [or ʿUthmān] and he told them, 'Woe on you both! The Messenger of God (ŠAAS) has just been informing you of the death of your people; go and ask him to pray to God to spare them.' The two men did so and he replied, 'O God, spare them.'

"They then returned home and discovered that their people had indeed suffered casualties on the day the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) had so informed them.

"A delegation of those of the people of Jurash who were still left then came to the Messenger of God (ŠAAS), and accepted Islam. They were good Muslims thereafter; he placed a protective zone around their village."

THE ARRIVAL OF A MESSENGER FROM THE KINGS OF ḤIMYAR TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ŠAAS).

According to al-Wāqidi, this took place in Ramaḍān, 9 AH.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Following his return from Tabūk, a document was brought by messengers on behalf of the kings of Ḥimyar announcing their acceptance of Islam. Their names were al-Ḥārith b. (ʿAbd) Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, al-Nuʿmān, the prince of Dhū Ruʿayn, Maʿfir and Hamdān. Zurʿa Dhū Yazan sent to him Mālīk b. Murrat al-Rahāwī with news of their acceptance of Islam and their abandonment of polytheism and those accepting it.

"The Messenger of God (ŠAAS) wrote them the following document: 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, the Prophet, to al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, al-Nuʿmān, prince of Dhū Ruʿayn, Maʿfir and Hamdān. To proceed: to you I give praise to God, the One and only God. Your Messenger came to us upon our return from Byzantine territory. We met in Medina; he informed us of

your message, of your wishes, of your acceptance of Islam, of your battling against the polytheists, and of your having been given guidance by God. If you have indeed reformed and have given obedience to God and to His Messenger, then perform the prayers and give the alms. You must also give one-fifth of booty to God, along with the share due to the Prophet (ṢAAS), that portion he selects, along with the charitable donation required of Muslims. (This consists of) one-tenth of the produce of land watered by wells or rain and one-twentieth of that watered by bucket. For every forty camels you must give one young female foal of a milch-camel and for every thirty camels you must give one young male born to a milch-camel. For every five camels you must give one sheep; for every ten camels, two sheep. For every forty cattle, you must give one cow. For every thirty cattle you must provide a calf that can be either a male or a female. For every forty goats (or sheep) at pasture, you must give one sheep. This donation is a requirement God has made incumbent upon believers; those who do even greater good will benefit thereby.

“Those who fulfil all this, give testimony to their acceptance of Islam, and assist Muslims against polytheists, shall be considered Muslims with all the attendant rights and obligations they have. They shall have the protection of God and that of His Messenger. Those Jews and Christians who accept Islam become Muslims with all the rights and obligations due them.

“Those who remain within Judaism or Christianity shall not be turned away from either, but they must pay the *jizya*, ‘the poll-tax’, for each adult, whether male or female, free or slave, one full *dīnār* by the value of (gold) dust, or its equivalent value in clothing. Those who pay this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shall have the protection of God and of His Messenger; those who refuse it will be enemies of God and of His Messenger.

“Further, the Messenger of God, Muḥammad, the Prophet, has sent to Zur‘a Dhū Yazan the following: “When my envoys, Mu‘adh b. Jabal, ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd, Mālīk b. ‘Ubāda, ‘Uqba b. Nimr, Mālīk b. Murra and their men come to you, I require you to treat them well. Collect the alms and the poll-tax from your territories and deliver all this to my envoys. Their commander is Mu‘adh b. Jabal; he is not to return until fully satisfied.”

“To proceed further, Muḥammad testifies that there is no god but God and that he is His servant and His Messenger. Moreover, Mālīk b. Murrat al-Rahāwī has told me that you are the first men of Ḥimyar to have accepted Islam, and to have fought against the polytheists. I commend you and command you to treat Ḥimyar well; do not betray or forsake them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is the ally of your rich and of your poor. The alms payments may not legally go to Muḥammad or to his household; they are alms payable to poor Muslims and to wayfarers. Mālīk delivers information and withholds what is confidential. I order you to treat him well. I have dispatched to you some of my finest people, most religious and learned men; I order you to treat them well. They are being watched over. May peace be upon you along with the mercy and blessings of God.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting 'Umāra, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, that Mālik Dhū Yazan presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a ceremonial robe for which he had paid either 33 baggage camels or 33 riding camels.

Abū Dā'ūd related it from 'Amr b. 'Awn al-Wāsiṭī, from 'Umāra b. Zādḥān al-Ṣaydalānī, from Thābit al-Bunānī.

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī related at this point the story of the letter of 'Amr b. Ḥazam. He stated, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from his father Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazam, who said, 'The following is the letter we have that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote for 'Amr b. Ḥazam when he sent him to Yemen to give religious instruction to its people, to teach them the *sunna*, the orthodox practices of Islam, and to collect their alms payments. The letter he wrote for him gives him his appointment and his instructions.

"He wrote, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This is a document from God and His Messenger. 'O you who believe, keep to your agreements! (This represents) a commission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to 'Amr b. Ḥazam upon his being sent to Yemen.

"“He commands him to fear God in all he does, for God stays with those who fear Him and who do good. He orders him to act in accord with the truth as God so commanded it, and to give people glad tidings of what is good and to tell them to act in accord with it. He shall teach people the Qur'ān and give them religious instruction. He must warn people that no one may touch the Qur'ān unless that person is undefiled. He shall inform people of their rights and of their obligations. He shall treat them with liberality in matters relating to good, but with severity in cases of injustice; for God proscribed and forbade injustice, saying, "The curse of God shall be upon the unjust, those who turn others aside from the path of God" (*sūrat Hūd*; XI, v.18, 19).

"“He shall tell people the good tidings of paradise and what happens there, and will warn people of hell-fire and what happens there. He will court people's friendship so that they acquire knowledge of the faith. He will teach them about the conduct and practices and obligations required by God that relate to the *ḥajj*, "the pilgrimage", and it consists of *al-ḥajj al-akbar*, "the greater pilgrimage", and the *al-ḥajj al-aṣghar*, "the lesser pilgrimage", which is known as the *al-umra*.

"“He shall order people that a man should not pray in one flimsy garment unless it be loose-fitting and hangs down over both shoulders between both sides. He will forbid a person from sitting in a single garment with his legs drawn up, thus exposing his private parts to the sky. And a person's hair should not be plaited if it hangs over the neck. He is to forbid people from calling upon clans or tribes in the case of conflict; their call should be directed solely to God alone Who has no associate. Those who do not call to God but call instead to clans or tribes are to be put to the sword until their calls are to God alone Who has no associate.

“““He shall command people to perform the ablutions properly, washing their faces, their hands up to their elbows and their feet up to their ankles. And they shall wipe over their heads just as God the Almighty and Glorious, commanded. They are commanded to say the prayers at the correct times and to perform properly the bowings and the prostrations at them. They are to arise for the *al-ṣubḥ*, “pre-dawn”, prayer while it is still dark, pray at midday until the sun is past its zenith, pray the *al-ʿaṣr*, “the late afternoon”, prayer while the sun is hurrying towards earth, and thereafter the *al-maghrib*, “the post-sunset prayer”, as night approaches, but it should not be delayed until when the stars appear in the sky. And then is the *al-ʿiṣhā*, “the evening prayer”, at the first part of the night.

“““He is ordered to take God’s share of the booty as alms as is required from Muslims. From the produce of land watered by springs, the alms payments shall be one-fifth. From land watered by rain, it shall be one-tenth. From land watered by the bucket, it shall be one-twentieth. For every ten camels, two sheep shall be paid, and for twenty camels, the payment shall be four sheep. For every forty cattle, one cow. For every thirty cattle, whether male or female, one calf, whether male or female. For every forty sheep (or goats) at pasture, one sheep shall be paid. This is all an obligation made incumbent by God upon Muslims. Anyone paying more will gain benefit thereby.

“““Any Jew or Christian who genuinely accepts Islam and properly performs in accord with the faith of Islam shall be (considered) a believer, and shall enjoy all the rights and obligations they have. Those who remain in their Judaism or Christianity shall not be made to change their faith. But each of their adults, whether male or female, free or slave, shall pay one full dinār, or clothing in value thereto. Those who fulfil this shall have the protection of God and His Messenger; those who refuse shall be considered the enemies of God, of His messenger and of all believers.

“““May the prayers of God be upon Muḥammad. And may the peace and the mercy of God and His blessings be upon him.”””

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī went on to state that Sulaymān b. Dāʿūd related in this *ḥadīth* from al-Zuhri, from Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather, with a full chain of transmission and including many additions, as well as omissions of some details he may have given above relating to the alms and the compensations payable and other matters.

I note that the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nasāʾī related it from this same chain of transmission at length in his *sunan*; Abū Dāʿūd also did so in his work *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*.⁴⁷ I have made reference to that in including his chains of authorities and his phraseology in my *al-sunan*. And all praise and credit belong to God.

Following the account of the delegations, we will make reference to the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of his commanders into Yemen to teach people and to collect from them their one-fifth payments (of booty) and

47. A work listing *mursal* traditions.

their alms donations. Those he dispatched were Mu'adh b. Jabal, Abū Mūsā, Khālid b. al-Walid and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. May God be pleased with them all.

THE ARRIVAL OF JARĪR B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-BAJALĪ AND HIS ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū Qaṭan, quoting Yūnus, from al-Mughīra b. Shibl, who quoted Jarīr as saying, "When I approached Medina, I made my camel kneel, untied my leather bag, put on my ceremonial garments and went inside. There I found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address. The people present stared hard at me and I asked the person sitting next to me, 'Abd Allāh, did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make some reference to me?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'he did make a very nice reference to you while he was making his address. He said, "There will come in to you through this door" – or this opening – "one of the finest men of Yemen. On his face, however, will be an expression of authority.'"

Jarīr went on, "So I gave praise to God, the Almighty and Glorious, for the esteem he had expressed for me."

Abū Qaṭan stated, "So I asked him (Yūnus), 'Did you hear this from him, or from al-Mughīra b. Shibl?' 'Yes,' (from him), he replied.

Imām Aḥmad then narrated it from Abū Nu'aym and Ishāq b. Yūsuf. Al-Nasā'ī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, all three of them quoting Yūnus, from Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, from al-Mughīra b. Shibl – also known as Ibn Shubayl – from 'Awf al-Bajalī al-Kūfī, from Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh; he gave no other line of transmission.

Al-Nasā'ī related this from Qutayba, from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr. His text stated, "Through this door there will enter in to you a man on whose face there is an expression of authority."

This *ḥadīth* meets the criteria of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd related to him, quoting Ismā'īl, from Qays, from Jarīr, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never ignored me after I had accepted Islam. Whenever he saw me, he would smile directly at me."

The community of scholars except Abū Dā'ūd related this, through various lines of transmission, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is additional wording: "I complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that I could not keep my seat on a horse, and he slapped me in the chest, saying, 'O God, set him firmly and make him a guide who is rightly led.'"

Al-Nasā'ī related this, from Qutayba, from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from Ismā'īl, from Qays, and his account gives the alternative wording, '... and there will

enter among you from this door a man upon whose face is an expression of authority.' The rest of this account is as above.

The *hāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū 'Amr and 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad al-Sammāk, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sallām al-Sawwāq, quoting Muḥammad b. Muqātil al-Khurasānī, quoting Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-Aḥmasī, quoting Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for me and said, 'Jarīr, why have you come?' I replied, 'To accept Islam at your hands, Messenger of God.'" Jarīr went on, "He then threw a mantle over me and went to his men, saying, 'When a people's (most) noble man comes to you, then honour him.'"

He went on, "Jarīr, I invite you to testify that there is no god but God, that I am God's Messenger, that you believe in God and in the last day, in fate, both its good and its evil, that you will perform the prayers as written, and that you will pay the alms that are required."

Jarīr said, "I did all that; and thereafter, whenever he saw me, he would smile at me."

This *ḥadīth* must be classified as *gharīb*, "unique", with this chain of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān related to us, quoting Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, 'I pledged to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to perform the prayer, to pay the alms and to be loyal to all Muslims.'"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid. It is (also) given in both from a *ḥadīth* of Ziyād b. 'Ulātha, from Jarīr.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū Sa'īd, quoting Zā'ida, quoting 'Āṣim, from Sufyān – Abū Wā'il, that is – from Jarīr – who said, "I asked, 'Messenger of God, make stipulations; you know best what they should be.'

"He replied, 'I ask you to pledge that you will worship God alone and that you will not associate any other with Him; that you will perform the prayers, pay the alms, be loyal to Muslims and disavow idolatry.'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from al-A'mash, from Abū Wā'il, from Jarīr. He also gave it with another line, from al-A'mash, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wā'il, from Abū Nukhayla, from Jarīr. But God knows best.

He also related it from Muḥammad b. Qudāma, from Jarīr, from Mughīra, from Abū Wā'il and al-Sha'bī, quoting Jarīr. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umayra also related it from Jarīr. Aḥmad alone gives his specific text; he is also alone in giving it through Jarīr's son 'Ubayd Allāh. One source quoted above is also known as "Abū Jamīla", which name should be Abū Nukhayla. Aḥmad and al-Nasā'ī also gave it from this line.

Aḥmad also related it from Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wā'il, from "a man" who quoted Jarīr.

It seems apparent that the "man" referred to here would be Abū Nukhayla al-Bajālī. But God knows best.

We have referred previously to how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him, following his acceptance of Islam, out to Dhū Khalaṣa, the temple where (Banū) Khat'am and (Banū) Bajīla would worship. That was known as the "Southern *ka'ba*" with which they would rival the *ka'ba* in Mecca. The *ka'ba* at Mecca they would refer to as the "Northern *ka'ba*". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Jarīr, "Will you not relieve me of Dhū al-Khalaṣa?"

Jarīr then complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he had difficulty in keeping his seat on horses. At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) struck him in the chest so hard as to make a mark there and said, "O God, seat him firmly and make him a guide who is well guided." Thereafter he never fell from a horse.

Jarīr then went to Dhū al-Khalaṣa with a force of 150 cavalry of his own clan of Aḥmas and destroyed and burned that temple, leaving it looking like a mangy camel! He sent back a messenger named Abū Arṭat to tell him this good news. Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) five times spoke blessings upon the horses and men of Aḥmas.

This *ḥadīth* is given in full in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere, as we have given above in the materials relating to the period following the conquest of Mecca, narrating it after reference to the destruction by Khālīd b. al-Walīd, may God be pleased with him, of the temple of al-ʿUzzā.

It is clear that the acceptance of Islam by Jarīr, may God be pleased with him, came substantially after the conquest.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hāshim b. al-Qāsim related to him, quoting Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUlātha, from ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Mālik al-Jazarī, from Mujāhid, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajālī, who said, "I only accepted Islam after the revelation of *sūrat al-Māʾida*. I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wipe (his socks) after I had accepted Islam."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. This chain of transmission is fine, except for the fact that there is a break⁴⁸ in it between Mujāhid and Jarīr.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that the companions of ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd were much struck by Jarīr's reference to wiping (his socks), because the acceptance of Islam by Jarīr came only following the revelation of the *sūrat al-Māʾida*.⁴⁹ It will be related in the section of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Jarīr, "Hearken to the people, Jarīr." He only told him to do this because he was very highly regarded.

48. Presumably because Mujāhid and Jarīr were not contemporaries or because there is a lack of evidence that they met or could have done so.

49. This chapter of the Qurʾān contains the injunctions pertaining to the manner of performing *al-muḥḍāʿ*, the ritual ablution. The wiping (of the socks), which is a modification of those injunctions, would only have legal effect if it were known to have been instituted subsequent to the revelation of the said chapter.

Jarīr was a man of very large stature. His feet were the length of a fore-arm. His face was also unusually handsome. Despite this, he was the the most modest of men. Thus, it is related of him in the traditions considered authentic that he said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), about glancing inadvertently (at the opposite sex), and he replied, 'Turn your gaze away!'"

THE ARRIVAL TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), OF WĀ'IL B. ḤUJR B. RAB'Ā B. WĀ'IL B. YA'MUR AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ B. HUNAYDA, ONE OF THE KINGS OF YEMEN.

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr stated, "He was one of the princes of Ḥaḍramawt, his father having been one of their kings. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the news of his coming before his actual arrival, saying, 'A son of a line of kings is coming to you.' When Wā'il entered, he welcomed him heartily, positioned him to sit close to himself and spread out his cloak for him, saying, 'O God, bless Wā'il and his sons and the sons of his sons!'"

"He then placed him in command of the princes of Ḥaḍramawt, sending three letters home with him. One was a letter to al-Muhājir b. Abū Umayya. There was also a letter to the princes and (another) to the hereditary rulers. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned him control over a specific territory and dispatched Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān along with him on foot. The latter complained to him at the heat of the ground and Wā'il responded, 'Well, step in the shadow of the camel!' Mu'āwiya asked, 'What good will that do? Could you not let me ride behind you?' Wā'il replied, 'Be silent! You're not such as to ride behind kings!'"

"Wā'il b. Ḥujr lived on to later go to see Mu'āwiya when he had become Commander of the Believers. Mu'āwiya recognized him, welcomed him and invited him to come close to himself. He then reminded Wā'il of what he had said and offered him an official gift. Wā'il refused it saying, 'Give it to someone more needy of it than myself.'"

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī gave some of the above and pointed to the fact that al-Bukhārī in his *History* related it in part.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from 'Alqama b. Wā'il, from his father, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned me control over a specific territory. And he sent with me Mu'āwiya for me to give it' – the land or its revenues – 'over to him' (or his words were '... to acquaint him with it' (the land). Mu'āwiya asked, 'Let me ride behind you.' I replied, 'You're not such as to ride behind kings!' He then asked, 'Then give me your shoes.' I replied, 'Step in the camel's shade.'"

Wā'il went on, "After Mu'āwiya had become caliph, I went to visit him; he seated me next to him on his couch and reminded me of our conversation."

Simāk continued, "Wā'il then commented, 'I wished I had in fact borne him in front of myself!'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this, as did al-Tirmidhī, from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as *ṣaḥīḥ*.

THE ARRIVAL OF LAQĪT B. 'ĀMIR B. AL-MUNTAFIQ B. ABŪ
RAZĪN AL-'AQILĪ TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

'Abd Allāh b. al-Imām Aḥmad stated that his father related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh, who said, "Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr al-Zubayrī wrote to me as follows, 'I am writing to you with this *ḥadīth*; it was delivered to me, and I heard it just as I have written it to you. Relate it thus as a *ḥadīth* from myself: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra al-Ḥizāmī related to me, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ayyāsh al-Sam'ī al-Anṣārī al-Qubā'ī, of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, from Dalham b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥajīb b. 'Āmir b. al-Muntafiq al-'Aqilī, from his father, from his uncle Laqīt b. 'Āmir. Dalham stated, "My father al-Aswad related to me from 'Āṣim b. Laqīt that the father of the latter, Laqīt, went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the company of a friend of his named Nahīk b. 'Āṣim b. Mālīk b. al-Muntafiq.

"“Laqīt stated, 'I and my friend travelled until we reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina at the end of Rajab. We came to him and expressed our allegiance to him as he was leaving the noon prayer meeting. He then stood to address the people and said, "The only reason I have been refraining from addressing you for the past four days was in order to listen to you. Is there any man among you sent out by his people?"

"““People were saying (to one another), "Tell me what the Messenger of God, is saying!" He then said, "What if a person is misled by what he tells himself, or what his friend tells him, or what he is told in error; am I not responsible for delivering my message? Listen carefully, and you will live. Sit down all of you."

"““The people sat down. I and my friend stood, and when he had turned his attention to us entirely, I asked, "Messenger of God, what knowledge do you possess of *al-ghayb*?"⁵⁰

"““He laughed, I swear by God, and shook his head, realizing that I was seeking to trip him up. He replied, "Your Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, kept concealed five keys to the future that only God knows." And he made a gesture with his hand.

"““I asked, "And what are those?" He replied, "Knowledge of death; He knows when the death of each of you will occur, though you do not. And (He has) knowledge of the sperm when it is inside the womb; he knows of it, though you do not. And knowledge of what tomorrow will bring and what your sustenance will be. Though you have no sense or knowledge of tomorrow. He

50. The word, from the verb *ghāba*, to be absent or to vanish, carries many associations. It may imply what is invisible, secret, supernatural or transcendental; it can also connote "the future".

knows when heavy rain will fall, and when you will suffer severe drought. And He continues laughing, knowing that your fate is close at hand.””””

Laqit stated, “We’ll never lack from a Lord who laughs in benevolence. And Who knows *yawm al-sā‘a*, the day of the (judgement) hour.

“We then said, ‘Messenger of God, teach us what people do not know but that you do know. We are of a tribe who never gives credence to anyone; we are a group from (Banū) Madhhij who lead us, from Khath‘am who are allied to us, and we ourselves, from our own tribe.’

“He replied, ‘You will continue on for some time as now, and then your Prophet will die. Again you will continue as before for a time and then the day of lamentation will be sent. By the life of your God, I swear every single thing on earth will die, as well as the angels who are with your Lord. Your Lord, the Almighty and Glorious, will then pass over the earth, alone, over all its parts. Your Lord will have sent down a deluge from His throne. And, by the life of your Lord, every single place on earth where warriors have fallen or the dead have been buried will be split open, revealing them. The dead will be recreated from the head (down) and each one will sit up straight. Your Lord, the Almighty and Glorious, will ask them, “*Mayham?* ‘What did you do?’” – concerning what each had done. Each will reply, “O Lord, it all happened shortly before today.” And from his knowledge of life, he will consider it (his death) to have been a recent event for his family.’

“I asked, ‘Messenger of God, how will He join us back together again once the winds, decay and wild beasts will have scattered our remains?’

“He replied, ‘I remind you of such similar favours of God; you have looked down at the earth and found clods of soil empty of life and have said, “It will never live again. But then your Lord sends rain from the sky and soon you will look down at it again and see a plant sprouting. By the life of your God, it is easier for Him to compound you from water than the plants from the earth. You shall emerge from your graves wherever you died, and you will look at Him, as He will look at you.”’

“I asked, ‘Messenger of God, how can it be that we (who are so many as to) fill the land while He, Almighty and Glorious is He, is just one person, and yet He can look at us as we look at Him?’

“He replied, ‘I refer you to some of God’s favours that are similar to that. The sun and the moon are a sign from him. You see them as small. They see all of you at one instance, yet you are not harmed by seeing them. By the life of Your God, He is more able to see you and you Him than you are to see both of them, and them to see you.’

“I asked, ‘Messenger of God, what will our Lord do when we meet Him?’ He replied, ‘You will turn to him and show him your entire surface; nothing of you shall remain hidden from him. Your Lord will take up a handful of water and splash it towards you. And, I swear by the life of your God, not a drop of it will

fail to strike the face of any one of you. It will fall upon the face of the Muslims like a fine, white cloth, while it will lie upon that of the unbelievers like black pitch.

“Then your Prophet will leave, as will the righteous, following after him. You will pass across a bridge of fire, and when one of you treads upon it, he will cry out in pain. Your Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, will say, “His time has come!” You will gaze out at the *al-ḥamd* of the Messenger as all go towards it, burning with thirst, a sight such as you will never have seen before. And, by the life of your God, every time any one of you stretches forth his hand, there will fall over it a cup full with which he will cleanse himself from the excrement, the urine and the filth. The sun and the moon will be veiled over and you will see neither of them.”

Laqīṭ went on, “I asked, ‘Messenger of God, with what shall we see?’ He replied, ‘Your sight will be as it is now; that will be when the sun rises on a day when it will brighten the earth and appear face to face with the mountains.’

“I asked next, ‘Messenger of God, how will we be requited for our bad and for our good deeds?’ ‘By ten-fold the like for your good deeds and by one the like for your bad, unless He forgives them.’ I asked, ‘Messenger of God, then (it is to be) either paradise or hell-fire?’ He replied, ‘By the life of your God, hell-fire has seven gates, any two of which would require a rider seventy years to travel between them! Paradise has eight gates, any two doors of which would require a rider seventy years to travel between them.’

“I asked him, ‘Messenger of God, on what will we look in paradise?’ He replied, ‘On rivers of purified honey and on rivers of goblets that give neither headache nor regret. On rivers of milk the taste of which never changes, and of water devoid of brackishness, and fruits. By the life of your God, along with you do not yet know that other like fine things. And there will be spouses for you, who are pure.’

“I asked, ‘Messenger of God, we shall, then, have these women as wives, and they will be righteous women?’ He replied, ‘Only righteous women for the righteous men! And you will give them pleasure just as you do on earth, and they will give you pleasure. However, there will be no procreation.’”

Laqīṭ went on, “I then asked, ‘And that then, will be the utmost we will attain and achieve?’

“To this the Prophet (SAAS) made no response.”

Laqīṭ went on to ask, “Messenger of God, what shall I make my pledge to you that I will do?” The Prophet (SAAS) spread forth his hand and said, ‘To perform the prayer, to pay alms, to give up idolatry and to refrain from associating God with any other god than Him.’

Laqīṭ continued, and reported having said, “‘And we are to have (control over) all between the East and the West?’ The Prophet (SAAS) clenched his hand, then stretched out his fingers, thinking me to be presenting as a condition

something he would not give me. I then said, 'And we will be able to travel over it wherever we wish and with never a man doing harm, except to himself?' He spread out his hand and said, 'That is granted you; you shall go where you wish, and no one but your own self will do you harm.'"

Laqīṭ concluded, "We then left him. And he stated, 'Those two, I swear by the life of your God, are of the most pious of all, both in this world and the afterlife!'"

Kaʿb b. al-Khudāriyya, a man of Banū Kilāb, one of those there, then asked him, 'Messenger of God, are those of the Banū al-Muntafiq also worthy (of your comment)?'"

He concluded, "We then left, and I (later) joined him."

Laqīṭ proceeded to complete the *ḥadīth* in which he said, "(I asked), 'Messenger of God, does any good people may have done in the *jāhiliyya*, "before Islam", count for them?' One man of the Quraysh faction, then commented, 'Indeed, your father, al-Muntafiq, is in hell-fire!'

"I felt a flush of embarrassment at what he had said about my father in front of everyone. I was about to ask, 'And what of your father, Messenger of God?', but thought something else would be better. So I asked, 'And your own family, Messenger of God?'

"He replied, 'Yes, my family too, I swear by God! Every time you pass by the grave of a person of (Banū) ʿĀmir or of Quraysh who had been a polytheist you should say, "Muḥammad sent me to you to tell you of the harm coming to you; you will be dragged on your face and stomach into hell-fire."'

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, what brought this about for them? They did not know any better than what they were doing; they thought they were behaving righteously.'

"He replied, 'The reason is that God sent someone' – a prophet, he implied – 'at the end of seven nations; and whoever disobeyed His prophet was going astray, while everyone who obeyed His prophet was rightly guided.'"

This *ḥadīth* is very *gharīb*, "odd". Some of its phraseology is objectionable. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī did include it in his work *al-Baʿth wa al-Nushūr* (*Resurrection and Doomsday*), as did ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī in his *al-ʿĀqiba* (*The Hereafter*), and as did al-Qurtubī in the work *al-Ṭadhkira fī Aḥwāl al-Ākhira* (*Treatise on the Circumstances of the Afterlife*).

THE ARRIVAL OF ZIYĀD B. AL-ḤĀRITH AL-ṢUDĀʾĪ, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Aḥmad al-Asadābādī informed him, quoting Abū Bakr b. Mālik al-Qaṭīʿī, quoting Abū ʿAlī Bishr b. Mūsā, quoting Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrīʿ, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. Anʿam, quoting Ziyād b. Nuʿaym al-Ḥaḍramī, who said that he heard Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith

al-Ṣudā'i relate as follows, "I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and pledged to him my allegiance in Islam. I was told that he had sent out an army against my people and I said, 'Messenger of God, bring back the army and I will guarantee to you that my people will accept Islam and pledge obedience to you.' He replied, 'You go and bring them back.' I replied, 'My camel is exhausted.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent out a man and brought them back."

Al-Ṣudā'i went on, "I wrote a letter to them, and their delegation arrived with news of their acceptance of Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Brother of (Banū) Ṣudā', your people give you obedience.' I replied, 'In fact it is God who led them to Islam.' He then asked, 'Should I then not appoint you to be their leader?' I replied, 'Oh no; you should do so, Messenger of God.' He then wrote a document appointing me their leader and I asked him, 'Messenger of God, entrust me with part of their alms payments.' He replied, 'Certainly'. He then wrote me another document."

Al-Ṣudā'i continued, "That occurred during one of his trips. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took up residence in a house and the family of that house came to him and complained about their governor, saying, 'He blames us for some problem there used to be between us and his people in the *jāhiliyya* days.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, 'He does this, does he?' 'Yes,' we replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then turned to his Companions, who included myself, and he said, 'Well, there's no (material) benefit in having command for a man who believes.'"

Al-Ṣudā'i went on, "His words had great impact on me. Another man then came to him and asked, 'Messenger of God, give to me!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Those who request donations from superfluous property are an ache in the head and a pain in the stomach!' The petitioner now asked, 'Then give me from the alms.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'God would not be pleased at alms being disbursed by the decision of a prophet or anyone else, whereas He Himself has decided about it and divided it up into eight parts. If you were of one of those parts, I would give it to you.'"

Al-Ṣudā'i went on, "That made an impression on me; I was wealthy, yet I had asked for payment from the alms. Early that night the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the campfire and I kept close by him; his (other) Companions were away from him and late in coming to him, so that there was no one with him except myself.

"When it was close to the time for the *al-ṣubḥ*, 'pre-dawn', prayer, he gave me orders and I made the call to prayer. I asked him, 'Shall I (give the) *iqāma*,⁵¹ then, Messenger of God?' He began looking out to the east for the dawn and said, 'No'.

51. The second call made to the worshippers, to form straight lines in readiness for the congregational prayers.

When dawn came, he went off and relieved himself, then came back to me, his Companions with him. He asked me, 'Brother Ṣudā', is there water?' I replied, 'Not except for just a little that won't be enough for you.' He told me, 'Put it in a vessel and bring it to me.' I did so and he placed his palm in the water. And there between his fingers I saw a spring bubbling up! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Were it not for my diffidence towards my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, we would drink of the water and also draw therefrom. Invite those of my Companions in need of water to come.' I did call out to them and those who wished did take some.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then arose to perform the prayer. Bilāl wished to call the *iqāma*, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'Brother Ṣudā' made the call to prayer; he who calls the *ādhān* should also call the *iqāma*.' And so I did.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed the prayer, I took to him both documents and said, 'Messenger of God, please cancel out both of these for me.' 'What is your reason?' he asked. I replied, 'Messenger of God, I heard you say, "There is no benefit in having command for a man who believes." And I do believe in God and in His Messenger. I heard you tell that petitioner, "Those with superfluous property who request donations are an ache in the head and a pain in the stomach." I made a request to you, though I am wealthy.'

"He replied, 'So be it; accept if you wish, or decline.' 'I decline,' I answered. He then told me, 'Point out to me a man I can place in command of you.' I led him to one man of the delegation who had come to him and he appointed him in command of them.

"We then said, 'Messenger of God, we have a well that has enough water for us in the winter and we assemble around it. But in the summer its water is scanty, so we disperse to wells around about us. Now we have accepted Islam, all those around us will be enemies. Say a prayer for us to God about our well so that its water supply will suffice for us and we will not have to disperse.'

"He called for seven pebbles, rubbed them in his hand and spoke a prayer over them. He then said, 'Take these pebbles and when you go to the well, throw them in, one by one, and invoke the name of God.'"

Al-Ṣudā'ī went on, "We did as he had told us. And thereafter, when we looked down into it" – the well, he meant – "we could not see its bottom!"

There are many testimonials to this *ḥadīth*, in the collections made by Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja.

Al-Wāqidi narrated that following the *ʿumra* of al-Ji'rāna, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda out with 400 men to subdue the territory of Ṣudā'. Those there dispatched one of their men, who said (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), "I have come to you to withdraw your army from my people. And I will bring them over to you." Thereafter, their delegation of 15 men did arrive. And 100 of their men were seen participating in the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, "the farewell pilgrimage".

Al-Wāqidi then narrated, from al-Thawrī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. An'ām, from Ziyād b. Nu'aym, from Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṣudā'i, the latter's account concerning the summons to the prayer.

*THE ARRIVAL OF AL-ḤĀRITH B. ḤASSĀN AL-BAKRI TO
THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).*

Imām Aḥmad stated that Zayd b. al-Ḥabbāb related to him, quoting Abū al-Mundhir Sallām b. Sulaymān al-Naḥwī, quoting 'Aṣīm b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Abū Wā'il, from al-Ḥārith al-Bakrī, who said, "I went to make a complaint about al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to the Messenger of God. As I passed by al-Zabda, I came across an old woman of Banū Tamīm who had been stranded. She asked, "Abd Allāh, I need to see the Messenger of God. Will you take me to him?"

"So I carried her into Medina. The mosque was inundated with people; a black banner was flying and Bilāl was there wearing his sword, standing in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I asked what was going on and people told me that he was about to dispatch 'Amr b. al-Āṣ.

"I sat down, and he entered his house" – or the narrator used the word, his *rahl*, "his tent" or "dwelling" – "and I asked permission to go in to him and it was granted me. I entered and greeted him, and he asked, 'Has there been something going on between your people and (Banū) Tamīm?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'And they lost this time. I passed by an old woman of Banū Tamīm who had been stranded. She asked me to transport her to you; she is over there, at the door.' He asked her to enter, and she did so. I asked, 'Messenger of God, if you should decide to make some barrier between us, let it be the desert.' The old woman then became very excited and agitated and said, 'Messenger of God, to what will (your own tribe of) Muḍar be reduced!'

"I commented, 'Well, I'm like in the ancient saying, "a goat bearing its own fate"! I transported this woman without realizing that she was my adversary! I seek refuge with God and His Messenger! I'm like the man who came to (Banū) 'Ād!'

"He asked, 'What's that about, "the man who came to 'Ād"? "“(He was more knowledgeable about the story than was the narrator, but he wanted to test him.)

"I replied, 'Ād suffered from lack of rain, and they sent out one of their men, named Qayl; he passed by Mu'āwiya b. Bakr and stayed with him for a month, being given wine to drink and having songs sung to him by two girls, called *al-jarādatān*, "the two locusts". When the month was over, he went off to the mountains of Muhra. There he called out, "O God, You know I would never visit a sick man (without) giving him medicine, nor to a prisoner without ransoming him! O God, send rain for 'Ād as you never have before!" Black clouds then passed above him, and a voice called out to him, "Choose from among them!" He gestured to one particular black cloud. Then a voice called out from it, "Take

it to be ashes, fine and copious! You will not have one of ‘Ād survive!” And, from what I have heard, no more wind was sent at them than would pass through this ring of mine, before they had all perished!”

Abū Wā’il commented, “He spoke the truth. Men and women would say, when a man was sent to visit them, ‘May you not be like the man sent out by ‘Ād!’”

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā’i related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Mundhir Sallām b. Sulaymān. Ibn Māja related it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh, from ‘Āṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from al-Ḥārith al-Bakrī; but their accounts made no mention of Abū Wā’il.

Imām Aḥmad also related it as above, from Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh, from ‘Āṣim, from al-Ḥārith, but the correct version is from ‘Āṣim, from Abū Wā’il, from al-Ḥārith. As just related.

*THE ARRIVAL OF ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABŪ ‘UQAYL,
WITH HIS PEOPLE.*

Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sūsī, quoting Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī, quoting ‘Alī b. Ja‘d, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, as having related, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Khālīd Yazīd al-Asadī, quoting ‘Awn b. Abū Juḥayfa, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alqama al-Thaqafī, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū ‘Aqīl, who said, “I set off in a delegation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we reached him, we made our camels kneel at the door. There was absolutely no one more hated by us than the man we were going in to see. Yet after we had gone in and come out again, there was absolutely no one more beloved by us than the man we had gone in to see! One of our men asked him, ‘Messenger of God, have you not asked your Lord for a domain like that of Solomon?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and replied, ‘Perhaps your companion⁵² has even higher status with God than King Solomon! God, Almighty and Glorious is He, never sent any prophet without according him a request. Some of them take theirs here on earth and are awarded it. Some use it to invoke God against their people who disobey and are destroyed thereby. God awarded me a request that I have kept hidden with my Lord: I will intercede for my nation on Judgement Day.’”

THE ARRIVAL OF ṬĀRIQ B. ‘ABD ALLĀH AND HIS COMPANIONS.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abū Janāb al-Kalbī, from Jāmi‘ b. Shaddād al-Muḥārībī, quoting one of his people, a man named Ṭāriq b. ‘Abd Allāh, who related, “I was standing at the market at Dhū al-Majāz when a man

52. Referring, of course, to himself.

wearing a *jubba*, a long robe, arrived and said, 'People, say the words, "There is no god but God" and you will prosper!' There was another man following him, throwing stones at him and saying, 'People, he is a liar!' I asked who it was and was told it was a young man of Banū Hāshim who claimed to be a Messenger of God. I also asked who it was treating him that way and was told that he was his uncle 'Abd al-'Uzzā. When people accepted Islam and migrated (to Medina), we left al-Rabdha for Medina to purchase dates there. When we neared its walls and palm-groves, I said, 'We should make a halt and change our clothes.' Just then a man dressed in rags came up and greeted us. He asked from where we had come, and we told him from al-Rabdha. He then asked where we were headed, and we told him we had come to that town. When he asked why, we told him we wanted to barter some dates. I told him we had a lady in a litter with us and a red camel with a blaze on its nose. He asked whether we would sell him our camel and we said we would, in exchange for a specific weight of dates.

"We received no deposit on the price agreed; the man took hold of the camel's halter and left. When he was out of our sight beyond the city's walls and palms, we asked one another what it was we had done. We realized we had sold our camel to someone we did not know, and we had not been paid for it.

"The lady with us commented, 'I swear by God, what I saw was a man whose face was like a slice of a full moon! I'll guarantee the price of your camel!' Just then the man appeared and announced, 'I am the Messenger of God to you; these are your dates. Eat until you are satisfied and take your full measure.' We did eat our fill and take full measure.

"Then we entered the town and went in the mosque. He was there, on the *minbar* making an address. We arrived as he was saying, 'Make charitable donations, for alms-giving is better for you. And the hand that gives is better than one that receives – to your mother and your father, then to your sister and your brother, and then on lower down from there.'

"A man of Banū Yarbū'" – or the narrator may have said, "one of the *anṣār*" – "then approached and said, 'Messenger of God, these people have unpaid debts of blood from the *jāhiliyya*, "before Islam".' He replied, 'Sins of the father do not become those of the son.' He repeated this three times."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated about his comments on the special virtue of charitable giving, from Yūsuf b. 'Isā, from al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, from Yazīd b. Ziyād b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Jāmi' b. Shaddād, from Ṭāriq b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muḥārībī, giving part of the above *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī also related it, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Yazīd b. Ziyād, from Jāmi' b. Ṭāriq, complete as above. In his account, the lady in the litter is quoted as saying, "Don't blame yourselves; I saw the face of a man who would not deceive. I never saw anything more like the moon when full than his face!"

*THE ARRIVAL OF THE DELEGATE FROM FARWA B. ʿAMR AL-JUDHĀMĪ,
THE RULER OF THE LANDS OF MUʿĀN, BRINGING NEWS OF HIS
ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).*

I believe that to have been either at Tabūk or thereafter.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Farwa b. ʿAmr b. al-Nāfirat al-Judhāmī, of the Nufāthi tribe, sent an envoy to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), announcing his acceptance of Islam and presented him with a white mule.

"Farwa was governor on behalf of the Byzantines over the Arabs whose territory bordered their own. His residency was centred in Muʿān, and the Syrian lands thereabouts. When the Byzantines learned of his acceptance of Islam, they summoned him, and seized and imprisoned him there with them. While imprisoned, he composed the following verses:

ʿSulayma made her way at night to my friends, while the
Byzantines were between the gate and the water-tank.

The spirit turned away in distress at what it had seen
and though I tried to sleep, it had made me cry.

Do not decorate your eyes with antimony, Salmā, when I
am gone, nor subject yourself to intercourse.

You have learned, O Abū Kubaysha, that when in the
presence of the powerful, my tongue is not tied.

If I should die, you will mourn your brother, while if
I survive my status will be recognized.

I have encompassed the finest qualities a hero can
have — generosity, bravery and eloquence.'

"When the Byzantines had decided to crucify him at a well of theirs in Palestine called ʿIfṛā, he spoke the following:

ʿI wonder whether Salmā has learned that her husband
will be at the ʿIfṛā well upon a camel

Whose mother was never served by a stallion, a mount
whose limbs were pruned by axes?"⁵³

Al-Zuhri claimed that when they took him out to kill him, he said,

"Inform the Muslim leaders that I am bequeathing my
body and my bones to my Lord."

They then cut off his head and crucified him at that well. May God have mercy on him, be pleased with him and give him pleasure and make paradise his abode.

53. He is, of course, referring to a wooden cross.

THE ARRIVAL OF TAMĪM AL-DĀRĪ TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND HIS INFORMING HIM ABOUT AL-JASSĀSA AND ABOUT WHAT HE HEARD FROM AL-DAJJĀL,⁵⁴ 'THE IMPOSTER', CONCERNING THE MISSION OF THE PROPHET AND THE FAITH OF THOSE BELIEVING IN HIM.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Sahl b. Muḥammad b. Naṣrawayh al-Marwazī of Nishāpūr narrated to us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qādī, quoting Abū Sahl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, quoting Wahn b. Jarīr, quoting his father, who said that he heard Ghaylān b. Jarīr relate from al-Sha'bi, who quoted Fāṭima, daughter of Qays, as having said, "Tamīm al-Dārī came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him how he had gone to sea. His ship had gone off course and they had been cast upon an island. They had gone ashore seeking water and met a man with exceedingly long hair. Tamīm asked him who he was, and the man replied that he was al-Jassāsa. When they asked him about himself, he replied, 'I'll tell you nothing! But you can have this island!'"

Tamīm's account went on, "So we proceeded into the island and there we found a man in chains. He asked us, 'Who are you people?' 'We're Arabs,' we replied. He asked, 'What's all this about some prophet who has come forth among you?' We replied, 'People believe in him, follow him and consider him truthful.' He commented, 'That is best for them.'

"He then asked, 'Tell me what news there is of 'Ayn Za'r.⁵⁵ We did so, and he was so excited he almost jumped right outside! He then asked, 'What news is there of the date-palms at Baysān?⁵⁶ Are they bearing fruit yet?' We told him they were and again he was most excited. He next said, 'If I were allowed to do so, I would travel throughout the land – except for Ṭayba!'"⁵⁷

Fāṭima continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him (Tamīm) out to the people and he recounted this to them. And he said, 'This is Ṭayba, and that man was al-Dajjāl, "the imposter".'"

Imām Aḥmad also narrated this *ḥadīth*, as did Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan*,⁵⁸ from several lines of transmission, from 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bi, from Fāṭima, daughter of Qays. Imām Aḥmad gave testimony to this *ḥadīth* from an account of Abū Hurayra and 'Ā'isha, "mother of the Believers". We have given this

54. A red-complexioned, corpulent one-eyed male being to whom reference is variously made in the *ḥadīth* literature. Sometimes identified as the anti-Christ or as a servant of Satan, he is said, elsewhere as here, to be a captive resident of an island. See the entry *al-Dajjāl* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

55. A location in Hijāz.

56. Located in al-Yamāma.

57. One of the names by which Medina was known.

58. The remaining four, that is, of the six scholars who composed the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections of the traditions.

ḥadīth, with its various lines of transmission and phraseology, in our work *Kitāb al-Fitan (Book of Intrigues)*.⁵⁹

Al-Wāqidi also related the arrival of the delegation of al-Dāris of Lakhm, a group of ten men.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ ASAD.

Al-Wāqidi also stated that a delegation from Banū Asad came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), early in 9 AH; it consisted of ten men. These included Dīrār b. al-Azwar, Wābiṣa b. Maʿbad, Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid, who later claimed to be a prophet, then accepted Islam and became a good Muslim, and Nafāda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalaf.

Their leader, al-Ḥadrami b. ʿĀmir, commented, "Messenger of God, we have made our way to you in dark of night in a year of drought without you sending out anyone to us."

And so God revealed about them, "They think they place you under an obligation by accepting Islam. Say: 'Don't place me under an obligation for your accepting Islam; rather, it is God who places you under an obligation by guiding you to the faith, if you are sincere'" (*sūrat al-Ḥujurāt*; XLIX, v.17).

There was one clan of theirs known as Banū al-Rathya, "the error clan"; he changed their name to Banū al-Rashda, "the correct clan". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had requested Nafāda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalaf to bring him a camel that would be excellent for both riding and milk and that did not have young. The only one Nafāda could find belonged to a cousin of his and he did bring it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to draw some of its milk. He drank some and gave the remainder back, saying, "May God bless her and those who donated her." Nafāda asked, "Messenger of God, and also those who brought her?" He added, "And those who brought her."

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ ABS.

Al-Wāqidi stated that they were nine in number, and he named them. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said "And I am the tenth of you." He then gave orders to Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, who made up a banner for them and he made its motto, "O Ten!"

It is said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them about Khālīd b. Sinān al-ʿAbsī, whose biography we mentioned in the account of the *jāhiliyya*. They said he had had no descendants.

Al-Wāqidi stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent them out to waylay a Quraysh caravan arriving from Syria. This would mean that their acceptance of Islam would have preceded the conquest of Mecca. But God knows best.

59. In Ibn Kathīr's *al-Nihāya wa al-Bidāya (An End and a Beginning)*.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ FAZĀRA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Jumaḥī, from Abū Wajza al-Sa'dī, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from Tabūk, that being in 9 AH, a delegation consisting of some ten men came to him from Banū Fazāra. These included Khārija b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Ḥiṣn; the latter was the youngest of them. The camels they rode were emaciated. They had come to affirm their acceptance of Islam.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them about their lands. One of them replied, 'Messenger of God, our lands are suffering drought; our cattle are dying. Our whole area is barren, and our families are starving. Pray to God for us!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted the *minbar* and said, 'O God, water Your land and Your cattle! Extend forth Your mercy and give life to Your dead land! O God, send rain upon us to render a great area fertile, soon and without delay, making it beneficial and without harm! O God, send rain for us as an act of mercy, not for punishment, nor for destruction, without inundation or damage! O God, send us rainfall and give us aid against our enemies!'

"It did rain and they could see no break in the sky. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted the *minbar* and prayed, saying, 'O God, let it be around about us, but not upon us! Let it be upon the hillocks and the knolls, on the valleys and the woodlands.'

"And the rain was drawn away from Medina as though it were a garment removed."

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ MURRA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that their arrival came in 9 AH when he returned from Tabūk. They consisted of 13 men, including al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf. The Prophet (ṢAAS) awarded them each 10 *awqiyya* weight of silver. To al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf he gave 12 *awqiyya*.

They related that their country was undergoing drought and he prayed for them, saying, "O God, send down rain upon them!" When they returned home they discovered that it had rained that very day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had spoken the prayer for them.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ THA'LABA.

Al-Wāqidī stated that it was related to him by Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, from a man of Banū Tha'labā, who quoted his father as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Ji'rāna in 8 AH four of us went to him and said, 'We are envoys from our people who wish to affirm their acceptance of Islam.'

"He ordered us to be accorded hospitality. We stayed there a few days, then went to him to say farewell. He told Bilāl, 'Give them the awards usual to delegations.' He brought large quantities of silver and gave each of our men the weight of five *awqiyya*, saying, 'We don't have any *dirham* coins.' We then returned home."

THE DELEGATION FROM BANU MUḤĀRIB.

Al-Wāqidī stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ quoted Abū Wajza al-Saʿdī, as saying, "A delegation from (Banū) Muḥārib came in 10 AH during the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, 'the farewell pilgrimage'. It consisted of ten men, including Sawāʾ b. al-Ḥārith and his son Khuzayma. They stayed at the home of Ramla, daughter of al-Ḥārith. Bilāl would bring them their lunch and their dinner. They accepted Islam, saying that they were leaders of their people.

"And in the past the fairs had treated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in a more rough and rude way than they had. In that delegation there was one man whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recognized. That man told him, 'Praise be to God who has allowed me to live on to believe in you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'These hearts are in the hands of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wiped the face of Khuzayma b. Sawāʾ and it turned clear and white. He gave them the awards usual to delegations and they then returned home."

THE DELEGATION FROM BANU KILĀB.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they came in 9 AH, their delegation consisting of 13 men. These included Labīd b. Rabīʿa, the poet, and Jabbār b. Sulmā. There was great friendship between the latter and Kaʿb b. Mālik, who warmly honoured and welcomed Jabbār and made gifts to him. They went with him (Kaʿb) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to whom they spoke with the Islamic words of greeting. They told him that al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān al-Kilābī had gone among them with God's Book and with information concerning the religious practices of His Messenger that had been ordained by God. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk had invited them to God and they had responded. He had then taken from their wealthy charitable donations, which he had then distributed to their poor.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANU RUʿĀS B. KILĀB.

Al-Wāqidī went on to relate that a man named ʿAmr b. Mālik b. Qays b. Bujīd b. Ruʿās b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAmir b. Ṣaʿsaʿa arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam. He then returned to his own people and invited

them into Islam, saying, "We will then gain from Banū 'Aqil the like of what they took from us.'

He then recounted a battle that took place between them and how this 'Amr b. Mālik had killed a man of Banū 'Āqil. He ('Amr) said, "I placed my hands in manacles and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He had learned what I had done and had said, 'If he comes to me, I'll strike off his hands above the manacles!'

"When I came in and greeted him in Islam, he did not return my greeting, but turned away. I then approached him from his right side, but again he turned away. I came to him from his left, and again he turned away. Then I approached him from directly in front and said, 'Messenger of God, when the approval of the Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, is sought and He approves; now therefore do be pleased with me – may God be pleased with you!' He responded, 'I am so pleased.'"

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ 'AQIL B. KA'B.

Al-Wāqidi recounted that they came to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he accorded them the income from al-'Aqīq – the 'Aqīq of Banū 'Aqil – which is land on which there are palm trees and wells.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote a document to this effect, as follows, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This records what Muḥammad, Messenger of God, has given to Rabi', Muṭrif and Anas – namely al-'Aqīq – for their having performed the prayers, made payment for the alms, and having accepted and obeyed (my) authority. He has not given them any right (to anything) belonging to a Muslim."

The document was entrusted to Muṭrif.

Al-Wāqidi went on, "Laqīṭ b. 'Āmir b. al-Muntafiq b. 'Āmir b. 'Aqil, he being known as Abū Razīn, also came to him. He awarded Laqīṭ a well called al-Nazīm; Laqīṭ expressed allegiance to him for his people."

We have fully recounted above his arrival and the narrative about Laqīṭ. And to God go all praise and credit.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ QUSHAYR B. KA'B.

This was prior to the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, "the farewell pilgrimage", and also before the battle of Hunayn. Among these men is said to have been Qurra b. Hubayra b. 'Āmir b. Salama al-Khayr b. Qushayr. He accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a payment and also awarded him a cloak. He placed him in charge of collecting the charitable donations from his people. When he returned home, Qurra spoke the following verses,

"The Messenger of God defended it when it came down to him, protecting it from attack or criticism.

And so it attained lush green pastures, Muḥammad
having provided for all its needs,

Upon it is a hero, who would never allow blame to
ride beside him, who encourages the hesitant to
overcome indecision."

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ AL-BAKKĀ.

It is said that they arrived in 9 AH and that they were 30 men in number. Among them was Muʿāwiya b. Thawr b. Muʿāwiya b. ʿUbāda b. al-Bakkā, he at that time being 100 years old. He had a son with him named Bishr. Muʿāwiya asked, 'Messenger of God, I would receive blessing from your touch. I am old, and this son of mine is dutiful towards me. Please stroke his face.'

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did stroke his face and gave him some ash-coloured goats. He spoke a blessing over them. And thereafter they were never afflicted by drought or poverty.

Muḥammad b. Bishr b. Muʿāwiya spoke the following verses on this:

"It was my father whose head the Messenger stroked,
praying for good and blessings for him.

When he went to him, Aḥmad gave him ash-coloured goats,
lean but not emaciated like snakes.

They would satisfy the delegation every evening, and
return to do the same during the day.

Blessed is the gift, and so too the donor, and
salutations to him from me for as long as I live."

THE DELEGATION FROM KINĀNA.

Al-Wāqidī related, with complete lines of transmission, that Wāʿila b. al-Asqaʿ al-Laythī arrived to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was equipping himself to leave for Tabūk. He performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with him, then returned to his people. He invited them to accept Islam, telling them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). His father told him, "I swear by God, I'll never forgive you!"

His sister heard what he had said and accepted Islam. She equipped him for travel and he went with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to Tabūk, mounted upon a camel belonging to Kaʿb b. ʿUjra.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him with Khālīd to Ukaydir Dūma. When they returned, Wāthila offered to Kaʿb b. ʿUjra the share of the booty that had been apportioned for him. Kaʿb replied, "But it was to God the Almighty and Glorious that it carried you."

THE DELEGATION FROM ASHJĀ'.

Al-Wāqidi related that they arrived the year of the battle of al-khandaq. They consisted of 100 men; their leader was Mas'ūd b. Bukhayla, and they made camp at the Sal' defile.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to them and ordered that they be provided supplies of dates. It is also said that they arrived after he had finished with Banū Qurayza, and that they consisted of 700 men. He reached an understanding with them and they returned home. They accepted Islam thereafter.

THE DELEGATION FROM BĀHILA.

Their leader, Muṭarīf b. Kāhin arrived after the conquest of Mecca and accepted Islam. He took a peace pact to his people and signed a document to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accepting the laws and obligations of Islam. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him, wrote it.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ SULAYM.

He (al-Wāqidi) stated, "A man named Qays b. Nushba came from Banū Sulaym to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter listened to what he had to say and asked him various questions to which he replied, being fully aware of everything. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then invited him to accept Islam, and he did so.

"Qays returned to his people of Banū Sulaym, and told them, 'I've heard the history of the Byzantines, the legends of Persia, the poetry of the Arabs, the divinations of Ḥimyar, but the words of Muḥammad are not at all similar to theirs. Obey me and seek your fortune with him.'

"The year of the conquest of Mecca, Banū Sulaym went out and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Qadid; they consisted of 700 men, though this figure is also given as 1,000. They included al-'Abbās b. Mirdās and a number of their leading men. They accepted Islam, saying, 'Place us at your fore; make our banner red and our motto *muqaddaman*, "ahead!" He agreed to this and they were present with him at the conquest, and at the battles of al-Ṭā'if and Ḥunayn.

"Rāshid b. 'Abd Rabbihi al-Sulamī used to worship an idol. One day he saw two jackals urinating over it and he spoke the line,

'Is this a lord upon whose head two jackals urinate?

Whoever has jackals urinate upon him is disgraced!'

"He then attacked and broke it. After that he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What is your name?' He replied, 'Ghāwī b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā.' 'No', he told him, 'now

your name is Rāshid b. ‘Abd Rabbihi.⁶⁰ He awarded him the revenue of a place called Ruhāṭ where there is a running spring; it is known as the *‘ayn al-rasūl*, ‘the well of the Messenger’. He was the best man of Banū Sulaym, over whom he was placed in command. He was present at the conquest of Mecca and later actions.”

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ HILĀL B. ‘ĀMIR.

He (al-Wāqidi) mentioned ‘Abd ‘Awf b. Aṣram in their delegation. He accepted Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him ‘Abd Allāh. Also there was Qabiṣa b. Mukhāriq, who is the source for a *ḥadīth* about charitable donations.

Amongst those he (al-Wāqidi) mentioned as in the delegation of Banū Hilāl were Ziyād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mālik b. Bujayr b. al-Ḥadm b. Ruwayba b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Hilāl b. ‘Āmir. When he entered Medina, he made his way to the home of his aunt Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith. He went inside and when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered his home, he saw him, became angry and went out again. She called to him, “Messenger of God, he’s my sister’s son!” He then went inside, came out again and went to the mosque, accompanied by Ziyād. He performed the *al-zuhr* prayer, then prayed for him. He placed his hand on his head, then touched the tip of Ziyād’s nose. Banū Hilāl used to say, “We could always recognise the blessing in Ziyād’s face.”

A poet spoke the following verses to Ziyād’s son ‘Alī:

“O Son of him whose head the Messenger touched and for
whom he prayed for good at the mosque,

I mean Ziyād, referring to none but him, to no passer-by,
not to one accused or one seeking aid.

That light on the bridge of his nose was always
visible, until his body went down to the grave.”

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ BAKR B. WĀṬIL.

Al-Wāqidi stated that when they arrived, they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Quss b. Sā‘ida. He replied, “That man was not one of yours. He was of Iyād. He became a *ḥanīf*⁶¹ in the *jāhiliyya*. He was present at ‘Ukāz while the people were gathered there. He spoke there the words since passed on as his.

“In the delegation there were Bashir b. al-Khaṣāṣiyya, ‘Abd Allāh b. Marthad and Ḥassān b. Khūṭ. A son of Ḥassān spoke the following verse:

60. The man’s original name meant “Misleader, son of the worshipper of al-‘Uzza”; his new name meant “Right-guided, son of the worshipper of his Lord”.

61. See glossary. A word with many associations. Often applied to Abraham with connotations that he was a devoted follower of God; the word also has implications of being circumcised or of having abandoned the worship of idols.

'I am the son of Ḥassān b. Khūt; my father was the messenger of all Banū Bakr to the Prophet.'"

THE DELEGATION FROM TAGHLIB.

He (al-Wāqidī) stated that they consisted of 16 men, Muslims, and Christians wearing crosses of gold. They stayed at the house of Ramla, daughter of al-Ḥārith.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a pact of peace with the Christians on the understanding that they would not baptize their children into Christianity. He gave payments to the Muslims among them.

DELEGATIONS FROM THE PEOPLE OF YEMEN.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they came in 9 AH and that they consisted of 13 men. He gave them larger payments than he had to others. Al-Wāqidī also said that there was a youth among them whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked what gift he wanted. He replied, "Messenger of God, pray to God to forgive me, to have mercy on me and to place my wealth in my heart."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'O God, forgive him, have mercy on him, and place his wealth in his heart.' And thereafter he was one of the most pious and ascetic of men."

THE DELEGATION FROM KHAWLĀN.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they were ten in number, and that they arrived in Shaʿbān of 10 AH.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them about their idol known as "Amm Anas". They replied that they had exchanged him for a better one and that they intended to destroy it on their return. They learned the Qurʾān and the orthodox practices of Islam and when they returned home, they did destroy the idol. They made permissible what God had rendered so, and they forbade that which God had forbidden.

THE DELEGATION FROM JUʿFĪ.

Al-Wāqidī stated that they forbade eating heart. When their delegation accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to eat heart. He had some cooked and handed it to their leader, saying, "Your faith will not be complete until you eat it." He did take it, his hand trembling, and he did eat it, saying, 'I did eat the heart unwillingly, my body trembling when I touched it.'"

Section: On the arrival of the delegation of Banū Azd to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Abū Nu‘aym stated, in his book *Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥāba* (*Knowledge about the Companions*) as did the ḥāfiẓ Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī, from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Abū al-Ḥawārī, who said, “I heard Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, who said, “Alqama b. Yazīd b. Suwayd al-Azdī said, “My father related to me, from my grandfather, from Suwayd b. al-Ḥārith, who said, ‘I was the seventh of a delegation of seven men from my people who went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we went in to him, we spoke with him and he was surprised by our appearance and our dress. He asked, “And what are you?” We replied that we were Believers.

“““The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, “There is truth in every statement; what is the truth in your statement and your faith?”

“““We replied, “There are fifteen essentials, five of which your emissaries ordered us to believe. Five you ordered us to act upon and five we ourselves developed while during the *jāhiliyya* and still maintain – unless you should dislike any of them.”

“““He asked, “What are the five my envoys ordered you to believe?”

“““We replied, “They told us to believe in God and in His angels, His books, His messengers and rebirth after death.”

“““He then asked, “And what are the five I ordered you to act upon?” We replied, “You ordered us to say, “There is no god but God”, to perform the prayers, to pay the *zakāt*, ‘the alms’, to fast at Ramaḍān, and to make pilgrimage to the *ka‘ba* if we are able.”

“““He asked, “And what are the five you developed during the *jāhiliyya*?” We replied, “Being thankful when prosperous, being stoical in the face of difficulty, being pleased with whatever fate brings, being truthful at social gatherings, and refraining from cursing enemies.”

“““The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “Why, such wise and learned men! Their understanding is such as to almost make them prophets!”

“““He then said, “I’ll give you five more; then you’ll have twenty essentials. If you are as you say, then do not accumulate what you cannot yourselves consume, do not build what you do not inhabit, do not compete for something you will shortly leave behind, fear God to Whom you will be returned and before Whom you will be exposed, and desire strongly that to which you head and wherein you will be forever.”

“““The party then left him, having memorized his advice and acting upon it.”””

THE DELEGATION FROM KINDA.

Al-Wāqidi stated that they were ten or so mounted men under the command of al-Ash'ath b. Qays. He made a payment of ten *awqiyya* weight (of silver) to each, while to al-Ash'ath he gave twelve. This has been related above.⁶²

THE DELEGATION FROM AL-ṢADIF.

They arrived in a group of some ten riders. They came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was on the *minbar* delivering an address. They sat down without giving the usual Muslim greeting. He asked, "Are you Muslims?" "Yes," they replied. "Will you not give the Muslim greeting, then?"

The all arose and said, "Peace be upon you, Prophet, and the mercy and blessings of God." He responded, "And upon you all be peace. Sit down." They did so and then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about the times for the prayers.

THE DELEGATION FROM KHUSHAYN.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Abū Tha'laba al-Khushanī arrived as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was preparing his equipment to proceed to Khaybar. Abū Tha'laba was present with him at the battle of Khaybar and thereafter some ten men of Banū Khushayn came and accepted Islam.

Al-Wāqidi went on to tell of the delegations from Banū Sa'd, Hudhaym, Bali, Bahra', Banū 'Udhra, Salāmān, Juhayna, Banū Kalb and al-Jarmiyīn. We have given above the *ḥadīth* of 'Amr b. Salama al-Jarmī given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Wāqidi then referred to the delegations of al-Azd, Ghassān, al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, Hamdān, Sa'd al-ʿAshira, ʿAbs, that of al-Dāriyīn, and al-Rahāwīwīn, of Banū Ghāmid, al-Nakhʿ, Bajīla, Khathʿam and Ḥaḍramawt. He made mention of Wā'il b. Ḥujr among these. He also referred to the four kings Jamd, Mikhwas, Mishraḥ and Abḍa'a as among these. In the *ḥadīth* collection of Aḥmad detail is given of their curse, with their sister al-ʿAmarrada.⁶³ Al-Wāqidi related about them at length.

He also referred to the Azd of ʿUmān, and Ghāfiq, Bāriq, Daws, Thumāla, al-Jidār, Aslam, Judhām, Mahra, Ḥimyar, Najrān and Jayshān. Explication on these tribes would need to be very extensive; and we have already given above

62. See Vol. IV pages 98–9.

63. A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that the correct name should be their brother al-Ghamar.

some material associated with this. What we have related heretofore is enough. Though God knows best.

THE DELEGATION OF AL-SIBĀʿ.

Al-Wāqidi went on, "Shuʿayb b. ʿUbāda related to me, from al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanṭab as follows, 'While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated in Medina among his Companions, a jackal came, stood before him and howled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This is a delegate from the lions who has come to you. If you wish to impose some restriction upon him, they will not go beyond it to something else; however, if you wish, you could leave him and be wary of him and whatever he is able to take would be his sustenance."

"They replied, "Messenger of God, we don't wish to give him anything." The Prophet (ṢAAS) then gestured to him with three fingers, meaning, "leave them alone" and it turned and ran away in fear."

The *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, "incomplete", with this line of transmission.

This jackal resembles the one referred to in the *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad: "Yazīd" – he being Ibn Hārūn – "related to us, quoting al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl al-Ḥuddānī, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī, who said, 'The jackal attacked a sheep. The shepherd went after it and took it from him. The jackal sat up on its tail and asked, "Don't you fear God, taking from me bounty to which God led me?" The shepherd exclaimed, "Amazing! A jackal sitting up on its tail and speaking to me like a human being!"

"The jackal went on, "Would you like me to tell you something even more amazing than that? Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is in Yathrib telling people of what happened long ago."

"The shepherd then led his herd away into the town; there he left them in a corral and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him about the jackal.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a call made for a general prayer meeting and went out and said to the bedouin, "Tell them." He did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, "He spoke the truth, I swear by Him who has the soul of Muḥammad in His hand. Judgement Day will not come until animals speak to humans, and a man's strap on his whip and his sandal straps talk to him, and his thigh informs him of what his family does behind his back."'"

Al-Tirmidhī related it from Sufyān b. Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāh, from his father, from al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl. He characterized it as *ḥasan*, *gharīb*, *ṣaḥīḥ*, "good, unilateral and authentic". We know of this only from the *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl, whom scholars consider a trustworthy and reliable source. Yaḥyā and Ibn Mahdī consider him reliable.

I note that Imām Aḥmad also related this *ḥadīth*, giving a line of transmission quoting Abū al-Yamān, quoting Shuʿayb, he being the son of Abū Ḥamza, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Ḥusayn, quoting Mahrān, quoting Abū Saʿīd al-Khudarī;

he gave this anecdote in full and with a more extensive line than the account given above.

I note that Imām Aḥmad also related it quoting Abū al-Naḍr, quoting 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām, quoting Shahr, who said he heard it from Abū Sa'īd.

This text is closer (to the above); but God knows best. This line of transmission accords with the criteria of the *ahl al-sunan*, but they did not promulgate it.

DIVISION

Material concerning the delegations of the *jinn*, "the spirits", at Mecca prior to the Hijra has been given above.⁶⁴

We have examined this also with regard to the words of the Almighty, in *sūrat al-Aḥqāf* (XLVI, v.29): "And when we sent towards you a group of the *jinn* who listen to the Qur'ān". We gave commentary on those *aḥādith* and ancient materials referring to this and gave the *ḥadith* of Sawād b. Qārīb who had been a monk but accepted Islam. We wrote of his channel, who would bring him information, as when he told him,

"I was surprised at the *jinn* and their knowledge, and their gripping their baggage on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for believing spirits are not like those that disbelieve.

So head for the finest men of Hāshim, amidst their hills and rocks."

He went on to say,

"I was surprised at the *jinn* and their perceptions, and their gripping their cloth blankets on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the gracious of the spirits are not like the foul ones.

So head for the finest men of Hāshim, and raise your eyes to their head."

He later continued,

"I was surprised at the *jinn* and their knowledge, and their gripping their baggage on their mounts,

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for those that are evil are not like those who are good.

So go to the finest men of Hāshim; the *jinn* who believe are not like those of them who disbelieve."

This and similar materials indicate the repeated arrival of the *jinn* to Mecca. We have sufficiently established that above; and all praise and credit be to God. Success and authority come through Him.

64. See Vol. I, page 245 *et seq.*

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī gave here a very strange *ḥadīth* – one indeed, that was either objectionable or fabricated. However, its source is a cherished one. And I wish to report it just as he did. It is strange to come from him.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in his *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa*: “Chapter on the arrival of Hāma b. al-Haytham b. Lāqis b. Iblis to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his acceptance of Islam” as follows: “Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Dāʾūd al-ʿAlawī, may God have mercy on him, informed us, quoting Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh b. Sahl al-Qārī al-Marwazī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥammād al-Āmīlī, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Maʿshar, who quoted his father, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who quoted ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, as saying, ‘While we were seated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on one of the mountains of Tihāma, an old man holding a staff arrived. He greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who returned the greeting, and asked, “By the sing-song and prattling of the *jinn*, who are you?” He replied, “I am Hāma b. al-Haytham b. Lāqis b. Iblis.”

“The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked “There are only two fathers in your line from Iblis (Satan); how long have you lived, then?”

“I’ve been living almost as long as the world itself. Back when Cain killed Abel, I was still a boy, learning to understand words, moving across the hills and ordering food to turn bad and breaking up families.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “Evil was the work of both the blameworthy old man and the reprehensible boy!”

“The old man went on, “Spare me from destruction! I turn in repentance to God, Almighty and Glorious is He! I was with Noah in his mosque, along with those of his people who believe in him. I kept on decrying him for his call to his people until he wept and made me do so too. He said, ‘Surely, I am one of those who repent for all that; and I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.’

““I said, ‘Noah, I was of those who took part in shedding the blood of that fortunate martyr Abel, son of Adam. Can you find forgiveness for me in yourself?’ He replied, ‘Hām, hurry and find good to perform before you suffer grief and remorse. I have read in what God has sent down to me that every worshipper who turns in repentance to God and communicates this will have God turn to him in forgiveness. Arise, perform the ablutions and make two prayer prostrations to God.”

“Hām went on, “I did at once what he told me. He then called out to me, ‘Lift up your head; forgiveness of you has been revealed from heaven. And so I prostrated in worship to God.”

“He continued, “I was also with Hūd in his mosque, along with those of his people who believed. I kept on criticizing him for his call to his people until he wept over them and made me weep too. He said, ‘Surely, I am one of those who repent for all that. And I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.’

““Also I was with Ṣāliḥ in his mosque with those of his people who believed. I kept on criticizing him for his call to his people until he wept over them and made me weep too. He said, ‘I am one of those who repent for all that. And I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.’

““I used to visit Jacob, too; I was with Joseph in the secure place; and I used to meet Elijah in the valleys; I meet him now.

““I met Moses, son of ʿImrān, and he taught me from the Torah. He told me, ‘If you meet Jesus, son of Mary, greet him for me.’ I did meet Jesus, son of Mary, and greeted him from Moses. Jesus said, ‘If you meet Muḥammad (ṢAAS), greet him for me.’

““The eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) flowed abundantly in tears as he wept at this. Then he said, ‘And may peace be upon Jesus for as long as the world exists. And may peace be upon you too, Ḥām, for your keeping to the faith.’”

“Ḥām went on, ‘Messenger of God, do with me as Moses did. He taught me from the Torah.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then taught him the words, “When the awesome event occurs” (*sūrat al-Wāqʿa*; LVI, v.1), “And those who are sent forth” (*sūrat al-Mursalāt*; LXXVII, v.1), “What do they ask one another” (*sūrat al-Nabī*; LXXXVIII, v.1), “When the sun is covered over” (*sūrat al-Takwīr*; LXXXI, v.1), “Say: ‘I seek refuge with the Lord of the dawn’” (*sūrat al-Falaq*; CXIII, v.1), “Say: ‘I seek refuge with the Lord of men’” (*sūrat al-Nās*; CXIV, v.1), and “Say: ‘He, God, is One’” (*sūrat al-Iklās*; CXII, v.1).

“He then told him, “Tell us your needs, Ḥām. And don’t stop visiting us.””

ʿUmar concluded, “He shook hands with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in farewell and never returned to us. We don’t know whether he is alive or dead.”

Al-Bayhaqī went on to state, “This Ibn Abū Maʿshar in the chain has had major *aḥādīth* related from him; however, the scholars in the traditions consider him weak.”

But this *ḥadīth* is narrated from another and stronger line of transmission. God knows best.

THE YEAR 10 AH.

Chapter: On the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of Khālīd b. al-Walīd.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth Khālīd b. al-Walīd in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, or Jumādā al-Uwla of 10 AH to Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb in Najrān.

“He ordered him to invite them to Islam for three days before attacking them. If they responded positively, he was to accept them, and if they did not, he was to attack them.

“Khālīd went forth and when he reached them, he sent out riders in all directions inviting them to Islam, telling them, ‘Accept Islam and you will be safe.’

"They did accept Islam and accepted what they had been asked to do. Khālīd remained with them, instructing them in Islām, in God's Book and in the practices of His Prophet (ṢAAS), as the latter had ordered if they should accept Islam and not do battle.

"Khālīd b. al-Walīd then wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as follows, 'In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. To Muḥammad, the Prophet, and Messenger of God, from Khālīd b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, along with the mercy and blessings of God. I express to you praise for God, other than Whom there is no god. To proceed, Messenger of God, may God's blessings be upon you, you dispatched me to Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and ordered me not to fight them for three days, to invite them into Islam and if they accepted I was to go and teach them the essentials of Islam, God's Book, and the practice of His Prophet; if they did not accept Islam, I was to fight them.

"I did go to them and invited them into Islam for three days, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me. I sent riders out to them who said, 'Banū al-Ḥārith, accept Islam and be safe.' They did accept Islam and did not fight. I am staying among them telling them of what God has ordered them and forbidding them from what God forbade them. I am teaching them the essentials of Islam and the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) writes to me. Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, along with His mercy and His blessings.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote back to him as follows, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to Khālīd b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon you. I express to you praise for God other than Whom there is no other god. To proceed: your letter came to me with your messenger informing me that Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b accepted Islam before you did battle with them, that they responded positively to the requirements of Islam of which you informed them, that they testified that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger, and that God has given them His guidance. Congratulate them, give them warning and return; and let their delegation come with you. Peace be upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.'

"Khālīd did return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the delegation of Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b came with him. Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn Dhū al-Ghuṣṣa, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Madān, Yazīd b. al-Muḥajjal, 'Abd Allāh b. Qurād al-Ziyyādī, Shaddād b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Qanānī and 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḍibābī were among them. When they came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he saw them, he asked, 'Who are these men who seem to be Indians?'

"Someone told him, 'These men are Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b.' When they stood before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they greeted him and said, 'We bear witness that you are the Messenger of God, and that there is no god but God.'

He replied, 'I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that I am the Messenger of God.'

"He then said, 'You are the people who, if forced back, would promptly advance again.' They remained silent; none of them offered him any response. He said the same a second and a third time and still no one responded.

"Then he said it a fourth time, and Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Madān replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God; we are those who advance again if forced back.' He said this four times.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'If Khālīd had not written to me that you had accepted Islam and had not done battle, I would have cast your heads beneath your feet!'

"Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Madān said, 'In fact, I swear by God, we do not give praise to you or to Khālīd.'

"Whom do you praise, then?' he asked. He replied, 'We praise God who led us to you, Messenger of God.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'You speak the truth.'

"He then asked, 'How was it you overcame those you fought in the *jāhiliyya*?' They replied, 'We overcame no one.'

"But you did,' he said. 'You did overcome those you fought.'

"They replied, 'We did overcome those we fought, Messenger of God, by uniting and not splitting up, and by never initiating any injustice with anyone.' 'You speak the truth,' he said and then appointed Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn as their commander."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "They then returned to their people for the latter part of Shawwāl or the early part of Dhū al-Qa'da. After their delegation had left, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched 'Amr b. Ḥazm to give them instruction in the faith, to teach them the orthodox practice and the essential features of Islam, and to take from them their charitable donations. He wrote him a document specifying his charge and his orders to him."

Ibn Ishāq went on to quote this document. We gave it above in matters relating to the delegation of the kings of Ḥimyar, quoting from al-Bayhaqī. Al-Nasā'ī related this in a text similar to that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, but without a chain of authorities.

THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) OF THE COMMANDERS TO THE PEOPLE OF YEMEN, INVITING THEM TO GOD, ALMIGHTY AND GLORIOUS IS HE, CAME PRIOR TO THE ḤIJJAT AL-WADĀ'.

Al-Bukhārī entitles a section "Chapter on the dispatch of Abū Mūsā and Mu'adh to Yemen prior to the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*."

He went on to state, "Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū 'Awāna, quoting 'Abd al-Mālik, from Abū Burda, who said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū Mūsā and Mu'adh b. Jabal to Yemen. He dispatched each one of them to rule a province; Yemen has two provinces.

“He told them, “Be lenient, not harsh; encourage, rather than repress.” In one account the words he used were, “Co-operate with one another; do not conflict.”

“Each went off to do his work. They promised to visit and greet one another in their own territory and when close to that of the other. Mu‘adh was once travelling on his land near that of his colleague Abū Mūsā and rode further on his mule to meet the latter. He found Abū Mūsā seated, with his people all around him. There was a man there with him whose hands had been tied up to his neck. Mu‘adh asked Abū Mūsā, “‘Abd Allāh b. Qays, what’s this about?” He replied, “This is a man who apostatized after accepting Islam.” Mu‘adh told him, “Well, I’ll not dismount until he is killed!” Abū Mūsā assured him, “But that’s exactly why he was brought here. Do dismount.” Mu‘adh insisted, “I’ll not dismount until he is killed.” The order was given, and he was killed.

“Mu‘adh dismounted and asked, “‘Abd Allāh, how do you recite the Qur’ān?” He replied, “I do so at regular intervals and piece-by-piece. How do you, Mu‘adh?” Mu‘adh replied, “I sleep for the first part of the night, then get up, having slept for that portion I determined. Then I recite what God wrote for me I should. Thus I seek God’s reward for both my sleeping and my being up praying.””

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Ishāq related to him, quoting Khālīd, from al-Shaybānī, from Sa‘īd b. Abū Burda, from his father, from Abū Mūsā al-‘Ash‘arī, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen and asked him about the drinks made there. Abū Mūsā told him, “They make *al-bit* and *al-mizr*.”

The narrator then asked Abū Burda, “What is *al-bit*?” “It’s an alcoholic drink made from honey. And *al-mizr* is an alcoholic drink made from barley,” he replied.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “All intoxicants are prohibited.”

Jarīr and ‘Abd al-Wāḥid related it, from al-Shaybānī, from Abū Burda. Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Sa‘īd b. Abū Burda.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Ḥibbān related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allāh, from Zakariyyā b. Abū Ishāq, from Yahyā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣayfī, from Abū Ma‘bad, the freed-man of Ibn ‘Abbās, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Mu‘adh b. Jabal, when he dispatched him to Yemen, ‘You are going to people who have a scripture. When you reach them, invite them to testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. If they obey you in that, then tell them that God has enjoined upon them five prayers each day and night. If they obey you in that, then tell them that God obligates them to make a charitable contribution that will be taken from their rich and be returned to their poor. If they obey you in that, then refrain from (taking as tax payment) their best properties; be fearful of the curse of the oppressed, for there is no barrier between them and God.”

The rest of the community of scholars promulgated this from various lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū al-Mughira related to us, quoting Ṣafwān, quoting Rāshid b. Sa'd, from 'Āṣim b. Ḥamid al-Sakūnī, from Mu'adh b. Jabal, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, the latter went out to give him instructions, walking beside his mount as he rode. When he had finished, he said, 'Mu'adh, you may well not meet me again, after this year; but perhaps you will pass by this mosque of mine, and my grave.'

"Mu'adh wept in humility at leaving the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) then turned towards Medina and said, 'Those persons who are foremost with me are the pious; whoever and wherever they may be.'"

Imām Aḥmad then related this from Abū al-Yamān, from Ṣafwān b. 'Amr, from Rāshid b. Sa'd, from 'Āṣim b. Ḥamid al-Sakūnī. That account states that when Mu'adh was dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Yemen, the latter went out to give him instructions, walking beside Mu'adh's mount as he rode. When he had finished, he said, "Mu'adh, you may well not meet me again, after this year; but perhaps you will pass by this mosque of mine and my grave."

Mu'adh wept in humility at leaving the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then said, "Mu'adh, don't weep. There are occasions for weeping; weeping comes from Satan."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abū al-Mughira related to us, quoting Ṣafwān, quoting Abū Ziyād b. 'Ubayd Yaḥyā al-Ghassānī, from Yazīd b. Quṭayb, who said that Mu'adh used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Yemen and said, "You may well pass by my grave and my mosque. I have sent you to a people whose hearts are delicate; they will fight twice for the truth. You must fight along with those who obey you against those of them who disobey you. To the extent that wives will challenge their husbands, sons their fathers and brothers one another, they will be faithful to Islam. And so between the two sides you will create tranquillity and acquiescence.'"

In this *ḥadīth* there is evidence and indication that Mu'adh, may God be pleased with him, would not thereafter meet with the Prophet (ṢAAS). That is indeed how it came out; Mu'adh remained in Yemen until the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*. And then, 81 days following the day of the major pilgrimage, came the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Then there is the *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad in which he stated, "Wakī' related to us, from al-A'mash, from Abū Zabyān, from Mu'adh, that when the latter returned from Yemen, he said, "Messenger of God, I have seen men in Yemen who bow down to one another. Should we not bow down to you?" He replied, "If I were to order any human being to bow down to any other, I would order women to do so to their husbands."

Aḥmad related it from Ibn Numayr, from al-A'mash (who said), "I heard Abū Zabyān relate from one of the *anṣār*, from Mu'adh b. Jabal, who said, 'Mu'adh arrived from Yemen and said, 'Messenger of God, I have seen men . . .'" and he continued as above.

This *ḥadīth* revolves around a man who is obscure; reference to such a person could not be used as evidence, especially as other reliable authorities contradict him, by saying, "When Muʿadh arrived from Syria . . .". Aḥmad related this.

Aḥmad stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mahdi related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥusayn, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Muʿadh b. Jabal, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'The keys to paradise are in bearing witness that there is no god but God.'"

Aḥmad stated, "Wakīʿ related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Maymūn b. Abū Shabīb, from Muʿadh, (who said that) the Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, 'Muʿadh, respond to something bad by something good; that will erase it. Treat people with honourable conduct.'"

Waqīʿ stated, "I found it in my book from Abū Dharr, he being the first auditor. Sufyān on one occasion quoted this tradition from Muʿadh."

Imām Aḥmad then stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, from Layth, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Maymūn b. Abū Shabīb, from Muʿadh, who said, "Messenger of God, give me instructions." He replied, "Fear God, wherever you may be." "Tell me more," he asked. He replied, "Respond to something bad by something good that will erase it." "Tell me more," he asked. "Treat people with honourable conduct," he replied.

Al-Tirmidhī related it in his collection from Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from Wakīʿ, from Sufyān al-Thawrī and stated that it was *ḥasan*, "good".

Our teacher stated in his exegesis, "Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān traced it from Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, from Layth b. Abū Salīm, from al-Aʿmash, from Ḥabīb."

Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh, from Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr al-Ḥaḍramī, from Muʿadh b. Jabal, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) instructed me using ten phrases. He said, 'Do not associate anything with God, even though you might be killed or burned. Do not disobey your parents, even though they tell you to give up your property or your family. Do not deliberately forego any prescribed prayer. Whoever deliberately forgoes a prescribed prayer loses God's protection. Do not drink wine, for it is the cause of every vile deed. Beware of insubordination, for it incurs the wrath of God. Beware of flight from an advancing enemy, even if people are being destroyed. If death afflicts (your) people, you are of them, so stay firm. Expend upon your children from your assets and do not raise from them your staff in their upbringing. And inspire in them love of God, the Almighty and Glorious.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yūnus related to us, quoting Baqīyya, from al-Sarri b. Yanʿam, from Shurayḥ, from Masrūq, from Muʿadh b. Jabal, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, he told him, 'Beware of luxury; God's servants do not seek after luxury.'"

Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd al-Hāshimī related to him, quoting Abū Bakr – meaning Ibn ʿAyyāsh – quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū Wāʾil, from Muʿadh,

who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me to Yemen and ordered me to take one *dīnār* or its equivalent in *ma'āfir*, 'provisions', from each adult; he told me to take one mature cow for each forty cattle and one camel for each thirty cattle per annum. He ordered me to take one-tenth of the produce of land watered by rain and one-twentieth of the produce of land watered by buckets."

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Mu'āwiya, and al-Nasā'ī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq from al-A'mash in similar form.

The *ahl al-sunan* related it from various lines of transmission, from al-A'mash, from Abū Wā'il, from Masrūq, from Mu'adh.

Aḥmad stated, "Mu'āwiya related to me, from 'Amr and from Hārūn b. Ma'rūf, both of whom stated, 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb related to us, from Ḥaywa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Salama b. Usāma, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam (who said) that Mu'adh stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me to receive charitable payments from the people of Yemen. He told me to take a *tabī'*, 'one camel', for every thirty head of cattle.'" Hārūn explained, "The word *tabī'* means a young, mature camel, either male or female." "And for each forty head of cattle one *musinna*, 'a mature cow'."

"They proposed to me that I should take extra payment for between forty and fifty, between sixty and seventy, and between eighty and ninety. But I declined this, telling them, 'I will ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about that.'

"When I returned, I told the Prophet (ṢAAS) about this and he told me to take one camel for thirty cattle and for every forty head I should take one mature cow. For sixty I should take two camels. For seventy, one mature cow and one camel. For eighty, two mature cows. For ninety, I should take three camels. For one hundred, one mature cow and two camels. For one hundred and ten, two mature cows and one camel. For one hundred and twenty, I should take three mature cows and four camels.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me not to take anything for intermediate figures; only if it amounted to a mature cow or a camel. He claimed that there was no tax on intermediate numbers."

This is a *ḥadīth* that is unique to Aḥmad. This suggests that he came back after his trip to Yemen to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, the fact is that he did not see the latter after that, as is stated earlier in a *ḥadīth*.

Abd al-Razzāq stated that Ma'mar informed him, from al-Zuhri, from Ubayy b. Ka'b b. Mālik, who said, "Mu'adh b. Jabal was a handsome and generous young man, one of the finest of his people. Anything ever asked of him he would give, so that eventually he had a debt that foreclosed all his money. He told this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him to speak to his creditors, and this he did. But they would not reduce his debt at all; and if anyone should ever have had a debt excused because of the plea of another, it should have been Mu'adh after the appeal made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned him and immediately Mu'adh sold all his possessions and divided the proceeds between his creditors. Mu'adh had nothing left.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was going on the pilgrimage, he sent Mu'adh to Yemen. And so Mu'adh was the first to do business with that money.

"When he returned from Yemen to Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died. 'Umar came to him and said, 'Will you obey me and pay this money over to Abū Bakr? If he gives it to you, you can then accept it.'

"Mu'adh replied, 'I'll not give it to him! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Yemen to restore my fortune.'

"When Mu'adh refused, 'Umar went to Abū Bakr and said, 'Send a message to this man and take it, then pay him.'

"Abū Bakr replied, 'I'll not do that; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only dispatched him to restore his fortune. I'll not take anything from him.'

"Next morning, Mu'adh went to 'Umar and said, 'I see no alternative to doing what you said. I saw myself yesterday in a dream' – 'Abd al-Razzāq thinks he said this – 'being dragged to hell-fire; and you had hold of my waistband!'

"He then hurried off to Abū Bakr with everything he had brought; he even took him his whip and he swore he had kept nothing hidden from him. Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, 'It is yours; I will take none of it.'"

Abū Thāwī related this, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik. He related it as above, except for the words, "and in the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him as governor of a part of Yemen. Mu'adh remained there until the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Then, in the caliphate of Abū Bakr, he returned and left again for Syria."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We have affirmed earlier that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed him in command of Mecca with 'Attāb b. Usayd to give its people instruction, and also that he was present on the expedition to Tabūk; it is most likely that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen after that. But God knows best."

Al-Bayhaqī then related the story of Mu'adh's dream, giving a line of transmission through al-A'mash, from Abū Wā'il, from 'Abd Allāh. In that account it is said that what Mu'adh brought (from Yemen) included slaves, and that he took them to Abū Bakr. When the latter gave everything back to him, Mu'adh took them back too. He then performed the prayer, and all the slaves prayed with him. When he was done, he asked them, "To whom did you pray?" "To God," they replied. "Then you are all manumitted to Him." And he did free them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū 'Awn, from al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Akhū al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, from associates of Mu'adh from the people of Ḥims, from Mu'adh, who said that

when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, he asked, "How will you act if a case is brought to you for judgement?" He replied, "I will make a judgement according to what is in God's Book."

"And what if the case is not in God's Book?"

"Then in accord with the practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)," he replied.

"And what if it is not covered in the practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?"

"I will *ajtahidu*,⁶⁵ 'strive hard', and spare no effort."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then struck me in the chest and said, 'Praise be to God, who made fit for the envoy of the Messenger of God that which pleases the Messenger of God!'"

Aḥmad related this from Waki', from 'Affān, from Shu'ba, with his line of transmission and his phraseology.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "We know it only from this line of transmission and in my opinion his chain of authorities is not continuous."

Ibn Māja related it from him by a different line, namely through Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Ḥassān – he having been crucified, as one of the liars – from 'Ubāda b. Nusi,⁶⁶ from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanam, from Mu'adh, in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from Muḥammad b. Ja'far, and Yaḥyā b. Sa'd, from Shu'ba, from 'Amr b. Abū Ḥakīm, from 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda, from Yaḥyā b. Ma'mar, from Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī, who said, "While Mu'adh was in Yemen, the case was brought before him of a Jew who had died and left a brother who was a Muslim.

"Mu'adh stated, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Islam brings increase, not loss." And he allowed him to inherit."

Abū Dā'ūd related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Burayda.

This ruling is narrated from Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān, its narrator being Yaḥyā b. Mu'ammār al-Qāḍī and a group of early authorities. Ishāq b. Rāhawayh preferred that version.

The majority of scholars, however, including the four Imāms and their followers, oppose this group. They raise objections because of what is firmly established in the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Usāma b. Zayd, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'An unbeliever may not inherit from a Muslim, nor a Muslim from an unbeliever.'"

What is shown here is that Mu'adh, may God be pleased with him, was a *qāḍī*, "a judge", in Yemen acting on behalf of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was a

65. Use of *ijtihād* has, of course, been considered an essential function of jurists since the early days of Islam.

66. According to a footnote in the Arabic printed text, he was a *qāḍī* of Tiberias who died in 118 AH.

commander in the wars and one who distributed and received the charitable contributions, as the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ‘Abbās given above shows.

He would stand out in front of the people and perform the five prayers with them. As al-Bukhārī stated, “Sulayman b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Shu‘ba, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from ‘Amr b. Maymūn, (who said) that when Mu‘adh went to Yemen, he performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with them and recited, “And God took Abraham as a companion . . .” (*sūrat al-Nisā’*; IV, v.125). At that, one of the congregation said, “Abraham’s mother was really pleased!”

Al-Bukhārī was alone in giving this.

Chapter on the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and Khālīd b. al-Walīd to Yemen, before ḥijjat al-wada‘, ‘The Farewell Pilgrimage’.

Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān related to us, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Abū Ishāq, quoting his father, from Abū Ishāq (who said), “I heard al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us with Khālīd b. al-Walīd to Yemen. He later dispatched ‘Alī to take his place. He told him, “Tell those of Khālīd’s men who wish to remain with you that they may; those who wish should return.” I was among those who stayed with him. And I received a considerable number of *awqīyya* as booty.”

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this with this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Rawḥ b. ‘Ubāda, quoting ‘Alī b. Suwayd b. Manjūf, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda, from his father, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent ‘Alī to Khālīd b. al-Walīd to collect the *khums*, ‘the one-fifth booty payment’. I hated ‘Alī. Next morning ‘Alī took a bath.⁶⁷ I asked Khālīd, ‘Won’t you just look at this!’

“When we returned to the Prophet (ṢAAS), I related that situation to him, and he asked, ‘Burayda, you really hate ‘Alī?’ ‘Yes, I do,’ I replied. He commented, ‘Well don’t hate him; he deserves more than that from the *khums*.’”

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this with this line; Muslim does not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā b. Sa‘īd related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Jalīl, who said, “I was in a circle of people that included Abū Mijlaz and Burayda’s two sons. ‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda said, ‘My father Burayda related to me as follows, “I used to hate ‘Alī more strongly than I had ever hated anyone. And there was one man of Quraysh whom I liked only because of his hatred for ‘Alī.

“““That man was sent out with the cavalry and I went with him, solely because of his hatred for ‘Alī. We took some prisoners. He then wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, ‘Send someone to us who will divide the

67. The text implies that he bathed after a sexual encounter with one of the slave-girls included in the *khumus* booty.

booty.' He dispatched 'Ali to us. Among the best of the captives was a black slave-girl.

““‘Ali took the booty, divided it up and came out. When he did so, his head was wet. I asked, ‘Abū al-Ḥasan, what’s this?’ He replied, ‘Didn’t you see that black slave-girl included with the captives? I made the division and she became part of the *khums*. Then she became part of the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and so one of ‘Ali’s family. And I had sex with her.’

“““The man⁶⁸ had a message to send to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). So I said, ‘Dispatch me.’ And he did so, expressing his trust. (When in the presence of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), I began reading out the message, saying it was true. He (the Prophet) then took hold of my hand and the message and asked, ‘Do you hate ‘Ali?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Don’t hate him,’ he asked. ‘Whatever love you have for him, make it stronger. I swear by Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, the share of the *khums* due the family of ‘Ali is better than one black slave-girl.’

“““And following what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said to me, there was no one I loved more than I did ‘Ali.”

““‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda went on, “And I swear by the One and Only God, that the only narrator between myself and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was my father Burayda.”

‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Faqīh Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Baṣrī is alone in giving this. Ibn Maʿīn and Ibn Ḥibbān both consider him reliable. However, al-Bukhārī stated, “Various charges, are, however, made against him.”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “Abān b. Ṣāliḥ related to us, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Niyār al-Aslamī, from his uncle ‘Amr b. Sha’s al-Aslamī, who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya, who said, ‘I was with ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālib in the cavalry party the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out to Yemen. ‘Ali was somewhat rude to me, and I resented his behaviour.

‘When I returned to Medina, I complained about him in various meetings and to people I met. One day when I went to the mosque, I found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sitting there. When he saw me look into his eyes, he stared straight back at me until I sat down near him. He then said, “I swear, ‘Amr b. Sha’s, you have done me harm!”

“““But we all belong to God and to Him do we return!” I exclaimed. “I take refuge in God and in Islam against ever harming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!” He commented, “Whoever harms ‘Ali harms me!””

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a different line, from Ibn Ishāq, from Abān b. al-Faḍl b. Maʿqil b. Sinān, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Niyār, from his uncle ‘Amr b. Sha’s. That account is similar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Ishāq al-Muzakkī, relating from ‘Ubayda b. Abū al-Safr who

68. That is, the unnamed leader of Burayda’s party.

said, "I heard Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Abū Ishāq state, from his father, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā' (who said) that, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Khālīd b. al-Walīd to invite the people of Yemen into Islam.'"

Al-Barā' went on, "I was among those who accompanied Khālīd b. al-Walīd. We stayed there six months inviting them into Islam, but they did not respond well to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib with orders to replace Khālīd; those with Khālīd who wanted to stay there with 'Alī could do so.

"I was one of those who stayed with 'Alī. When we approached the people there, they came out to us. We advanced and 'Alī led us in prayer. He later positioned us in one line and went out ahead of us and read to them the message from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). At that all (Banū) Hamdān accepted Islam. 'Alī then wrote a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling of their acceptance of Islam. When he read the message, he prostrated in prayer, then raised his head and said, 'Peace be upon (Banū) Hamdān! Peace be upon Hamdān!'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Bukhārī related this in an abbreviated form, from a different line, from Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Abū Sahl b. Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Ismā'īl b. Abū Uways, who quoted his brother, from Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Sa'd b. Ishāq b. Ka'b b. 'Ujra, from his aunt Zaynab, daughter of Ka'b b. 'Ujra, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib to Yemen.

"I was one of those who accompanied him. When he had taken some camels as *sadaqa*, 'charitable payments', we asked him if we could ride them and rest our own, which we could see were tiring. He refused us, saying, 'You have only a share in them, just like all Muslims.'

"When 'Alī had finished his mission and left Yemen to return home, he appointed a certain person in command of us. He himself then hurried off and joined in the pilgrimage. When he had completed his pilgrimage, the Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, 'Go back and rejoin your men.'

"In the meantime we had made to the commander 'Alī had appointed over us the same request he had denied, and this man had agreed. When 'Alī learned that the camels taken as *sadaqa* payment had been ridden, and saw how this had tired them, he summoned his deputy and berated him.

"(I told myself) 'I swear by God, when I reach Medina, I'll certainly make a report to him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), and tell him how rudely and harshly we have been treated! After our arrival in Medina, I went to him early one morning intending to fulfil my oath. I met Abū Bakr coming out from having been with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and when he saw me he stopped and welcomed me, asking me various questions, as I did him. He asked, 'When did you arrive?'

'I got here yesterday,' I replied. He then went back with me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He went inside and said, 'Sa'd b. Mālik b. al-Shahīd is here.' 'Invite him in,' he told him.

"So I entered and greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he did me. He came over to me and asked me various questions about myself and my family, and did so very kindly. I told him, 'Messenger of God, we suffered greatly from the ill-conduct and harsh treatment of 'Alī.'

"He hesitated and I began enumerating the problems we had had with him and right in the middle of my comments he slapped me on the thigh; I was right next to him. He said, 'Sa'd b. Mālik b. al-Shahīd, tone down what you are saying about your brother 'Alī! I swear by God, I well know how tough he is in God's cause!' I told myself, 'Sa'd b. Mālik, your mother is as good as bereaved of you! I'm sure to be in his bad books, no matter what! And I'll surely never make a negative reference to him again, confidentially or openly!'"

The chain of transmission for this is good and accords with the criteria of al-Nasā'ī; but none of the authors of the six major collections (of traditions) relate it.

Yūnus quoted from Muḥammad b. Ishāq as follows, "Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū 'Umar related to me, from Yazīd b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna, who said, 'The army who were with 'Alī in Yemen became upset that, having made their advance, he then put a deputy in command of them and hurried away to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"This deputy went ahead and dressed every man in a ceremonial robe. When they were on their way to him, 'Alī came out to receive them and found them wearing their robes. He asked, 'What's all this then?' They replied, 'So-and-so dressed us in them.' He asked, 'What made you do this before coming to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), instead of letting him do as he wished?' And he took away their robes.

"When they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they complained to him about that. These men had previously made a pact of peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he had only sent 'Alī to collect the *jizya*, 'poll-tax', imposed upon them."

I note that this text is close to that of al-Bayhaqī. Namely, that 'Alī went on ahead of them because of the pilgrimage, taking a *hadī*,⁶⁹ with him and having assumed the state of *iḥrām* for the pilgrimage, with the same intention as the Prophet (ṢAAS). The latter ordered 'Alī to maintain the state of *iḥrām*. In an account of al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, he ('Alī?) told him, 'I brought a *hadī* and assumed the *qirān* state for the *ḥajj*.'⁷⁰

69. An animal – a goat, sheep or, more usually, a camel – brought on the pilgrimage for sacrifice.

70. The Muslim pilgrim is at liberty to assume a variety of states for the *ḥajj*, one of which is *al-qirān*. For further information see the Glossary and the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

What is implied here is that when there arose the controversy about that army, due to 'Alī's having prevented them putting the *ṣadaqa* camels to work and then his having withdrawn from them the permission granted by his deputy. Even though 'Alī could be excused for his actions, talk arose among the pilgrims about him. Therefore, though God knows best, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having completed the pilgrimage and its associated ceremonials, returned to Medina. Passing the stream at Khumm, he arose among the people and made an address. He acquitted 'Alī of wrongdoing, emphasized his importance and his virtues to remove the negative impression of him held by many. A detailed account of this will follow, in its appropriate place, if God so wills it. And in Him is all trust.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wāḥid, from 'Umāra b. al-Qa'qā' b. Shabrama, who quoted 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Nu'm as having said that he heard Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī say, "'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib sent from Yemen to the Prophet (ṢAAS), in a leather bag a chunk of gold not yet refined from its ore.

"He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), divided it up between four persons: 'Uyayna b. Badr, al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis and Zayd al-Khayl. The fourth was either 'Alqama b. 'Ulātha or 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl.

"One of his men said, 'But we had more right to it than they!' That remark reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he said, 'Don't you trust me! Even though I am the one trusted by the One in heaven, who delivers me news of heaven, morning and evening?'

"Thereupon a man arose who had sunken eyes, prominent cheekbones, a high forehead, thick beard, shaved head and who was wearing his waist-wrapper tucked up. He said, 'Messenger of God, fear God!' He responded, 'Confound you, am I not the most God-fearing man of all?' The man then walked away.

"Khālid b. al-Walid then asked, 'Messenger of God, should I not behead him?' 'No,' he replied, 'he may well be one who prays.'⁷¹ 'Alī commented, 'But there are many who pray, yet speak with their tongues what is not in their hearts.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'I have not been commanded to search the hearts of people, nor to cut open their stomachs.'

"He stared after the man as he walked away, and said, 'From the progeny of this man there will go out people who will recite the Book of God eloquently, but it will not pass beyond their throats. They will exit the faith like an arrow exiting from its target.' I think he also said, 'If I were alive at their time, I would execute them just as Thamūd were killed.'

Al-Bukhārī related this in various other places of his work. Muslim relates it in the section on *zakāt*, "charitable payments", of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, along several lines of transmission from 'Umāra b. al-Qa'qā'.

71. The comment implies that he is, outwardly at least, a Muslim.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā related to him, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtārī, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), dispatched me to Yemen while I was still young.

"I said, 'You are dispatching me to a people among whom there will be cases (to decide), but I have no knowledge of making judgement.' He replied, 'God will guide your tongue and make your heart firm.'

"And I never had any doubts about judging between any two."

Ibn Māja related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Simāk, from Ḥanash, from ʿAlī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me to Yemen. I asked, 'Messenger of God, are you sending me out to people older than myself; I'm still young, and I have no knowledge of reaching judgement.'

"He then placed his hand on my chest and said, 'O God, make his tongue firm and guide his heart. ʿAlī, if you should have two rivals sit down with you, do not judge between them until you hear from the other what you heard from the first; if you act this way, it will be clear to you.'

"And since then I never had doubts about any case." Or the words used were, "And since then I never found any case difficult."

Aḥmad also narrated this, as did Abū Dāʿūd, from various other lines, from Shurayk. Al-Tirmidhī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Zāʿida. Both quoted from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Ḥanash b. al-Muʿtamir, said to be the son of Rabīʿa al-Kinānī al-Kūfī, from ʿAlī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related to him, from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Khalīl, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said that several people had intercourse with a woman in the same period. ʿAlī asked two of them, "Do you find this appropriate?" "No," they replied. ʿAlī then approached the others and asked, "Do you find this appropriate?" They both replied, "No." He then said, "You are quarrelsome partners."

He went on, "I will cast lots between you. Whichever of you has his opponent win will receive two-thirds of the blood-wit, and I will award the child to him."

"This decision was reported to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'I know no more than what ʿAlī said.'"

Aḥmad also stated that Shurayḥ b. al-Nuʿmān related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Shaʿbī, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Zayd b. Arqam (who said) that before ʿAlī, while he was in Yemen, three men were brought who had shared (in the conception of) a child. He drew lots between them and awarded to the one to whom the arrow pointed two-thirds of the *diyya*, and awarded the child to him.

Zayd b. Arqam stated that he went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and informed him of ʿAlī's decision, and that he laughed so loudly that his molars were visible.

Abū Dāʿūd related this from Musaddad, from Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān, as did al-Nasāʾī, from ʿAlī b. Ḥujr, from ʿAlī b. Mushir. Both these scholars give their

line of transmission from al-Ajlaḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh, from ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Khalīl.

Al-Nasā‘ī, in his account from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Khalīl, quotes Zayd b. Arqam as stating, “I was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a man from Yemen arrived and said, ‘Three men went to ‘Alī in dispute over a child with whose mother they had each had intercourse in one period.’ He went on to relate as above and concluded, ‘And the Prophet (ṢAAS) laughed.’”

Both scholars – Abū Dā‘ūd and al-Nasā‘ī, that is – also related it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu‘ba, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from al-Sha‘bī, from Abū Khalīl or Ibn al-Khalīl, from ‘Alī’s words. The source gave an incomplete or improperly transcribed line of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad also narrated it, from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Sha‘bī, from ‘Abd Khayr, from Zayd b. Arqam. That account is similar to the above. Both Abū Dā‘ūd and al-Nasā‘ī gave it from Ḥanash b. Aṣram; Ibn Māja gave it from Ishāq b. Maṣṣūr. Both Ḥanash and Ishāq quote ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥamdānī, from al-Sha‘bī, from ‘Abd Khayr, from Zayd b. Arqam.

Our teacher stated in his work *al-Aṭrāf*, “This ‘Abd Khayr’ may well be ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Khalīl; however, the narrator did not fully specify his name.”

I note that if this identification is correct, it strengthens the *ḥadīth*, even though other (narrators) are better because they follow him. However, the al-Ajlaḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kindī in the chain is the subject of some dispute.

Imām Aḥmad accepts the use of casting lots to establish parenthood; this ruling is one of few in which he is alone.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Sa‘īd related to him, quoting Isrā‘īl, quoting Simāk, from Ḥanash, from ‘Alī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Yemen and we went out to a group of people who had dug a pit to trap lions. While they were actively engaged in doing this, one man fell in and grabbed hold of another man. The second took hold of another, and so on until there were four men in the pit. The lion wounded them all. Then a man rushed at it with a lance and killed it. But all the wounded died from their injuries.

“The heirs of the first man approached those of the second, who took up arms to do battle with them. ‘Alī arrived thereafter and asked, ‘Do you really want to fight one another even while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is still alive! I will judge between you. If you accept my decision, then so be it. Otherwise, keep away from one another until you go to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and then he can be the one to judge between you. Anyone who commits aggression after that will have no rights.

‘Gather from the tribes who had dug the pit camels equivalent to one-quarter, one-third, one-half and one whole *diyya*.⁷² To the first victim he awarded

72. Presumably in this case the *diyya*, “the blood-wit”, consisted of the then normal 100 camels of specified age and sex.

one-quarter of a *diyya*, since he had died, one-third of a *diyya* to the second, one-half of a *diyya* to the third and a full *diyya* to the fourth.

"They refused to accept this judgement and went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, 'Abraham's station' at the *ka'ba*, and told him the story. He said, 'I will judge between you.' One man then said, 'Messenger of God, 'Alī has already reached judgement for us.' They recounted this to him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted it."

Imām Aḥmad went on to relate this also from Waki', from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Ḥanash, from 'Alī.

BOOK ON THE HIJJAT AL-WADĀ', 'THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE', IN 10 AH.

It is also known as the *hijjat al-balāgh*, "the message pilgrimage".

It is known as "the farewell pilgrimage" because during it the Prophet (ṢAAS), said goodbye to the people and performed no pilgrimage after it. It is also named *hijjat al-Islām*, "the Islam pilgrimage", because the Prophet (ṢAAS) left on no other occasion from Medina to make the pilgrimage, though he had performed pilgrimages a number of times before the prophethood and thereafter.

It is said that the obligation to make the pilgrimage was revealed that year; it is also said that this was in 9 AH, or in 6 AH, or even before the Hijra, though this last is unlikely.

It is called *hijjat al-balāgh*, "the message pilgrimage" because in it the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave, both in word and deed, the message to the people concerning God's laws for the pilgrimage. All the bases and fundamentals of Islam, without exception, were made clear by the Prophet (ṢAAS). When he explained and laid out for them the prescribed law for the pilgrimage, God revealed to him as he stood there at Mt. 'Arafāt, "Today I have perfected your faith for you, fulfilled my grace upon you and favoured you with Islam as a religion" (*sūrat al-Mā'idā*; V, v.3).

Clarification of all this will follow.

The purpose here is to relate the manner of the pilgrimage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The early transmitters differ considerably in this, depending upon the information they each received; this is especially true of those sources who lived after the Companions of the Prophet, may God be pleased with them.

We, thanks be to God and through His help and the success He grants, will relate those accounts given by the Imāms in their works; we will co-ordinate them in such a manner as to please and instruct those who contemplate them, while interpreting the various accounts, if God so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.

The community and the scholastic authorities, both early and later, have demonstrated very great interest in the pilgrimage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The scholar Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm al-Andalūsī, may God have mercy upon him, devoted a complete volume to the “farewell pilgrimage”. While most of this is excellently done, he did fall into certain mistakes, and we will clarify these in the appropriate places. And in God help is to be sought.

Chapter: Information on the fact that the Prophet (ṢAAS), made only one full pilgrimage from Medina, having previously departed for three ‘umra, ‘lesser’, pilgrimages.

This is as both al-Bukhārī and Muslim related from Hudba, from Hammām, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made four ‘umra pilgrimages, all in Dhū al-Qa‘da, except for the one that was during his performance of his (major) pilgrimage.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr related this from ‘Umar b. Dharr, from Mujāhid, from Abū Hurayra to the same effect.

Sa‘d b. Manṣūr stated, from al-Darāwardī, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made three ‘umra pilgrimages: one in *shawwāl* and three in Dhū al-qa‘da.”

Ibn Bukayr related similarly from Mālik, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made three ‘umra pilgrimages, all in Dhū al-qa‘da.

Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Dā’ūd – meaning al-‘Aṭṭār – from ‘Amr, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made four ‘umra pilgrimages: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, the ‘umrat al-qaḍā’, that from al-Ji‘rāna, and that coincident with his (major) pilgrimage.”

Abū Dā’ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā’ī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Dā’ūd al-‘Aṭṭār, and al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan*, “good”.

This issue is examined above relative to the ‘umra from al-Ji‘rāna.⁷³ It will also be examined in the section on those who stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made the *qirān* pilgrimage simultaneously. And help is to be sought from God.

The first ‘umra was that of al-Ḥudaybiyya from which he was blocked. Thereafter came the ‘umrat al-qaḍā’, which others name the ‘umrat al-qīṣās, “the retaliation pilgrimage”, and still others the ‘umrat al-qaḍiyya, “the cause pilgrimage”. Thereafter came the ‘umra from al-Ji‘rāna, on his return from al-Ṭā’if, when he divided up the spoils from the battle of Ḥunayn. We have examined all this in the appropriate places above. The fourth was the ‘umra he performed along with his major pilgrimage.

73. See above, Vol. III, page 496 *et seq.*

We will examine the disagreements between some over his making an *ʿumra* with this pilgrimage – whether it was *mutamattiʿan*,⁷⁴ wherein he performed the *ʿumra* prior to the *ḥajj*, or was prevented from being discharged (from the *iḥrām*) by his having brought along a sacrificial animal, or whether this *ʿumra* was as a *qārīn*, that is performed simultaneously with his major pilgrimage. We will similarly relate those *aḥādīth* that suggest this, as well as those that say it was performed *mufrīdan*, that is separate from the major pilgrimage, where he engaged in it after having completed the latter. This is what is maintained by those who consider the *ʿumra* as *ifrād*, that is as a specifically separate pilgrimage, a view widely known to be associated with al-Shāfiʿi.

This will be clarified when we discuss the *iḥrām*, the ritual consecration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and whether it was *mufrīdan*, *mutamattiʿan* or *muqārīn*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAmr b. Khālīd related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Ishāq, who quoted Zayd b. Arqam, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on nineteen military expeditions and that he performed one full pilgrimage after his Hijra.

Abū Ishāq said, “And there was another, at Mecca.”

Muslim related this from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr and they both promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. Al-Bukhārī and Isrāʾīl added a third source, from Abū Ishāq ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sabīʿī, from Zayd.

Regarding the comment of Abū Ishāq to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed another pilgrimage while at Mecca, if what he implies is that he only performed one pilgrimage there, as is the apparent meaning of his statement, then he is far from correct.

The Prophet (ṢAAS), after the declaration of his mission, would attend the pilgrimage ceremonies and invite people to God, asking for assistance in announcing the words of his Lord, since Quraysh had prevented him from doing so. This went on until God led to him the community of the *anṣār* who met with him on the night of *al-ʿAqaba*, that is the evening of the animal sacrifice at the meeting at *al-ʿAqaba*, for three successive years. Eventually, in the final year, they pledged allegiance to him, on the second night at *al-ʿAqaba* of their third meeting with him. Thereafter came the Hijra to Medina. We have detailed all this in its appropriate place. And God knows best.

In the *ḥadīth* of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh is quoted as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for nine years without making a pilgrimage. He then made an announcement to the people that there would be a pilgrimage. A large number of people gathered in Medina, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth four or five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda. When he was at

74. The *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* is when the pilgrim does not bring an animal for sacrifice, and assumes the *iḥrām* state only for the *ʿumra*. Thereafter, to perform the *ḥajj* proper, the pilgrim re-establishes the *iḥrām* state and is required to slaughter a *ḥadi*.

Dhū al-Ḥulayfa he performed the prayers. He then mounted his camel and it stood up with him. When it moved off with him into the desert,⁷⁵ he called out *labbayka*! "I am at Your service!" At this we recited the *al-talbiyya*,⁷⁶ thinking only of the pilgrimage."

This *ḥadīth* will be given in full. It is in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim; the above is the phraseology given by al-Bayhaqī, from a line through Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad.

Chapter: On the date of the departure of the Prophet (SAAS), from Medina on the ḥijjat al-waḍāʿ.

This followed his appointment of Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharsha al-Sāʿidī in command of Medina. Others give the name of Sibāʿ b. ʿUrfuṭa al-Ghifārī, both names being given by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, "When Dhū al-Qaʿda of 10 AH arrived, the Messenger of God (SAAS) made preparations to leave on the pilgrimage, and ordered his people to do so too.

"ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from ʿĀʾisha, wife of the Prophet (SAAS), who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) left on the pilgrimage five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda.'"

This line of transmission is excellent.

Imām Mālik related this in his work *al-Muwattaʿ* from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra, from ʿĀʾisha. Imām Aḥmad related it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra.

It is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, in the *sunan* of al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja and the *muṣannaf* of Ibn Abū Shayba, from various lines of transmission, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We left with the Messenger of God (SAAS), five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, intent solely on making the *ḥajj*." This *ḥadīth* will be given in full hereafter.

75. The word used is *al-bayḍāʾ*, "desert". However, some interpret this word in this context to refer to a place by that same name; see page 153 *et seq.*

76. The word used is the verb *ahalla*. It means in this context to recite the following, which is known as the *al-talbiyya*:

Labbayka Allāmma labbayk

Labbayka lā sharika laka labbayk

Inna al-ḥamda wan-niʿmata laka wa al-mulk

Lā sharika lak

This translates as:

I am at Your service, O God,

I am at Your service.

I am at Your service; You have no associate; I am at your service.

Praise and blessings are Yours. And all power is Yours.

And You have no associate.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī related to him, quoting Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoting Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) started out from Medina after he had dressed and oiled his hair, put on his *izār*, his loose waist-wrapper, and his *ridāʾ*, his loose upper wrapper. He forbade only the wearing of such garments that had been stained with saffron that might scent the skin. Arising in the morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he mounted his camel and rode on till he reached al-Bayḍāʾ. He reached Mecca five days after the commencement of Dhū al-Ḥijja."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Regarding the statement that the departure was five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, if he is referring to being at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa in the morning, then Ibn Ḥazm is correct in claiming that the Prophet (ṢAAS) left Medina on Thursday and spent the night of Friday at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. Thus he would have been there in the morning of Friday, that being the 25th of Dhū al-Qaʿda.

If Ibn ʿAbbās means by his reference to the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having been on the fifth day of Dhū al-Qaʿda, following his having dressed and oiled his hair and put on his upper and lower pilgrimage garb, as ʿĀʾisha and Jābir stated, and that they left from Medina five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, then Ibn Ḥazm's statement is improbable and unacceptable and should be replaced by another. That would be applicable only to Friday, if the month of Dhū al-Qaʿda were complete.

It is not possible for the departure to have been on Friday, according to what al-Bukhārī related, as follows, "Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Wahayb, quoting Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, 'While we were with him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer of four *rakaʿāt* in Medina, and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer of two *rakaʿāt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He then spent the night there and next morning mounted his camel and rode it away to al-Bayḍāʾ, gave praise to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, invoked His greatness and then spoke the *talbiyya* for the pilgrimage and an *ʿumra*.'"

Both Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related this, from Qutayba, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas b. Mālik, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer, with four *rakaʿāt* at Medina and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, with two *rakaʿāt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Sufyān, from Muḥammad – meaning Ibn al-Munkadir – and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer, with four *rakaʿāt* at Medina and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa with two.

Al-Bukhārī related it from Abū Nuʿaym, from Sufyān – he being al-Thawrī – and Muslim, Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas.

Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Bukayr related to him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of

God (ṢAAS) performed with us the *al-ẓuhr* prayer, with four prostrations in Medina and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer, with two prostrations, at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He then spent that night at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa until morning. When he mounted his camel and it stood up, he recited the *talbiyya*.”

Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir al-Taymī, from Anas b. Mālik al-Anṣārī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed with us in his mosque in Medina the *al-ẓuhr* prayer with four. He then performed with us the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa with two – in safety and having no fear – about the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*.”

Aḥmad was alone in giving this from these two lines of transmission; both accord with the criteria established for a *ḥadīth* being considered *ṣaḥīḥ*.

This absolutely precludes the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having occurred on the Friday.

Nevertheless, it is not possible for his departure to have taken place on Thursday, as Ibn Ḥazm stated, because that day would have been the 24th of Dhū al-Qaʿda. For there is no dispute over the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja having been a Thursday, because of what is established both by sequencing and by consensus, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stood upon Mt. ʿArafāt on Friday, that being unquestionably the 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijja.

If his departure had been on Thursday, the 24th of Dhū al-Qaʿda, then there would definitely have remained six days of that month, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. These total six days.

Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿĀʾisha and Jābir all stated that he left with five days remaining of Dhū al-Qaʿda. And it is impossible for that to have been Friday, according to the *ḥadīth* of Anas. Therefore, it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina on Saturday and that the narrator thought that the month was of complete length.⁷⁷ It so happened, however, that that year it was shorter, the Wednesday having been dropped and Dhū al-Ḥijja having begun on the night of Thursday. This is substantiated by what is given in Jābir’s narration – that the departure was five or four days before the end (of Dhū al-Qaʿda).

This determination made by this calculation is unavoidable and incontrovertible. But God knows best.

Chapter: A description of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Medina to Mecca for the pilgrimage.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, quoting Anas b. ʿIyād, from ʿUbayd Allāh – he being Ibn ʿUmar – from Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would leave down Shajara Street and enter by al-Muʿarras Street. And that whenever he left for

77. That is, of 30 days.

Mecca, he would pray at the al-Shajara mosque and on his return he would pray at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, in the centre of the valley, where he would spend the night until morning.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this from this line.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, "I found in my book the statement from 'Amr b. Mālik, from Yazīd b. Zuray', from Hishām, from 'Azra b. Thābit, from Thumāma, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) set off on the pilgrimage mounted on a tattered saddle beneath which was a piece of cloth. And he said, '(It is to be) a pilgrimage devoid of eye service or reputation-seeking.'"

Al-Bukhārī commented upon this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection stating, "And Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī stated that it was related to him by Yazīd b. Zuray', from 'Azra b. Thābit, from Thumāma, who said, 'Anas rode away on the pilgrimage on a decrepit old saddle, and he was not stingy. He related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had departed for the pilgrimage on a mount that had been his baggage transport.'"

Al-Bazzār related it similarly along with al-Bukhārī, as commentary and with its line of authority truncated at its beginning.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave a full line of authority for it in his *sunan* collection. He stated, "Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Muqrī' informed us, quoting Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Qāḍī, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, quoting Yazīd b. Zuray' . . ." And he proceeded to give the *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī, in his *musnad* gave it from a different line – from Anas b. Mālik. He stated, "'Alī b. al-Ja'd related to us, quoting al-Rabī' b. Ṣabīḥ, from Yazīd al-Raqāshī, from Anas, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage on a worn-out saddle and cloth worth' – or 'not worth' – 'four dirhams. And he said, "O God, let it be a pilgrimage devoid of eye service.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this in his work *al-Shamā'il* from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ, all three of them quoting from al-Rabī' b. Ṣabīḥ.

This line of transmission is weak as regards Yazīd b. Abān al-Raqāshī; he is not viewed as an acceptable narrator by the *imāms*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hāshim related to him, quoting Ishāq b. Sa'īd, from his father, who said, "I set out with Ibn 'Umar and a Yemeni group passed by us. Their saddles were of leather and the muzzles of their camels were made of woven grass. 'Abd Allāh commented, 'Anyone wanting to see a group similar to that going with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions on their way to the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* should look at that party.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related this from Hannād, from Wakī', from Ishāq, from Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ, from his father, from Ibn 'Umar.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that 'Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, Abū Ṭāhir al-Faqīh, Abū Zakariyyā' b. Abū Ishāq, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan, and Abū

Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr all said, “Abū al-ʿAbbās – he being al-Aṣamm – related to us, quoting Saʿīd b. Bashīr al-Qurashī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥakīm al-Kinānī – a man of Yemen, one of their freed-men – from Bishr b. Qudāma al-Dībābī, who said, ‘My eyes saw my beloved Messenger of God (ṢAAS) positioned among the people on ʿArafāt mounted on a red camel he had, Qaṣwāʾ, with a piece of *būlānī* cloth beneath him. He was saying, “O God, let it be a pilgrimage devoid of eye service, competitiveness or reputation-seeking.” And the people were saying, “This is the Messenger of God.”’”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs related to us, quoting Ibn Ishāq, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from his father, (who said) that Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr said, ‘We set out with the Prophet (ṢAAS) to make the pilgrimage. When we reached al-ʿArj,⁷⁸ the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dismounted. ʿĀʾisha sat down beside him, and I sat next to my father. The baggage camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that of Abū Bakr were one and the same, being conducted by a slave of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr sat waiting for the latter to appear with it. Eventually, he did appear, but he had no baggage camel with him. Abū Bakr asked, “Where’s your camel?” He replied, “I lost it yesterday.” Abū Bakr commented, “Just one baggage camel and you lost it!” And he began striking him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, “Just look at that *muhrim* pilgrim and how he behaves!”’”

Abū Dāʾūd related it thus, from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Razama. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. All three gave ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs as its first narrator.

And then there is the *ḥadīth* related by Abū Bakr b. al-Bazzār in his *musnad* collection. He stated that it was related to him by Ismāʿīl b. Ḥafṣ, quoting Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān, quoting Ḥamza al-Zayyāt, from Ḥumrān b. Aʿyan, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Abū Saʿīd, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage with his Companions on foot, from Medina to Mecca. They had gathered their garments up and tied them around their waists and their pace was a mixture of jogging and walking.”

This is an objectionable *ḥadīth* and its line of transmission is weak. Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt is a weak source and his teacher was a person whose traditions were not accepted. Al-Bazzār stated, “This is related only from this line; we nevertheless consider its line of transmission to be *ḥasan*, ‘good’. The implication here is that they were on an *ʿumra* pilgrimage, if the *ḥadīth* is sound, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only went on one *ḥijja* pilgrimage, and he rode, though some of his Companions went on foot.”

I observe that the Prophet (ṢAAS) never once went on a pilgrimage on foot, not at al-Ḥudaybiyya, not that of *al-qadaʾ*, nor that from al-Jiʿrāna, nor the *ḥijjat al-wadaʿ*.

78. A halt on the road from Medina to Mecca.

The circumstances and fame of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were such that his having done this could not have been unknown to people. In fact, this *ḥadīth* is objectionable, highly unlikely, and bizarre. But God knows best.

DIVISION

It is shown above that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ḡuhr*, "noon", prayer of four *raka'āt* and then rode from there to al-Ḥulayfa, in the al-ʿAqīq valley, where he performed an *ʿaṣr*, "late afternoon", prayer of two *raka'āt*.

It is indicated that he came to al-Ḥulayfa during the day time, at late afternoon, and that there he performed the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer in shortened form. That place is some three miles from Medina. He later performed the *al-maghrib* prayer and stayed there overnight.

Next morning he prayed there with his Companions and told them that during the night he had received revelation on which he would depend in determining his state of *iḥrām*.

As Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to us, quoting Zuhayr, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), (who said) that he had received a revelation in al-Muʿarras (Street) at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and he had been told, 'You are in a sacred valley.'"

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ḥumaydī, quoting al-Walid and Bishr b. Bakr, both of whom stated, "Al-Awzāʿī related to us, quoting Yaḥyā, quoting ʿIkrima, (who said) that he heard Ibn ʿAbbās (say) that he heard ʿUmar saying, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in Wādī al-ʿAqīq, "Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, who said, 'Pray in this blessed valley, and say, "(Let it be) an ʿumra within a ḥijja."'"'"'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not.

It is obvious that the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered that prayer be performed in Wādī al-ʿAqīq and that this constituted a command to remain there until he had performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer. This is because the instruction only came to him during the night and he informed them after the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer. Only the *al-ḡuhr* prayer was to remain, and so he ordered them to perform it there and to institute the state of *iḥrām* thereafter.

This is why he stated, "Tonight I received a visitation on behalf of my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. (The Messenger) said, 'Pray in this holy valley, and say, "It is an ʿumra within a ḥijja."'"'"

On the basis of the above, an argument has been made in favour of performing the *ʿumra* with the *ḥijja*, and this is one of the strongest indications of this. Elucidation of this will come shortly hereafter.

What is implied here is that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was ordered to remain in the al-ʿAqiq valley until the *al-ḡuhr* prayer; he obeyed this and did remain there. That morning he visited each of his wives, nine in number. They had all set out with him. He did remain there until he had performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer. This will be shown in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Ḥassān al-Aʿraj, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He then dressed his sacrificial animal in ceremonial decorations, mounted up and recited the *talbiyya*.

Imām Aḥmad, similarly, stated, "Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ashʿath – he being Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik – from al-Ḥasan, from Anas b. Mālik (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer and then mounted his camel. When he was above al-Baydāʾ, he recited the *talbiyya*."

Abū Dāʿūd related this from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; al-Nasāʾī did so from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh, from al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, from Ashʿath to the same effect, and from Aḥmad b. al-Azhar, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, from Ashʿath, in a more complete version.

This *ḥadīth* gives a refutation of Ibn Ḥazm, in that the latter claimed that the above (departure) occurred early in the day.

His view is that reliance should be placed upon the *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī through Ayyūb, from "a man", from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent the night at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and next morning performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer there, and mounted his camel that took him to al-Baydāʾ, where he recited the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra*, after which he performed the pilgrimage.

However, in the line of transmission for this there is one narrator who is an unidentified man; it seems clear that this was Abū Qilāba. But God knows best.

Muslim stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Yahyā b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥārithī related to him, quoting Khālid – meaning Ibn al-Ḥārith – quoting Shuʿba, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir, who said that he heard his father quote ʿĀʾisha as saying, "I would perfume the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he would then make the rounds to his wives. Next morning, he would adopt the *iḥrām* state, sprinkling himself with perfume."

Al-Bukhārī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ʿAwāna. (Al-Bukhārī), Muslim, Miṣʿar and Sufyān b. Saʿīd al-Thawrī, all four of them, (also) gave it from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir.

In an account of Muslim, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir quotes his father as saying, "I asked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar about a man putting on perfume and adopting the *iḥrām* state. He replied, 'I don't like to adopt the *iḥrām* state sprinkling myself with perfume; I would much rather anoint myself with aloes-wood perfume rather than do that!' ʿĀʾisha commented, 'But I put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he adopted the *iḥrām* state. He would then make the rounds to his wives and after that would become *muḥrim*.'"

This wording related by Muslim requires the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to put on perfume before he went around to his wives, this being more pleasant for himself and something they liked. Then, after he had washed himself following *janāba*, "sexual discharge", and preparatory to adopting the *iḥrām* state, he would put on another perfume for the *iḥrām*.

This is how al-Tirmidhī and al-Bayhaqī related it, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinnād, from his father, from Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit, from his father, who said that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disrobe to recite the *talbiyya* and wash himself.

Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan gharīb*, "good and unilateral".

Imām Aḥmad stated that Zakariyyā' b. 'Adī informed him, quoting 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Amr, from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to adopt the state of *iḥrām*, he would wash his head with marshmallow plant and potash⁷⁹ and then lightly oil it."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, may God have mercy on him, stated that Sufyān b. 'Uyayna related to him, from 'Uthmān b. 'Urwa (who said that) he heard his father say, "I heard 'Ā'isha say, 'I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for both his *iḥrām* and *iḥlāl* states'. I asked her, 'What perfume did you use?' 'The very best perfume,' she replied."

Muslim related this, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, and al-Bukhārī quoted it from a *ḥadīth* of Wahb, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his brother 'Uthmān, from his father 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "I would perfume the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for the *iḥrām* when he would adopt that state, as well as for the *iḥlāl*, prior to his circumambulating the *ka'ba*."

Muslim stated that 'Abd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who said that 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Urwa related to him that he heard 'Urwa and al-Qāsim, who both related that 'Ā'isha stated, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with my own hands, using *dharīra*⁸⁰ on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, for both his states of *iḥlāl* and *iḥrām*."

Muslim also related, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with these two hands of mine both for his *iḥrām* when he adopted that and for his *iḥlāl* state before he circumambulated the *ka'ba*."

Muslim stated that Aḥmad b. Manī' and Ya'qūb al-Dawraqī both related to him, that Hushaym related to them, quoting Manṣūr, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.

79. The Arabic words given are *al-khatamī* and *al-ushnān*; the Arabic printed edition suggests in a footnote that these words referred to "two varieties of plants".

80. A footnote in the Arabic printed text defines this as a kind of perfume and goes on to quote al-Nawawī as saying that it is of Indian origin.

al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who stated, "I would put perfume on the Prophet (ṢAAS), before he would adopt the *iḥrām* or the *iḥlāl* state, as well as on the day of the slaughter of the sacrificial animals. I would use a perfume that had musk in it."

Muslim stated that both Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Zuhayr b. Ḥarb related to him, saying, "Wakīʿ related to us, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'It is as if I can still see the shine of the musk on the partings in the hair of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he recited the *talbiyya*.'"

Then Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī and others, from al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "It is as if I can see now the shine of the musk in the hair parting of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was in the *iḥrām* state."

Al-Bukhārī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī and Muslim did so from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash. Both of these gave it from Manṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, quoting ʿĀʾisha.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam b. Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha.

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Ashʿath informed him, from Manṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "It's as though I can see now the shine of the perfume at the roots of the hair of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was in a state of *iḥrām*."

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "It's as though I can see now the shine in the parting of the hair of the Prophet (ṢAAS), after several days, he being in an *iḥrām* state."

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related to him, quoting ʿAṭā b. al-Sāʾib, from Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "I saw the perfume in the parting of the hair of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after three days, he being in an *iḥrām* state."

These accounts show that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wore perfume after washing. For if the perfume had been applied before the washing, it would have been removed by it and not a trace of it would have remained, especially three days after his adoption of the *iḥrām* state.

A group of the early authorities, including Ibn ʿUmar, express their disapproval of using perfume while in the *iḥrām* state.

We have related this *ḥadīth* through Ibn ʿUmar, from ʿĀʾisha. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān – in Baghdād – informed him, quoting Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, quoting Yahyā b. ʿUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-ʿAmr, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who quoted ʿĀʾisha

as saying, "I put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that was of fine, expensive quality when he adopted the *iḥrām* state."

This line of transmission is *gharib*, "unilateral", but it is from sound sources.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then braided (the hair of) his head so that it would better retain the perfume and protect it from retaining the dirt and dust.

Mālik stated, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar (who said) that Ḥafṣa, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, "Messenger of God, how is it that some people have freed themselves from the *iḥrām* of the *umra*, while you have not?" He replied, "I have braided my hair and put necklaces on my sacrificial animal; I shall therefore not adopt the *iḥlāl* state until I have made the sacrifice."

Both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) promulgated this in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik; it has many lines of transmission back to Nāfi'.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim related to him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, quoting 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Qawāriri, quoting 'Abd al-A'ālā, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar (who said) that "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) braided his (hair on his) head using honey."

The chain of authorities for this is excellent.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then made a sign signifying that his *ḥadī* was for the sacrifice and hung that sign around its neck; the animal was with him at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

Al-Layth stated, from 'Aqīl, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *tamattu'* at the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*. He then selected an animal for sacrifice and led that *ḥadī* forth with him from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

This *ḥadīth*, given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, will be quoted hereafter in full, along with commentary upon it, if God so wills it.

Muslim stated that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related, quoting Mu'adh b. Hishām – he being al-Dastuwā'i – quoting his father, from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he called for his (sacrificial) camel to be brought and that he made a sign on the right surface of its hump, pressed out some of its blood and hung a pair of shoes around its neck. He then mounted his riding camel.

The *ahl al-sunan* narrated this through various lines from Qatāda.

This shows that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed this marking and neck decoration with his very own hands on this sacrificial camel, while others undertook the marking and decorating of the other sacrificial animals. For he had with him a large number of animals for sacrifice, 100, or close thereto. He himself sacrificed by his own hand 63 animals and allowed 'Alī to slaughter the remainder.

In a *ḥadīth* of Jābir, it is said that 'Alī brought to the Prophet (ṢAAS) animals from Yemen for the sacrifice.

In the text of Ibn Ishāq it is said that he shared his sacrificial animals with ‘Alī. But God knows best. Others state that on the day of the slaughter, he and ‘Alī sacrificed 100 animals.

In this case, he would have brought them with him from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa; although he could have purchased them thereafter while he was in the *iḥrām* state.

Chapter: the place from which the Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the talbiyya; the differing views on this expressed by the sources. And the likely truth regarding this.

REFERENCE TO THOSE WHO STATE THAT THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) ADOPTED THE IḤRĀM FROM THE MOSQUE AT DHŪ AL-ḤULAYFA AFTER THE PRAYER.

Hereabove there has been given the *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī from that of al-Awzā‘ī, from Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from ‘Umar, who stated, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in Wādī al-‘Aqīq, “Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, who said, “Pray in this holy valley and say, ‘(Let it be) an ‘umra within a ḥijja.’””

Al-Bukhārī has a section entitled *Chapter on the recitation of the talbiyya at the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa*.

He goes on to state, “‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh related to us, quoting Sufyān, quoting Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, quoting Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh as follows, and also ‘Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to us, quoting Mālik, from Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, from Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh as follows, saying that he heard his father say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only recited the *talbiyya* from at the mosque.” This meant the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

The community of scholars, except for Ibn Māja, related this, from various lines, from Mūsā b. ‘Uqba.

Also there is an account given by Muslim, from Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, from Sālim and Nāfi‘ and Ḥamza b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, all three quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar. He related as above, but added, “And he said, ‘Labbayka, labbayk! “At Your service, O God, at Your service!””

In one account given by both scholars through Mālik, Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, quoted Sālim as saying, “‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar stated, ‘Regarding this *bayḍā*⁸¹ of yours about which you tell lies concerning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he actually only recited the *talbiyya* from near the mosque!”

A statement fully contradicting this is also related from Ibn ‘Umar, as will come in the next section. Namely, the report cited in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a line through Mālik, from Sa‘īd b. Abū Sa‘īd al-Maqburī, from ‘Ubayd b.

81. An elevated position from which, according to some sources, the Prophet (ṢAAS) began chanting the *talbiyya*.

Jurayh, from Ibn 'Umar. Therein he relates a *ḥadīth* in which 'Abd Allāh stated, "Regarding the recitation of the *talbiyya*, I never saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite it before his mount set off with him."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, quoting Khuṣayb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jazarī, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, who said, "I asked 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abū al-'Abbās, 'It's strange that the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) should differ over his recitation of the *talbiyya*, over when he made it obligatory.'

"He replied, 'I know better than anyone about that. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only performed just one *ḥijja*; that's why they differ.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to make the pilgrimage. After performing the prayer, of two *raka'āt* in his mosque at Dhū al-Hulayfa, it was while in his seat that he made it obligatory. He recited the *talbiyya* for the pilgrimage when he had completed his two *raka'āt*; people heard him do this and remembered it. He then mounted up, and when his camel stood, he recited the *talbiyya*. Various people knew he did so; that was because they were arriving in groups. These people heard him make the recitation when his mount stood upright; they said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only recited the *talbiyya* once his mount had stood upright."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded on. And when he was at a point overlooking al-Baydā', he recited the *talbiyya*. Various people knew he did this and so they concluded, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only recited the *talbiyya* once he reached a point overlooking al-Baydā'." But, I swear by God, in fact it was while he was in his chapel that he made it obligatory; he recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood up with him, and he also made the recitation when he reached a point overlooking al-Baydā'."

There are those who accept the statement of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās that the Prophet (ṢAAS), did recite the *talbiyya* in his chapel after he had completed his two *raka'āt*; al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī both related this from Qutayba, from 'Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb, from Khuṣayf, in a similar account.

Al-Tirmidhī categorized that *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan gharīb*, "good and unilateral"; we know of no one except 'Abd al-Salām who related this. He stated this, even though the account had been related previously by Imām Aḥmad, through Muḥammad b. Ishāq, back to him (Khuṣayf). Similarly, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Qaṭi'ī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, from his father. He then stated, "Khuṣayf al-Jazarī is not a strong source. And al-Wāqidi related it, with a line of transmission of his own, from Ibn 'Abbās." Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "However, it is not purposeful to follow al-Wāqidi; the accounts relating to this subject from 'Umar and others have firm and strong supports. But God, Almighty is He, knows best."

I comment that if this *ḥadīth* is authentic, what it contains provides a synthesis between these accounts that differ and it also provides excuse for those who

related what was contrary to the actual facts. However, there is some weakness in its line of transmission. Moreover, statements have also been attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn ʿUmar that contradict what is related above from them, as we will show and interpret.

Thus there are the reports of those who state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood upright.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Hishām b. Yūsuf, quoting Ibn ʿJurayj, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Anas b. Mālīk, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed a prayer of four *rakaʿāt* in Medina then another of two *rakaʿāt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He then spent the night and was there next morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa; when he mounted his camel and it stood upright, he recited the *talbiyya*."

Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan*, along various lines of transmission, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālīk, from Saʿīd al-Maqburī, from ʿUbayd b. ʿJurayj, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "Regarding the recitation of the *talbiyya*, I never saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite it until his mount set off with him."

Both scholars promulgated in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from an account of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would mount his camel at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and he then recited the *talbiyya* when it stood upright.

Al-Bukhārī entitles a section: *Chapter of those who recited the talbiyya when their camels stood upright*.

He went on, "Abū ʿĀsim related to us, quoting Ibn ʿJurayj, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood upright bearing him."

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿJurayj.

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Mushir, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his foot in the stirrup and his mount stood up bearing him, he recited the *talbiyya* from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa."

Muslim is alone in relating this through this line. Both scholars related it from a different line, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ.

Al-Bukhārī went on to head a section: *Chapter on reciting the talbiyya facing towards the qibla*.

He went on, "Abū Maʿmar stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, who said, "When Ibn ʿUmar prayed in the morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he ordered his mount to be brought. It was saddled and he mounted it. When it stood up bearing him, he would face the *qibla*. He would then ride on, reciting the *talbiyya* until he reached the *ḥaram*, "the sacred

precincts of Mecca". He would then cease the recitation until he reached Dhū Ṭuwā,⁸² where he would spend the night until morning. After performing the morning prayer, he would take a bath; he claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done this."

He then stated, "Ismā'īl agreed with him, quoting Ayyūb, concerning the taking of a bath."

Al-Bukhārī also included this *ḥadīth* in his section on the pilgrimage, from Muḥammad b. ʿIsā, from Ḥammād b. Zayd. In his line of transmission, the *ḥadīth* comes from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, from Ismā'īl, he being Ibn ʿUliyya.

Muslim related it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from Ismā'īl, and also from Abū al-Rabiʿ al-Zahrānī, and others, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, each of these three deriving it from Ayyūb, from Abū Tamīma al-Sakhtīyānī. Abū Dā'ūd related it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ismā'īl b. ʿUliyya.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Sulaymān Abū al-Rabiʿ related to him, quoting Fulayḥ, from Nāfiʿ, who said, "When (ʿAbd Allāh) Ibn ʿUmar was about to proceed to Mecca, he would put on a scentless pomade. He would then go to the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, perform the prayer, then mount up. When his camel stood upright, bearing him, he declared himself to be in the *iḥrām* state. He then said, 'This is what I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Muslim narrated as follows from Qutayba, from Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim, from his father, who said, "Regarding this 'al-Baydā' of yours about which you tell lies concerning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he actually only recited the *talbiyya* from near by the tree, when his camel stood up there bearing him."

This *ḥadīth* gives a combination between the first narrative of Ibn ʿUmar and these accounts about him. Namely, that the declaration of the *iḥrām* state was made at the mosque, but after he had mounted his camel and it had stood up bearing him at *al-Baydā'*, this word here meaning "the open land". And that was prior to his arrival at the place known as *al-Baydā'*.

Al-Bukhārī stated thereafter, in another section, that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī related to him, quoting Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoting Kurayb, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), proceeded out from Medina after he had combed and oiled his hair and after he and his Companions had put on their *izār*, 'upper body wraps', and their *ridā'*, 'waist-wraps'. He did not forbid the wearing of any kind of material for these garments except those treated with saffron, since they might leave scent on the skin. When he reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he mounted his camel and rode it to *al-Baydā'*, where he and his Companions recited the *talbiyya* and placed garlands around the necks of the camels for sacrifice. This occurred five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda. He proceeded on to Mecca, reaching

82. A location near Mecca.

there four days into Dhū al-Ḥijja. He then circumambulated the *kaʿba* and made the *saʿī*,⁸³ 'the passage'. He did not declare his state of *iḥrām* ended, since he had a sacrificial camel and had placed a garland on it. He then dismounted at the heights of Mecca at al-Ḥajūn, still being in the *iḥrām* state for the pilgrimage. He did not again approach the *kaʿba*, after having circumambulated it, until he returned from Mt. ʿArafāt. At that time he told his Companions to circumambulate the *kaʿba* to pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, to cut their hair short and to conclude their state of *iḥrām*. This applied only to those who had not brought sacrificial camels and had not placed garlands around the necks of the animals. Those accompanied by their wives were then allowed to approach them, and to use perfume and wear their normal clothing."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from Bahz b. Asad, Ḥajjāj, Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, and ʿAffān b. Muslim, all of whom quoted Shuʿba as stating, "Qatāda informed me as follows, 'I heard Abū Ḥassān al-Aʿraj al-Ajrad – he being Muslim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī – quote Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, then called for his sacrificial camel. He stripped off the hair from the surface of its right hump and blood flowed from it. He then garlanded it with two sandals and asked that his riding camel be brought. When it bore him off to above al-Bayḍāʾ, he recited the *talbiyya* for the pilgrimage.'"

He related this also from Hushaym, who said, "Our men, including Shuʿba, informed us . . ." He went on to narrate the *ḥadīth* in similar form.

Imām Aḥmad also related this from Rawḥ, Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Wakīʿ b. Jarrāḥ, all of them quoting Hishām al-Dastawāʾī, from Qatāda, in similar form.

Muslim related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from this same line and the *ahl al-sunan* also quote it in their books.

These various lines of transmission quoting Ibn ʿAbbās as stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood up bearing him, are more secure and sound than the account of Khuṣayf al-Jazarī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr. But God knows best.

This is also true of the account that affirms and explains that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his mount proceeded on ahead of the other camel; this implies probability that what he meant was that he declared himself in the *iḥrām* state at the mosque when his mount arose bearing him. The account relating his riding on his mount gives more information than the other. But God knows best.

83. This rite is a necessary part of both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. It consists of *al-saʿī*, "walking" or "moving", seven times between the hillocks al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. This commemorates the frenzied running of Abraham's wife Hagar seven times from one of these hills to the other hoping to catch sight of a caravan that might provide water for her child Ismāʿīl. Ultimately the well *zamzam* miraculously appeared at her son Ismāʿīl's feet.

The account of Anas relating to that is free from objections, as is that of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, through Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, from his father, from Abū al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, from Jābir, in his lengthy *ḥadīth* that will be related hereafter. It is to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his mount arose bearing him. This account, too, is unexceptionable. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī related through al-Awzā'ī as follows, "I heard 'Aṭā' say, on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, that the recitation of the *talbiyya* by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa when his mount stood up bearing him."

Regarding the *ḥadīth* that Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār related, from Abū al-Zinād, from 'Ā'isha, daughter of Sa'd. She said, "Sa'd stated, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he set off along the al-Far' road, recited the *talbiyya* as his camel bore him away. When he took another route, he recited the *talbiyya* when he overlooked al-Baydā'."

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ishāq; it has strange and objectionable aspects. But God knows best.

These various lines of authority indicate the certainty or the high probability that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) adopted the *iḥrām* state after the prayer and after mounting his camel and it had begun to move away. In his account Ibn 'Umar adds, "... while facing the *qibla*, 'towards the *ka'ba*'."

Chapter: On a discussion and examination of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the pilgrimage, whether as the ḥajj al-ifrād, the al-tamattu', or the al-qirān.⁸⁴

Accounts indicating that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the ḥajj al-ifrād.

The account of 'Ā'isha, "mother of the Believers", concerning this.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī stated that Mālik informed him, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, quoting his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

Muslim related this from Ismā'īl, from Abū Uways and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Mālik. Imām Aḥmad related this from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, from Mālik.

Aḥmad stated that Ishāq b. 'Isā related to him, quoting al-Munkadir b. Muḥammad, from Rabi'a b. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad,

84. These terms refer to the three different ways the pilgrimage may be performed. The *ḥajj al-ifrād* is when the pilgrim assumes the *iḥrām* state with the intent of performing only the *ḥajj* and not the *ʿumra* at the same time. The *ḥajj al-tamattu'* is when the pilgrim has no *ḥadi*, "sacrificial animal", and assumes the *iḥrām* state only to perform the *ʿumra*. Having completed the *ʿumra*, the pilgrim acquires a *ḥadi* and resumes the *iḥrām* state to perform the *ḥajj*. The *ḥajj al-qirān* is when a pilgrim has a *ḥadi*, assumes the *iḥrām* state once only and performs both the *ʿumra* and the *ḥajj* in sequence.

from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Shurayḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, and from ʿAlqama, from his father, quoting his mother, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, and from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha. All three accounts quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

Aḥmad is alone in quoting ʿĀʾisha from these lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād related to him, "I studied under Mālik b. Anas (the following *ḥadīth*) from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

He (Aḥmad) went on to state that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Mālik, from Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal, an orphan in the care of ʿUrwa, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*."

Ibn Māja related this from Abū Muṣʿab, from Mālik, in this way.

Al-Nasāʾī related it from Qutayba, from Mālik, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*."

Aḥmad also stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Mālik, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Some of us recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, others of us did so for the *ʿumra*, while some did so both for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. Those who did so for the *ʿumra* declared their *iḥrām* state at an end when they had circumambulated the *kaʿba* and had traversed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Those who did so for the *ḥajj* or for the *ʿumra* did not declare their *iḥrām* state concluded until the *yawm al-naḥr*, the day when the sacrificial animals were slaughtered."

Al-Bukhārī related it thus from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, al-Quʿayni and Ismāʿīl b. Abū Uways, (all) quoting from Mālik. Muslim narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Mālik.

Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, while others did so for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*; yet others did so for the *ʿumra*."

Muslim related it from Ibn Abū ʿUmar, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna in similar form.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* of Imām Aḥmad, who stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad, from ʿAlqama b. Abū ʿAlqama, from his mother, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave instructions to the people on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*. He said, "Those

who wish to perform an *ʿumra* prior to the *hajj* should do so.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *hajj al-ifrād* and did not perform the *ʿumra*."

This *ḥadīth* is very strange. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is alone in giving it. Its line of transmission is not bad, but one phrase in it is completely unacceptable, namely, "and he did not perform the *ʿumra*".

If by this it is meant that he did not perform the *ʿumra* either along with the *hajj* or prior to it, then the statement agrees with those who say he performed the *hajj al-ifrād*. If it means that he did not perform the *ʿumra* at all, neither before, with or after the *hajj*, then I am unaware of any scholar who would support it. Moreover, this would contradict authentic statements of ʿĀ'isha and others to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did perform four *ʿumra*, all of them in Dhū al-Qa'da, except for that performed along with his *ḥijja*.

Discussion of this will follow in detail in the section discussing the *hajj al-qirān*. But God knows best.

The same applies to the *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Aḥmad, who stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Abū al-Akhḍar, quoting Ibn Shihāb (who said) that ʿUrwa informed him that ʿĀ'isha, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* and the *ʿumra* on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, and he led his *ḥadi* with him. (Some) people with him recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and led their sacrificial animals; other people recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and did not lead sacrificial animals."

ʿĀ'isha went on, "I was among those who recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and I did not lead a *ḥadi*.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived (in Mecca), he said, 'Those of you who recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and led a *ḥadi* should circumambulate the *kaʿba* and pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; nothing for which you have declared the *iḥrām* will be permitted until you have completed the *hajj* and sacrificed your animal on the day for the slaughter. Those of you who recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and did not lead with you an animal for sacrifice should circumambulate the *kaʿba*, pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; you may then shorten your hair and declare your *iḥrām* concluded. You may then recite the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* and lead an animal for sacrifice. Those unable to do this may fast for three days on the *hajj* and for seven days when you return to your family.'"

ʿĀ'isha went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave priority for the *hajj* that he feared he might miss, and postponed the *ʿumra*."

This is one of the *aḥādīth* unique to Imām Aḥmad; some of its phraseology is objectionable. For some of it there is testimony in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. Ṣāliḥ b. Abū al-Akhḍar is not considered one of the prime companions of al-Zuhri, especially when others, as in some of the phraseology of his text here, contradict him.

The quotation, "He gave priority to the *hajj* that he feared he might miss and postponed the *ʿumra*" does not fit with the beginning of the *ḥadīth* that states, "he recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* and the *ʿumra*."

If what he meant is that he recited the *talbiyya* for both together, then gave priority to the performance of the *hajj* and thereafter, having finished it, recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra*, as is maintained by those who say he performed the *hajj al-ifrād*, then that accords with our view here.

If what is meant is that he postponed the *ʿumra*, after having declared himself in the *ihrām* state for it, then this is a view held by no scholar known to me. If the account means that he found performing the *hajj* enough to dispense with those of the *ʿumra*, and that the *ʿumra* was combined into the *hajj*, then the statement supports those who maintain that he performed the *hajj al-qirān*. These latter give preference to those who relate that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave precedence to the *hajj*, to the performance of the *hajj*, that is, even though he also purposed that of the *ʿumra*. These scholars maintain, "All sources saying he performed the *hajj al-ifrād* also narrate his having performed the *hajj al-qirān*." This will be shown hereafter. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

*The Account of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh supporting his
having performed the hajj al-ifrād.*

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʿāwiya related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* on his pilgrimage."

The line of transmission for this is excellent and conforms with the criteria of Muslim.

Al-Bayhaqī related this from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-Aʿamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) recited the *talbiyya* on his pilgrimage for the *hajj* with no *ʿumra* along with it."

This addition is very strange. The account of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is more appropriate. But God knows best.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim an account is related through Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, who said, "We recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj*; we did not know of the *ʿumra*."

Ibn Māja narrated, from Hishām b. ʿAmmār, from al-Darāwardī and Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, who both quoted Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad from his father, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the *hajj al-ifrād*." This line of transmission is excellent.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī, quoting Ḥabīb – al-Muʿallim, that is – from ʿAṭā, quoting Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS), and his Companions recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj*; none of them had a sacrificial animal with him, except for the Prophet (SAAS) and Ṭalḥa."

He proceeded to quote the rest of the *ḥadīth*, which is given in full in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, as will be given, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Muththanā, from 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

*The Account of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar regarding
the ḥajj al-ifrād.*

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting 'Abbād – meaning Ibn 'Abbād – quoting 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, “We recited the *talbiyya* with the Prophet (ṢAAS) for the *ḥajj* alone.”

Muslim related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Awn, from 'Abbād b. 'Abbād, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* alone.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and Muḥammad b. Miskīn, both of whom said that Bishr b. Bakr related to them, quoting Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Zayd b. Aslam, from Ibn 'Umar, who said that “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*” – meaning as a *mufrīd*.

The line of transmission for this is excellent; they (the major scholars) did not promulgate it.

The Account of Ibn 'Abbās for the ḥajj al-ifrād.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda, from Shu'ba, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-'Āliyya al-Barā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and arrived (in Mecca) four days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijja. He performed the *subḥ* prayer with us in al-Bathā' and then said, “Those who wish to make it an *ʿumra* should do so.”

He then stated, “Muslim narrated it, from Ibrāhīm b. Dīnār, from Ibn Rawḥ.”

It has been given above, from an account of Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān al-A'raj, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. Thereafter his sacrificial camel was brought, and he stripped the hair from the right surface of its hump. His riding camel was then brought and he mounted it. When it bore him away and he was overlooking al-Baydā', he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*.

This is also included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī stated that al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl related to him, quoting Abū Hishām, quoting Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, quoting Abū Ḥusayn, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad, from his father, who said, “I performed

the pilgrimage with Abū Bakr, and he *jarrada*.⁸⁵ And also with ʿUmar, and he *jarrada*. And also with ʿUthmān, and he *jarrada*.”

Al-Thawrī traced this from Abū Ḥusayn.

We have only referred to this here because it is apparent that these Imāms, may God be pleased with them, would only have done this from having been taught. What is meant here by the verbal noun of *jarrada* is performing the *hajj al-ifrād*. But God knows best.

Al-Dārquṭnī stated that Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Qāsim b. Ismāʿīl and Muḥammad b. Makhḷad related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muʿāwiya al-Razzāz, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) appointed ʿAttāb b. Usayd in charge of the pilgrimage and he performed the *hajj al-ifrād*. He then placed Abū Bakr in charge (of it) in the year 9 AH, and he performed the *hajj al-ifrād*. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage in the year 10 AH and performed the *hajj al-ifrād*. After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died and Abū Bakr succeeded; he dispatched ʿUmar and he performed the *hajj al-ifrād*. Abū Bakr then went on the pilgrimage and performed the *hajj al-ifrād*. Abū Bakr died, and ʿUmar succeeded. He dispatched ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf on the pilgrimage and he performed the *hajj al-ifrād*. He (ʿUmar) then went on the pilgrimage and performed the *hajj al-ifrād*. Then ʿUthmān was besieged and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās took charge (of the pilgrimage) for the people and performed the *hajj al-ifrād*.”

In the line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* there is ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿUmārī; he is ḍaʿīf, “a weak source”. However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, “There is testimony (in favour of this *ḥadīth*) with a line of transmission that is *ṣaḥīḥ*, ‘authentic’.”

REFERENCE TO THOSE WHO STATE THAT THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) PERFORMED THE *HAJJ AL-TAMATTUʿ*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting Layth, quoting ʿAqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *hajj al-tamattuʿ* on ‘the farewell pilgrimage’, along with the *ʿumra*. He recited the *talbiyya* and led his *ḥadi* on from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off and then recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and thereafter for the *hajj*. There were some people who had sacrificial animals and led them forward to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa; some of them did not have animals for sacrifice.

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he addressed the people, saying, “Those of you who brought an animal for sacrifice is not released from his state of *iḥrām* for anything he has so declared until he completes his *ḥijja*. Those who have not brought an animal for sacrifice should circumambulate

85. Ibn Kathīr goes on to tentatively suggest that the word means “to perform the *hajj al-ifrād*”.

the *ka'ba* and pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Then they should shorten their hair and declare their *ihrām* completed. They should then declare the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* and make sacrifice. Those who have no sacrificial animal should fast for three days, or for seven if they return to their families.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *ka'ba* when he arrived in Mecca. He first saluted the corner,⁸⁶ then jogged for three circuits of the seven and walked for four. Having completed the circuits of the *ka'ba*, he performed two *raka'āt* at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*,⁸⁷ 'Abraham's station'; he then completed the prayer and left. He proceeded on to al-Ṣafā and circumambulated both it and al-Marwa. He did not declare *halāl* anything he had previously declared *ḥarām* until he had completed his *ḥijja*, and he slaughtered his camel at the day for the sacrifice. He thereafter performed the circumambulation of the *hajj* around the *ka'ba*. Those who had brought animals for sacrifice did as the Messenger (ṢAAS) had done."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, quoting 'Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (who said that) 'Ā'isha told him of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having performed the *hajj al-tamattu'* at the *ʿumra* and on to the *hajj* and that the other people did as he had. This is similar to what Ṣalīm b. 'Abd Allāh informed me, from 'Abd Allāh, concerning the practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī related this *ḥadīth* from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, while Muslim and Abū Dā'ūd related it from 'Abd al-Malik b. Shu'ayb, from al-Layth, from his father. Al-Nasā'ī related it from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak al-Makhrāmī, from Ḥujayn b. al-Muthannā; all three quoted al-Layth b. Ṣa'd, from 'Aqīl, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha. They did so as Imām Aḥmad, may God have mercy upon him, recounted it.

This *ḥadīth* is one that is problematical, relating to all the three accounts (of the *ḥijja*).

Regarding the *ḥadīth* account of his performing the *hajj al-ifrād*, in this there is substantiation for the *ʿumra* being performed either before the *hajj* or along with it.

Regarding the account of the special nature of the performance of the *hajj al-tamattu'*, (this *ḥadīth*) is problematic because he (the source) recounted that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not relieve himself of the *ihrām* following his procession between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. And this is not the case with those performing the *hajj al-tamattu'*.

Those who claim that he was unable to declare the state of *ihrām* at an end by the fact of his having led a camel to sacrifice substantiate this view by reference to a statement attributed to Ḥafṣa. She asked, "Messenger of God, why

86. In which is embedded the meteorite "black stone".

87. The place where the Prophet Abraham stood for prayer. An edifice is built over a stone brought by Ismā'īl when they were building the *ka'ba*. Pilgrims stop here and perform a prayer of two *raka'āt* after their completion of the circumambulation of the *ka'ba*.

do some people declare the *iḥrām* concluded, while you did not after your ‘*umra*?’” He replied, “I had braided my hair and had garlanded my sacrificial camel; I could not declare my *iḥrām* completed until I had performed the sacrifice.”

Their account is implausible, because the *aḥādīth* affirming his having performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* refute this statement and deny his having recited the *talbiyya* first at the ‘*umra* and then, having passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. This is not reported in this way by anyone with a line of transmission that could be categorized as *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan* or *ḍa‘īf*.

Regarding the statement in this *ḥadīth*, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-tamattu‘* on ‘the farewell pilgrimage’, along with the ‘*umra*, if what is meant by this is *al-tamattu‘* specifically, this being the declaration of the conclusion of the *iḥrām* state after the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, then this is not so. For the *ḥadīth* contains material refuting this. Moreover, in the affirmation of his having made the *ḥajj al-qirān* there is material contradicting this.

If what is meant here is *al-tamattu‘ al-‘ām*, or the general enjoyment (of a concession), then that would certainly include the *ḥajj-al-qirān*; and this is what is meant here.⁸⁸

The statement, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off and then recited the *talbiyya* for the ‘*umra* and then for the *ḥajj*.” If by this is meant that he “set off” by pronouncing the word ‘*umra* before the word *ḥajj*, by saying, “I am at Your service, O God; an ‘*umra* in *ḥajj*.”⁸⁹ This is clear and does not deny (the possibility that it was to be a (*ḥajj*) *al-qirān*.

If by it is meant that he recited the *talbiyya* for the ‘*umra* first, and then added to it the *ḥajj* much later, but before his performing the circumambulations, then it also constituted *ḥajj al-qirān*.

If by it he meant that he recited the *talbiyya* for the ‘*umra* and then, having completed its activities, whether he did or did not declare his state of *iḥrām* concluded by the leading up of a sacrificial animal, as some claim, but in fact recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* after finishing the actions for the ‘*umra* and before his departure for Minā, then this is a view not expressed by any of his Companions, as we have shown above. Those who maintain this are refuted by this lack of testimony and by the fact that it is contradicted by the *aḥādīth* that exist to affirm his having performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*, as will be shown, and also, indeed, by those *aḥādīth* that have come down that substantiate his having performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*, as shown above. But God knows best.

It is clear – though God knows best – that this *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from ‘Aqīl, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from Ibn ‘Umar, is also narrated from a different path, from Ibn ‘Umar, when he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād* at the time when al-Ḥajjāj was besieging Ibn al-Zubayr. He was told, “People are disputing over (these two groups); now if only you would postpone your *ḥajj* for this year.” He replied, “I would in that case do as the Prophet (ṢAAS) did.”

88. Ibn Kathir is here using the *tamattu‘* in its literal sense in the second instance.

89. ‘*umra wa ḥajj* should here be understood as *fi al-‘umra wa al-ḥajj*.

He was referring to the occasion when he was blocked at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya. He declared himself in a state of *iḥrām* for the *ʿumra* from Dhū al-Ḥulayfā and then, when he overlooked al-Baydā', said, "I consider both to be one." Then he recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* along with it (the *ʿumra*). The narrator believed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done this; it was all the same whether he had begun by reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and then for the *ḥajj*. They therefore related it thus, but there is controversy over this, as we will show.

Explanation for this exists in the *ḥadīth* that 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb narrated, as follows, "Mālik b. Anas and others informed me that Nāfi' had related to them that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar went forth on the pilgrimage during the period of civil disorder. He said, 'If I should be blocked from access to the *ka'ba* we would do as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done.' He left and recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* and travelled on until he arrived at a point above al-Baydā'. He then turned to his Companions and said, 'I consider both to be nothing but one; I testify to you that I am committing myself to performing the *ḥajj* along with the *ʿumra*.' He continued on until he reached the *ka'ba*, which he circumambulated. He performed the passages between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa seven times and did not add thereto. He considered that that was sufficient. He also brought an animal for sacrifice."

The author of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection (al-Bukhārī) promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. And both scholars gave it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi'. 'Abd al-Razzāq narrated it from 'Ubayd Allāh and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfi' in similar words. In that account it ends by saying, "That was what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did."

Also there is al-Bukhārī's account in which he quotes Qutayba, quoting Layth, from Nāfi', who said, "Ibn 'Umar wanted to perform the pilgrimage when al-Ḥajjāj was besieging Ibn al-Zubayr. He (Ibn 'Umar) was told, 'People are engaged in a conflict; we are afraid they will block you.' He replied, 'There is indeed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a good model for you. I shall therefore do as he did. I testify to you that I am committing myself to the *ʿumra*.'

"He proceeded until he was up above al-Baydā'. Then he said, 'I consider the *ḥajj* and the *umra* to be one; I testify to you all that I have committed myself to a *ḥajj* along with my *ʿumra*.' He brought an animal for sacrifice that he had purchased at Qudayd. He added nothing else to that, and he did not declare permissible anything for which he had declared his *iḥrām*. He did not shave, nor did he cut his hair short until it was the day for the sacrifice. He then slaughtered his animal and shaved. He considered that he had completed the circumambulations for both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* by his first circumambulation."

Ibn 'Umar concluded, "It was thus that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Ibn 'Uliyya, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi', (who said) that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, the son of Ibn 'Umar, came into the latter's house at which was Ibn 'Umar's ride (for the

pilgrimage). ‘Abd Allāh said, “I am uneasy and feel that there may be some conflict between the people that may prevent your access to the *ka‘ba*. What will you do then?”

“Ibn ‘Umar replied, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left (on the pilgrimage) and the Quraysh disbelievers prevented his access to the *ka‘ba*. If that happens to me, I will do as he did. You had a good model in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And I will therefore do as he did. I testify to you that I am committing myself to a *hajj* along with my *‘umra*.’ He proceeded on and performed for both one circumambulation.”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it thus from Ibn al-Nu‘mān, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb b. Abū Tamīm al-Sakhtiyānī, from Nāfi‘. Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* drawn from both of these, from Ayyūb.

Ibn ‘Umar, may God be pleased with him, imitated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in remaining uninvolved with the enemy’s blockade and in sufficing with one circumambulation for both the *hajj* and the *‘umra*. That was because he had first declared himself in the *iḥrām* state for an *‘umra*, for that to be part of the *hajj al-tamattu‘*. He feared there would be a blockade and so combined both, inserting the *hajj* before the *‘umra* and before the circumambulation, and it thus became a *hajj al-qirān*.

What he said was, “I consider both to be nothing but one.” By this he meant, “There is no difference between a person being blocked from the *hajj* or from the *‘umra* or from both.” And when he reached Mecca, he accomplished both sufficiently by his first circumambulation – as he clearly stated in the first text we gave. In that he stated, “He considered that he had completed the circumambulation for both the *hajj* and the *‘umra* by his first circumambulation.”

Ibn ‘Umar stated, “It was thus that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted.” By this he meant that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had accomplished both the *hajj* and the *‘umra* sufficiently by one circumambulation – that is, between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

This gives evidence that Ibn ‘Umar spoke in favour of the *hajj al-qirān*.

Therefore al-Nasā‘ī narrated, from Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, from Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from Ayyūb b. Mūsā, from Nāfi‘ that “Ibn ‘Umar combined together the *hajj* and the *‘umra* and performed one circumambulation”.

Al-Nasā‘ī then narrated it from ‘Alī b. Maymūn al-Raqqī, from Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from Ismā‘īl b. Umayya, and Ayyūb b. Mūsā and Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, all four of whom quoted Nāfi‘ as saying that, “Ibn ‘Umar came to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and recited the *talbiyya* for the *‘umra*. He then became concerned that he might be blocked from the *ka‘ba*.” And he proceeded to relate the *ḥadīth*, and his including the *hajj* with the *‘umra*, the result being his performing the *hajj al-qirān*.

The implication of this is that when some narrators heard the statement of Ibn ‘Umar, “And I will therefore do as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did”, and

his other statement, "It was thus that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted", they believed that the latter had begun by reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra*, then did so for the *ḥajj*, combining the latter with the former prior to the circumambulation, and so they related the *ḥadīth* with this understanding.

But Ibn ʿUmar did not mean this, but implied what we have indicated above. God, however, best knows what is correct.

Moreover, supposing that he did recite the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* first and combined the *ḥajj* with it prior to the circumambulation, this would then constitute *ḥajj al-qirān*, not a case of *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ al-khāṣ* (in the technical sense), it thus being evidence for those who support the idea of the superiority of the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Also there is the *ḥadīth* related by al-Bukhārī in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection in which he stated that Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Hammām, from Qatāda, quoting Muṭarrif, from ʿImrān, who said, "During the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), we performed the *al-tamattuʿ*."⁹⁰ Then revelation came in the Qurʾān (about the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*) and a man said whatever he wished."

Muslim narrated this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Hammām, from Qatāda.

What is implied here is that it is the *mutʿa* that is more general than the *al-qirān* and the *al-tamattuʿ* of the *ḥajj*.

This is shown by what is narrated by Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba and Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda, from Muṭarrif, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shikhīr, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*, and he went on to narrate all the *ḥadīth*.

Most of the early authorities apply the term *al-mutʿa* to the *al-qirān*. As al-Bukhārī stated – that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad al-Aʿwar, from Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "ʿAlī and ʿUthmān, may God be pleased with them both, had a disagreement, while they were at ʿUṣfān, over the *al-mutʿa*. ʿAlī said, 'Is what you want to put an end to something the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did?' When he saw that (to be the case) ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib recited the *talbiyya* for both (the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*) together."

Muslim related this also from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. In that version, ʿAlī said, "I would never abandon a practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because of anything anyone said."

Muslim related this also from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaqīq. (In that version) ʿAlī said to him, "Don't you realize that it was only with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that we performed the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*?" He replied, "Indeed yes; but we were afraid."

90. It should be remembered that *al-tamattuʿ* applies to what is temporary and is synonymous with the term *mutʿa*. The narrator is referring to this connotation in the foregoing tradition. The "man" to whom he alludes is ʿUmar, who subsequently forbade the practice.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar, from Shuʿba, and from Ubayd Allāh b. Muʿadh, from his father, from Shuʿba, from Muslim b. Mikhrāq al-Qurri, who heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra*, while his Companions did so for the *ḥajj*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not declare his state of *iḥrām* terminated, nor did those of his Companions who had brought an animal to be sacrificed. The rest of them did (declare their state of *iḥrām* terminated).”

Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī narrated it in his *musnad* collection, as did Rawḥ b. Ubāda, from Shuʿba, from Muslim al-Qurri, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. Those of them who did not have a *ḥadi* for sacrifice (then) declared their state of *iḥrām* terminated, while those who did bring a *ḥadi* did not declare this.” The *ḥadīth* proceeds.

If we consider both accounts authentic, then the conclusion favours the *ḥajj al-qirān*. If we decline acceptance of both, its probative value would be suspended. If we give preference to the account of Muslim in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection concerning the *ʿumra*, where it is stated on the authority of ʿAbbās that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) declared the *iḥrām* of the *ḥajj* (*al-ifrād*), then this would argue in favour of the *ḥajj al-qirān*, especially since evidence supporting this will be given from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar and Muʿadh b. Muʿadh, from Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “This is an *ʿumra* that we have considered a *mutʿa*; those not having brought a *ḥadi* may consider their *iḥrām* fully concluded. The *ʿumra* has entered into the *al-ḥajj* until Judgement Day.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Ādam b. Abū Iyyās and Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar, both quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Jamra, who said, “I declared my intent to perform the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*, but people advised against this. So I asked Ibn ʿAbbās and he told me to do so. After that I seemed to see in my sleep a man say to me, ‘It is a *ḥajj mabrūr*⁹¹ and a *mutʿa*⁹² that is accepted.’ I told Ibn ʿAbbās of this (dream) and he said, *Allāhu Akbar!* ‘God is most Great!’ A practice of Abū al-Qāsim, God’s peace and blessings be upon him!”

By the term *mutʿa* used here, the word *qirān* is really meant.

Al-Quʿaynī and others stated, quoting Mālik b. Anas, from Ibn Shihāb, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who is quoted as saying that he heard Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, that year when Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān made the *ḥajj*, making reference to the performing of the *tamattuʿ* of the *ʿumra* leading to the *ḥajj*. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk said, “No one would do that unless ignorant of God’s instruction!” Saʿd replied,

91. That is, one that accords with the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and is therefore supposed to be acceptable to God.

92. Some editions of the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī give the word *ʿumra* instead of the *mutʿa* given here.

"Cousin, what you say is quite wrong!" Al-Dahhāk went on, "Umar b. al-Khattāb used to forbid it." Sa'd responded, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) did it, and we did it along with him."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it, as did al-Nasā'ī, from Qutayba, from Mālik. Al-Tirmidhī stated it to be *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic".

Abd al-Razzāq stated, from Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, both quoting Sulaymān al-Taymī, quoting Ghunaym b. Qays, who said, "I asked Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ about the performance of the *tamattu'* of the *ʿumra* leading to the *ḥajj*. He replied, 'I did it along with the Messenger of God (SAAS). And at that time he' – meaning Mu'āwiya – 'was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh' – meaning Mecca."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, and of Sufyān al-Thawrī, Yahyā b. Sa'd and Marwān al-Fazārī, all four of them quoting Sulaymān al-Taymī, who said, "I heard Ghunaym b. Qays say, 'I asked Sa'd about the *mut'a*, and he replied, 'We did perform it; and at that time he was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh.'"

In the account of Yahyā b. Sa'd, the *ḥadīth* ends, "meaning Mu'āwiya".

All of this has to do with the application of the term *al-tamattu'* to something more general than the *al-tamattu' al-khāṣ*. That is, it assumes the declaration of the *iḥrām* state for the *ʿumra*, then completing it and thereafter again declaring the *iḥrām* for the *ḥajj*, and it is (also more general) than the *ḥajj al-qirān*. In fact, what Sa'd said about it was evidence for the term *al-tamattu'* being applied to the performance of the *ʿumra* pilgrimage in the months of the *ḥajj*. This relates to them having gone on the pilgrimage while Mu'āwiya was still an unbeliever, in Mecca, applying either to the *ʿumra* at al-Hudaybiyya or the *ʿumrat al-qadā'* – this being more likely. Regarding the *ʿumrat al-jirāna*, Mu'āwiya had accepted Islam along with his father (Abū Sufyān) the night of the conquest of Mecca. We have narrated how he had cut short the hair of the Prophet (SAAS), using an iron arrow head on one of his *ʿumra* pilgrimages; that was, undoubtedly, the *ʿumra* from al-Jirāna. But God knows best.

Accounts of the pilgrimage as narrated by those who maintain that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the ḥajj al-qirān, along with the relevant aḥādīth.

The Account of the Commander of the Believers, 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him.

It is given above how al-Bukhārī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū 'Amr al-Awzā'ī, quoting Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, from 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say in Wādī

al-ʿAqīq, “Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. He told me, “Pray in this blessed valley and say, ‘(Let it be) an *ʿumra* within a *ḥijja*’.””

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Ḥaṣṣ al-Maqbūrī in Baghdād, who quoted Aḥmad b. Sulaymān as saying, “It was narrated to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad while I listened, as follows, ‘Abū Zayd al-Harawī related to me, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, quoting ʿIkrima, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās, quoting ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Gabriel, may peace be upon him, came to me while I was at al-ʿAqīq. He said, “Pray two *rakaʿāt* in this blessed valley. And say, ‘An *ʿumra* within a *ḥijja*’. For the *ʿumra* has entered within the *ḥajj* until Judgement Day.’”’”

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, “Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Abū Zayd al-Harawī.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥāshim related to him, quoting Sayyār, from Abū Wāʾil, who said that there was a man who had been a Christian, named al-Ṣabī b. Maʿbad, who wanted to engage in the *jihād*. He was told, “Begin by making the pilgrimage.” So he went to al-Ashʿarī who told him to declare his intention of making the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* together. He did so. While he was reciting the *talbiyya*, Yazīd b. Sūḥān and Salmān b. Rabīʿa passed by. One of them said to the other, “This fellow wanders further astray than his people’s donkeys!” The young man overheard this and it annoyed him. And so when he reached Mecca, he went to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and related that to him. ʿUmar told him, “You have been led aright, in the practice of your Prophet (ṢAAS).” (The narrator continued) “On another occasion I heard him use the words, ‘You have been well-guided to the practice of your Prophet (ṢAAS).’”

Imām Aḥmad also related this from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, from al-Aʿmash, from Shaqīq, from Abū Wāʾil, from al-Ṣabī Ibn Maʿbad, quoting ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. In that version, the latter said, “The two men said nothing (of importance); you have been well-guided to the practice of your Prophet (ṢAAS).”

He also narrated it from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil. And also from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, from Abū Wāʾil, and from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbdu b. Abū Lubāba, from Abū Wāʾil, who said, “Al-Ṣabī b. Maʿbad said, ‘I had been a Christian, but accepted Islam. I declared my intention to make a *ḥajj* and an *ʿumra*, and Yazīd b. Sūḥān and Salmān b. Rabīʿa heard me while I was reciting the *talbiyya* for them both. They commented, “This fellow wanders further astray than his people’s donkeys!” After their words, I felt as if a mountain had been loaded on me! So I approached ʿUmar and told him. He then went to them and berated them. After that he came to me and said, “You have been well-guided to the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS).””

“ʿAbdu stated, ‘Abū Wāʾil commented, ‘I and Masrūq used to go often to that man al-Ṣabī b. Maʿbad, and ask him about this.’”

The lines of transmission for this are excellent and accord with the criteria for the designation *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic". Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja related it from various lines, from Abū Wā'il Shaqīq b. Salama, who narrated it.

Al-Nasā'ī stated, in the chapter on the pilgrimage in his *ḥadīth* collection, that Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq related to him, quoting his father, from Jamrat al-Sukkārī, from Muṭarrif, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from Ṭawūs, from Ibn 'Abbās, from 'Umar, who said, "I swear by God, I forbid you performing the *muṭ'a*; (although) it is certainly in God's Book, and although the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed it."

The chain of transmission for this is excellent.

*An Account relating to the two Commanders of the Believers,
'Uthmān and 'Alī, may God be pleased with them both.*

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja'far, quoting Shu'ba, from 'Amr b. Murra, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "'Alī and 'Uthmān were together at 'Uṣfān. 'Uthmān was forbidding the performance of the *muṭ'a* or the *umra*. And so 'Alī said, 'Why are you forbidding something the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did?' 'Uthmān replied, 'Enough of that!'"

This abbreviated form is the manner in which Imām Aḥmad narrated this.

Both scholars of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, from 'Amr b. Murra, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "While they were at 'Uṣfān, 'Uthmān and 'Alī differed over the *muṭ'a*. 'Alī asked, 'Why are you forbidding something the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did?' When 'Alī saw that (that 'Uthmān was forbidding the *muṭ'a*) he recited the *talbiyya* for both."

The phraseology given by al-Bukhārī is similar.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from al-Ḥakam, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who said, "I witnessed 'Uthmān and 'Alī, while 'Uthmān was forbidding performance of the *muṭ'a* and that both be combined. When 'Alī saw (this attitude) he recited the *talbiyya* for both, saying, 'At Your service, O God, for an *umra* and a *hajj*.' He ('Alī) went on, 'I'm not one to abandon a practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), because of what anyone says.'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba, and from a *ḥadīth* of al-A'mash, from Muslim al-Baṭīn, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja'far, quoting Shu'ba, from Qatāda, who said, "'Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq stated, 'Uthmān was forbidding the *muṭ'a* and 'Alī was recommending it. And so 'Uthmān said to 'Alī, 'You are doing so and such!' 'Alī replied, 'You know that we performed the *muṭ'a* along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' "Yes," (replied 'Uthmān) "but we were afraid (then).'"

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

This constitutes recognition from ʿUthmān, may God be pleased with him, of what ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, told him. And it is well known that ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, declared the *iḥrām* on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* by reciting the *talbiyya* in the same manner as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ʿAlī had brought an animal for sacrifice and the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered him to maintain his *iḥrām* state. The Prophet (ṢAAS) allowed ʿAlī to share in his own *ḥadī*, as will be shown.

Mālik narrated in his work *al-Muwataʿ* from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, that al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad went in to see ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib at al-Suqyā while he was preparing leaves and crushed grain to feed his young camels. Al-Miqdād told him, "This ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān is forbidding that the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* be combined." ʿAlī left, his hands bearing traces of the camel food mash. (The narrator commented), "And I'll not forget the sight of the mixture on his hands!" When ʿAlī went in to ʿUthmān, he asked, "Are you forbidding that the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* be combined?" ʿUthmān replied, "That's my view." At that ʿAlī left in anger, saying, "At Your service, O God, for a *ḥijja* and an *ʿumra* together!"

Abū Dāʿūd stated in his work the *Sunan* that Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj, quoting Yūnus, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, who said, "I was with ʿAlī when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him Governor of Yemen." And he went on to relate the arrival of ʿAlī.

(The tradition goes on to state) ʿAlī said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, 'How have you done?' I replied, 'I have only recited the *talbiyya* (in the manner) of the Prophet (ṢAAS). I have brought a *ḥadī* and I have combined (both the *ʿumra* and the *ḥijja*).'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn with his line of transmission which accords with the criteria of the two scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim). The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī explained it away by the fact of this phraseology not being in the (long) text of the *ḥadīth* of Jābir.

There is some dispute over this explanation, because the performance of the *ḥajj al-qirān* is narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, as will be shown shortly. If God, Almighty is He, wishes.

Ibn Hibbān narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina and I left from Yemen. I said, 'I am at Your service, O God, with the same invocation made by the Prophet (ṢAAS).'" The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "I recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* combined."

The Account of Anas b. Mālik, may God be pleased with him.

A group of the *tābiʿūn*, "the first generation scholars", related it; we will quote from them in alphabetical order.

BAKR B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-MUZANĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, quoting Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muzanī, who said, "I heard Anas b. Mālik relate as follows, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* and the *umra* combined. I related that to Ibn 'Umar, who said, 'He recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* alone.'" I then met Anas and told him what Ibn 'Umar related. He said, "You think of us as mere boys! I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'At Your service, O God, for an *umra* and a *hajj*.'" "Al-Bukhārī related it from Musaddad, from Bishr b. al-Faḍl, from Ḥamid. Muslim promulgated it from Shurayḥ b. Yūnus, from Hushaym. And also from Umayya b. Bisṭām, from Yazid b. Zuray', from Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd, from Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muzanī.

THĀBIT AL-BUNĀNĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Waki' related to him, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from Thābit, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "At Your service, O God, for an *umra* and a *ḥijja* combined."

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is alone in quoting it on this line.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ash'ath, from Anas b. Mālik (who said), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Mecca. They recited the *talbiyya* for a *hajj* and an *umra*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them, after they had circumambulated the *ka'ba* and passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, to declare their *ihrām* concluded and to make an *umra*. It seemed as if the people were shocked by that. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Had I not brought a *hadī* I would have declared my *ihrām* concluded.' The people then did declare their *ihrām* concluded and performed the *hajj al-tamattu'*."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that al-Ḥasan b. Qaza' related to him, quoting Sufyān b. Ḥabīb, quoting Ash'ath, from al-Ḥasan, from Anas, (who said), "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions recited the *talbiyya* for a *hajj* and an *umra*. And when they arrived in Mecca, they circumambulated the *ka'ba* and passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to declare their *ihrām* concluded, but they were afraid to do so. He therefore said, 'Declare your *ihrām* concluded. If I did not have a *hadī*, I would declare my *ihrām* concluded.'"

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of no one except Ash'ath b. 'Abd al-Malik who narrated this from al-Ḥasan."

HUMAYD B. TIRUWAYH AL-ṬAWĪL.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā related to him, from Ḥumayd (who said), "I

heard Anas say, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "At Your service, with a *ḥajj*, and an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*.'"'"

This line of transmission is two-thirds in accord with the criteria of the two scholars. They did not promulgate it. And none of the authors of the books (of *aḥādith*) gave it from this line of transmission. However, Muslim did narrate it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Hushaym, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Ishāq and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb and Ḥumayd (who said that) they heard Anas b. Mālīk say, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for both combined. (He said) 'At Your service for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿmur b. Yusr related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālīk, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought many animals for sacrifice and said, 'At Your service, with an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj*.' I was there at the right flank of his camel."

Aḥmad was also alone in giving it from this line of transmission.

HUMAYD B. HILĀL AL-ʿADAWĪ AL-BAṢRĪ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his *musnad* that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas b. Mālīk, and it is reported from Salama b. Shabīb, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, and Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Anas, who said, "I was mounted behind Abū Ṭalḥa, and his knee was touching that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*."

This line of transmission is excellent and strong and conforms to the criteria for the designation *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic"; they (the compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) did not include it.

Al-Bazzār explained this by saying that the person reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* was Abū Ṭalḥa. He said, "And the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not contradict him."

This explanation is controversial and unnecessary, because that (fact of the Prophet (ṢAAS) having recited the *talbiyya*) comes by various routes from Anas, as above and to follow. Moreover, (grammatically) it is more correct for the pronoun to be related to the closer of the two persons mentioned, which in this instance constitutes very strong evidence. But God knows best.

In the account of Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Anas, will come a clear refutation of this explanation.

FROM ZAYD B. ASLAM.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tanūkhī narrated, from Zayd b. Aslam, from Anas b. Mālīk, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* and an *ʿumra*."

"Al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Jarawī related it to us, as did Muḥammad b. Miskīn. They both said, 'Bishr b. Bakr related (it) to us, from Saʿd b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz, from Zayd b. Aslam, from Anas.'"

I note that this line of transmission meets the criteria for *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic", but they (the authors of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it from this line.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī narrated it in a more simple text. He stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī related to him, that Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to them, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walid b. Yazīd, quoting his father, quoting Shuʿayb b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz, from Zayd b. Aslam and others, who said that, "A man came to Ibn 'Umar and asked, 'With what intention did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya*?' Ibn 'Umar replied, 'He recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, and (the man then) left.'"

"The man then came to him the following year and asked, 'With what intention did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya*?' Ibn 'Umar asked, 'Didn't you come to me last year?' 'Yes', the man replied, 'but Anas b. Mālik claims that he performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*.' Ibn 'Umar commented, 'Anas b. Mālik (was then so young that he) used to go in to see the women when their heads were uncovered! I was right underneath the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), its saliva actually touching me, and I heard him reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*.'"

FROM SĀLIM B. ABŪ AL-JA'D AL-GHATAFĀNĪ AL-KUFI.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Manṣūr, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Anas b. Mālik, who gave a line of transmission back to the Prophet (ṢAAS), to the effect that he combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* and said, "At Your service, for an *ʿumra* and a *ḥijja* together."

(This *ḥadīth* may be classified as) *ḥasan*, "good"; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Abū 'Awāna, quoting 'Uthmān b. al-Mughira, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Sa'd, the freed-man of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, who said, "We went forth with 'Alī, and when we reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, 'Alī said, 'I wish to combine the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*. Those who wish should speak as I do.' He then recited the *talbiyya*. He said, 'At Your service for a *ḥijja* and an *ʿumra*.'"

The narrator went on, "And Sālim said, 'Anas b. Mālik stated to me, "I swear by God, my leg was actually touching that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was reciting the *talbiyya* for them both together.'"

This line of transmission is also excellent; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

This text refutes the explanation by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār of the *ḥadīth* given by Ḥumayd b. Hilāl quoting Anas, as referred to above. But God knows best.

FROM SULAYMĀN B. TARKHĀN AL-TAYMĪ.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Yahyā b. Ḥabīb b. ʿArabī related to him, quoting al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, who said that he heard his father quote Anas b. Mālīk as saying, "I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for both together."

Al-Bazzār then said, "The only person relating this from al-Taymī is his son al-Muʿtamir. And only Yahyā b. Ḥabīb al-ʿArabī heard this from him."

I note that this meets the criteria for the category *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic". They (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

FROM SUWAYD B. ḤUJAYR.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Qazaʿa Suwayd b. Ḥujayr, from Anas b. Mālīk, who said, "I was mounted behind Abū Ṭalḥa. The knee of Abū Ṭalḥa was almost knocking against that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the latter was reciting the *talbiyya* for both."

This line of transmission is excellent. Aḥmad is alone in giving it. They (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it. In it there is a clear refutation of the view of the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bazzār.

FROM ʿABD ALLĀH B. ZAYD ABU QILĀBA AL-JARMĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas, who said, "I was mounted behind Abū Ṭalḥa while he rode beside the Prophet (ṢAAS). My leg was actually touching the stirrup of the latter, and I heard him reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*."

Al-Bukhārī narrated to him, from various lines, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer in Medina with four *rakaʿāt* and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer in Dhū al-Ḥulayfa with two *rakaʿāt*. He then spent the night there, and in the morning mounted his camel. When it bore him out above al-Baydāʾ, he praised and glorified God and spoke the words *Allāhu Akbar!* 'God is most Great!' He then recited the *talbiyya* for both together, the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. And the people with him recited the *talbiyya* for both together."

In another account from him, he (Anas) said, "I was mounted behind Abū Ṭalḥa while they were reciting the *talbiyya* for both together, the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*."

And in another account, from Ayyūb, from "a man", Anas is quoted as saying, "He spent the night there. Next morning he performed the *al-ṣubḥ*

prayer, then mounted his camel. When it bore him to al-Bayda', he recited the *talbiyya* for an *'umra* and a *hajj*."

FROM 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. ṢUHAYB.

I have given his account above, with that of Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl from him, given by Muslim.

FROM 'ALĪ B. ZAYD B. JUD'ĀN.

The *hāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Ḥakīm, from Sharīk, from 'Alī b. Zayd, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for both together."

This tradition is *gharīb*, "unilateral", from this line, and none of the compilers of the canonical collections included it; though it does meet their criteria.

FROM QATĀDA B. DA'ĀMA AL-SADUSĪ.

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Bahz and 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ma'nī related to him, saying, "Hammām b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting Qatāda, who said, 'I asked Anas b. Mālīk, "How many times did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform the pilgrimage?" He replied, "One *hijja*; and he also performed the *'umra* four times – that at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya, that in Dhū al-Qa'da from Medina, that from al-Ji'rāna in Dhū al-Qa'da when he divided up the booty from the battle of Ḥunayn, and that along with his *hijja*.'"

Both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) included it from a *ḥadīth* of Hammām b. Yaḥyā.

FROM MUṢ'AB B. SULAYM AL-ZUBAYRĪ, THEIR FREED-MAN.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakī' related to him, quoting Muṣ'ab b. Sulaym, who said that he heard Anas b. Mālīk say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for a *hijja* and an *'umra*."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

FROM YAḤYĀ B. ISHĀQ AL-ḤADRAMI.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ishāq and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ṣuhayb and Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, who said that they heard Anas say, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* and the *'umra* together. He said, 'At Your service, for an *'umra* and a *hajj*! At Your service for an *'umra* and a *hajj*!'"

It has been shown above that Muslim narrated it from Yahyā b. Yahyā, from Hushaym.

Imām Aḥmad also stated that ‘Abd al-Aʿlā related to him, from Yahyā. from Anas, who said, “We went forth to Mecca with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And I heard him say, ‘At Your service for an ‘umra and a ḥajj.’”

FROM ABŪ ASMĀʾ AL-ṢAYQAL.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting Zuhayr and that Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik related to him, quoting Zuhayr, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū Asmāʾ al-Ṣayqal, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “We went forth, shouting (the *talbiyya*) for the ḥajj. And when we reached Mecca, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us to make it into an ‘umra. He said, ‘If I had known before hand what I came to learn, I would have made it into an ‘umra; but I had brought the *hadī* and have combined the ḥajj with the ‘umra.’”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated this from Hannād, from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū Asmāʾ al-Ṣayqal, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* for both.”

FROM ABŪ QUDĀMA AL-ḤANAFĪ; HIS NAME IS ALSO GIVEN AS MUḤAMMAD B. ‘UBAYD.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ b. ‘Ubāda related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Yūnus b. ‘Ubayd, from Abū Qudāma al-Ḥanafī, who said, “I asked Anas for what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had recited the *talbiyya*. He replied, ‘I heard him seven times recite the *talbiyya* for an ‘umra and a ḥijja.’”

Imām Aḥmad is alone in giving this. The line of transmission is excellent and strong. And to God go all praise and credit, and through Him come success and security.

Ibn Hibbān narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, that Anas b. Mālik said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined between the ḥajj and the ‘umra, and the people did so with him.”

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī gave some of these same quotations from Anas b. Mālik and then went on to offer an explanation that is controversial.

He concludes, “It was Anas who was in doubt (regarding the ḥijja of the Prophet), but not the others apart from him. It is likely that he had (merely) heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) instruct others how they should recite the *talbiyya* for the ḥajj *al-qirān*, and not that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) did so himself. But God knows best.”

He went on, “This is also narrated from others than Anas b. Mālik, but there are questions over its reliability.”

I observe that the apparent controversiality of this statement will not be hidden from anyone who contemplates it. It might well be best, therefore, to disregard it, for it creates doubts about the memory of a Companion from whom others, in substantial numbers, have narrated this tradition, as shown above. And opening up this issue would lead to major difficulty. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

THE ḤADĪTH OF AL-BARĀ' B. 'ĀZIB ON THE ḤAJJ AL-QIRĀN.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān informed him, quoting 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, quoting Abū Ghassān Mālik b. Yaḥyā, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zā'ida, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed three *ʿumra* pilgrimages, and all were in Dhū al-qa'da." 'Ā'isha said, "He knew he had performed four *ʿumra* pilgrimages, including that along with which he made the *ḥajj*."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is not correct." I observe that this will also follow with a line of transmission that is *ṣaḥīḥ* and goes back to 'Ā'isha in similar words.

The Account of Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, may God be pleased with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārqutnī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Da'ūd informed him, and that Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Rumays, and al-Qāsim b. Ismā'īl Abū 'Ubayd, and 'Uthmān b. Ja'far al-Lubbān and others said that Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūfī related to them, quoting Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, who quoted Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj* three times – twice before he left on the Hijra and once with which he combined an *ʿumra*."

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī.

Al-Tirmidhī himself narrated this as did Ibn Māja from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ziyād, from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, from Sufyān. He then stated, "It is *gharīb* coming from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān; we know it only from a *ḥadīth* of Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb. I saw that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān – meaning al-Dārimī – narrated this *ḥadīth* in his works from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ziyād. I asked Muḥammad (b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī) about this, but he did not know of him. I noticed also that he did not consider him reliable. Instead, he said it was narrated from al-Thawrī, from Abū Ishāq, from Mujāhid only in a *mursal* form."

In the work *al-Sunan al-Kabir* of al-Bayhaqī, Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī is quoted as stating, “I asked Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī about this *ḥadīth*. He replied, ‘This *ḥadīth* is in error; this was in fact related as *mursal* from al-Thawrī.’”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “When Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb narrated, he would be mistaken; or he might make an error about something.”

Ibn Māja narrated it from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Muhallabī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dāʿūd al-Khuraybī, from Sufyān. This is a line not followed by al-Tirmidhī or al-Bayhaqī, nor probably al-Bukhārī, when he spoke about Zayd b. Ḥubāb, thinking him to have been alone in relating it. However, this was not so. But God knows best.

A DIFFERENT LINE OF TRANSMISSION FROM JĀBIR.

Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī stated that Ibn Abū ʿUmar related to him, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, from Ḥajjāj, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* together. And he performed one circumambulation for both.

He then stated, “This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, ‘good’.” In one version he used the word *ṣaḥīḥ*, “authentic”.

Ibn Hibbān narrated this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from Jābir. He quoted him as saying, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed only one circumambulation for the *ḥajj* and for his *ʿumra*.”

I note that the Ḥajjāj mentioned above is Ibn Arṭāt; several of the *imāms* spoke about him. However, he narrated from a different line – from Abū al-Zubayr, and also from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his *ḥadīth* compendium that Muqaddam b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting his uncle al-Qāsim b. Yahyā b. Muqaddam, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived (in Mecca), combined the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* and led a *ḥadi* for sacrifice. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Those who have not brought a *ḥadi* may make it into an *ʿumra*.”

Al-Bazzār then stated, “We know of these words being attributed to Jābir only from this chain of transmission.”

Al-Bazzār is alone in giving it in his compendium from this line; its chain of transmission is *gharīb*, “unique”. It is not to be found in any of the six (canonical) books from this line. God knows best.

*The Account of Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl al-Anṣārī,
may God be pleased with him.*

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʾāwiya related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj – he being Ibn Arṭāt – from al-Ḥasan b. Saʿd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Abū Ṭalḥa

informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *hajj* with the *ʿumra*."

Ibn Māja narrated, from 'Alī b. Muḥammad, from Abū Mu'āwiya, with the same chain of transmission and terminology. He stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *hajj* with the *ʿumra*."

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Artāt is considered a somewhat weak source; God knows best.

The Account of Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Makkī b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Dā'ūd – meaning Ibn Suwayd – quoting 'Abd al-Malik al-Zarrād, quoting al-Nazzāl b. Sabara, the companion of 'Alī say, "I heard Surāqa say, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, "The *ʿumra* has entered into the *hajj* until the Day of Judgement."'"

He (Surāqa) said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *hajj al-qirān* on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'.*"

*The Account of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ from the Prophet (ṢAAS),
to the effect that he performed the hajj with the ʿumra,
this constituting the hajj al-qirān.*

Imām Mālik quoted Ibn Shihāb, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said that he heard Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and also al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, the year that Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān went on the *hajj*, recall the performance of the *ʿumra* with the *hajj*. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk stated, "Only anyone who was ignorant of God's command would do that." Sa'd responded, "Cousin, what you said is wrong!"

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk said, "Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to forbid it." Sa'd stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed it, and we did it with him."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī both related it from Qutayba from Mālik. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ*, 'authentic'."

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, quoting Sulaymān – meaning al-Taymī – quoting Ghunaym, who said, "I asked Abū Waqqāṣ's son about the *al-mu'ā* and he replied, 'We did perform it, while this fellow was still a disbeliever in al-ʿUrsh (Mecca)' – meaning Mu'āwiya.

He related it that way, in an abbreviated form.

Muslim related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī, and from Shu'ba, Marwān al-Fazārī, and Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān. All four quote from Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī, quoting Ghunaym b. Qays, quoting Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, regarding the *al-mu'ā*. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ

stated, "We did perform it while this fellow was at that time an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh." In his account Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd added the words, "meaning Muʿāwiya".

ʿAbd al-Razzāq related it from Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, both of whom quoted from Sulaymān al-Taymī, from Ghunaym b. Qays, who said, "I asked Saʿīd about the performance of the *ʿumra* with the *ḥajj*. He replied, 'I performed it with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while this fellow was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh'" – referring to Mecca and to Muʿāwiya.

This second *ḥadīth* has a more authentic chain of transmission. However, we have quoted it merely for added support rather than reliance. The first account has an authentic line of transmission; this second is more direct in its intent. But God knows best.

The Account of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā.

Al-Ṭabarānī stated that Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. al-Mughīrat al-Miṣrī related to him, quoting Saʿīd b. Sulaymān, quoting Yazīd b. ʿAṭāʾ, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* because he knew that he would not perform a pilgrimage after that year."

The Account of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās on this subject.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Dāʿūd – meaning al-Qaṭṭān – from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, that of al-Qaḍāʾ, the third from al-Jiʿrāna, and the fourth that was performed along with his *ḥijja*."

Abū Dāʿūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it through various lines from Dāʿūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār al-Makkī, from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās. Al-Tirmidhī referred to it as *ḥasan gharīb*. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, as *mursal*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated it through Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawī, from al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ, and Shihāb b. ʿAbbād, both of whom quoted Dāʿūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār, who related it. His account used the words, "and the fourth that he combined with the *ḥijja*".

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz stated, "No one except Dāʿūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān quotes this *ḥadīth* from Ibn ʿAbbās."

Moreover, al-Bayhaqī narrated that al-Bukhārī stated, "Dāʿūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is entirely truthful. However, he may be subject to criticism."

It has been given above how al-Bukhārī narrated through Ibn 'Abbās, quoting 'Umar, as having said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, in Wādī al-'Aqīq, 'An apparition came to me from my Lord who said, "Pray in this sacred valley and say, 'An 'umra within a *ḥijja*.'"" Perhaps it is this that Ibn 'Abbās relied upon in what he narrated. But God knows best.

*The Account of 'Abd Allāh, son of 'Umar, may God
be pleased with them both.*

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad – meaning al-Zubayrī – related to him, quoting Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith, from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father, from his grandfather (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* out of fear that he would be blocked from the *ka'ba* and that he said, "If not a *ḥijj*, then an 'umra."

This *ḥadīth* is strange in both its line of transmission and in its content; Imām Aḥmad is alone in narrating it.

(Imām) Aḥmad said of this man Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith: "He was confused in his narration of *ahādīth*." He categorized him as a weak source, as did also al-Nasā'ī and Yaḥyā b. Ma'in, in one account.

Regarding the content, his statement that "the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* out of fear that he would be blocked from the *ka'ba*", who is it who could have so blocked him? God had already firmly established Islam for him and had conquered the Holy City. And it had been proclaimed on the plain at Minā during the (pilgrimage) season the previous year that, "after this year no unbeliever shall perform the pilgrimage and no naked person shall circumambulate the *ka'ba*". On the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, moreover, there were with him close to some 40,000 persons. His statement regarding "fear that he would be blocked from the *ka'ba*" is therefore strange.

Yet this is no more strange than the statement of the Commander of the Believers 'Uthmān to 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib when the latter told him, "You well know that we performed the *ḥajj (al-qirān)* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)," to which 'Uthmān responded, "Yes; but we were afraid".

I do not know to what this fear could be ascribed, or what could have been its source. Perhaps he accepted the statement as (having been) that of a Companion, and interpreted it according to his own understanding. What he stated is indeed "authentic and to be accepted". But his theory is not infallible and it is thus only applicable to the narrator. It is not applicable to others. This, however, does not necessitate the rejection of the tradition that such a person has narrated.

This also applies to the statement of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, provided that its line of transmission is authentic. But God knows best.

*The Account of ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, may God
be pleased with him.*

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar and Ḥajjāj related to him that Shuʿba related to them, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, who stated that he heard Muṭarrif quote ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn as having said, “I am going to narrate a *ḥadīth* to you through which God may perhaps give you benefit. This is, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined a *ḥijja* with an *ʿumra* and he did not forbid it up to his death. And no revelation came down stating it to be *ḥarām*, ‘prohibited’. He used to greet me; but when I was cupping, he kept aloof from me. When I ceased doing this, he came back to me.”

Muslim narrated this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and Muḥammad b. Bashshār, from Ghundar, and from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muʿadh, from his father. Al-Nasāʾī gave it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith. All three sources quote from Shuʿba, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Muṭarrif, from ʿImrān.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba and Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda, from Muṭarrif b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shakhir, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined a *ḥajj* with an *ʿumra*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī stated, “The *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Muṭarrif, is *ṣaḥīḥ*. As for his *ḥadīth* from Qatāda quoting Muṭarrif, in fact Baqiyya b. al-Walīd narrated it thus from Shuʿba. Ghundar and others narrated it from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda.”

I note that al-Nasāʾī also narrated it in his *al-Sunan* textbook, from ʿAmr b. ʿAlī al-Fallās, from Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith, from Shuʿba. In one version it is derived from Saʿīd, instead of from Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Muṭarrif, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn. But God knows best.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Hammām, from Qatāda, from Muṭarrif, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn, who stated, “We performed *al-tamattuʿ* in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and no revelation came down declaring it *ḥarām*, ‘prohibited’. And he did not forbid it up to the time of his death.”

The Account of al-Hirmās b. Ziyād al-Bāhili.

ʿAbd Allāh, son of Imām Aḥmad, stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿImrān b. ʿAlī Abū Muḥammad, from al-Rayy, whose origins were in Iṣfahān, related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. al-Ḍarīs, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from al-Hirmās, who said, ‘I was mounted behind my father and I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) mounted on a baggage camel, saying, “At Your service for a *ḥijja* and an *ʿumra* together.”’”

This meets the criteria of the *sunan* texts, but they (their compilers) did not promulgate it.

The Account of Ḥaḥṣa, daughter of 'Umar, 'The Mother of the Believers', may God be pleased with her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Mālik, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, from Ḥaḥṣa, to the effect that she asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), "Why is it you do not declare your state of *iḥrām* ended after performing the *'umra*?" He replied, "I braided my hair and placed a garland on my *hadī*, and so I will not declare my *iḥrām* concluded until I make sacrifice."

Both scholars promulgated it in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik and 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar. Al-Bukhārī added Mūsā b. 'Uqba to these two, while Muslim added Ibn Jurayj. All of these accounts quoted from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar.

In the versions of these two, Ḥaḥṣa is quoted as saying, "Messenger of God, how is it that the people declared their *iḥrām* concluded following the *'umra*, while you did not after your performance of the *'umra*?" He replied, "I placed a garland on my *hadī* and braided my hair. And so I will not declare my *iḥrām* concluded until I make sacrifice."

Imām Aḥmad also stated that Shu'ayb b. Abū Ḥamza related to him as follows, "Nāfi' stated, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar used to say, 'Ḥaḥṣa, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), informed us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his wives to declare their state of *iḥrām* concluded, that year of the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*. One woman asked him, 'What prevents you from declaring your *iḥrām* concluded?' He replied, 'I braided my hair and placed a garland on my *hadī*. And so I will not declare my *iḥrām* concluded until I sacrifice my *hadī*.'""

Aḥmad also stated that Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting his father, from Abū Ishāq, quoting Nāfi', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Ḥaḥṣa, daughter of 'Umar, who stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his women to declare their *iḥrām* concluded at the *'umra*, they asked, 'What prevents you, Messenger of God, from declaring yours concluded along with us?' He replied, 'I brought a *hadī* and matted my hair, and I will not declare my *iḥrām* concluded until I sacrifice my *hadī*.'"

Aḥmad then narrated it from Kathīr b. Hishām, from Ja'far b. Barqān, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, from Ḥaḥṣa.

This *ḥadīth* implies that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged fully in an *'umra* and did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded after it. It is learned from the above accounts relating to the performance of the *ḥajj al-ifrād* that he had also recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj*. The sum total of that was that he was engaged in a *ḥajj al-qirān*, as is also stated in the above accounts to that effect. But God knows best.

*The Account of ʿĀʾisha, 'The Mother of the Believers',
may God be pleased with her.*

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* and recited the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra*. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'Those who have a *ḥadī* with them should recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* along with the *ʿumra*. And they should not declare their state of *iḥrām* concluded until they have finished both.' When I reached Mecca, I was undergoing my menstrual period. So I did not circumambulate the *kaʿba*, nor did I pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. I complained about this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he said, 'Let down your hair and comb it; recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* and leave the *ʿumra*.' And I did this.

"When I had completed the *ḥajj*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr to al-Tanʿīm, and I performed the *ʿumra*. He said, 'This is in place of your *ʿumra*.'"

She went on, "Those who had recited the *talbiyya* for the *ʿumra* circumambulated the *kaʿba*, passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and then declared their *iḥrām* concluded. They performed another circumambulation after returning from Minā. Those who had combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* only performed one circumambulation."

Muslim narrated it similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhri.

He then narrated it from ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, and I recited the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra*. I had not brought a *ḥadī*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, 'Those having a *ḥadī* with them should recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj* with their *ʿumra*; they should not declare their *iḥrām* concluded until they complete them both.'"

The account proceeds as above.

The purpose of giving this *ḥadīth* is to draw attention to his words, "Those having a *ḥadī* with them should recite the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* with an *ʿumra*."

It is well known that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had brought a *ḥadī*; and so he was the first and the foremost to whom (the foregoing command) applied. For whatever general statement a speaker pronounces also applies to him.

(This *ḥadīth* is given here) also because she stated, "Those who had combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* performed only one circumambulation." This means between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Muslim quoted her as saying that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa." And so it is known from this that he had combined between the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*.

Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The *ḥadīth* were with the Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, 'Umar and those men of means."

She also related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded after the two pilgrimage ceremonies, and that he did not perform the *ḥajj al-tamattu'*. She recalled that she had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to have her perform the *ʿumra* from al-Tan'im. She said, "Messenger of God, you go off and perform a *ḥajj* and an *ʿumra* while I perform only a *ḥajj*." And so he dispatched her with her brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr and had her perform the *ʿumra* from al-Tan'im.

It is not related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* after his *ḥijja*, and he did not perform the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. It is thus established that he in fact performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*, because it is a general consensus that he did perform the *ʿumra* on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*. But God knows best.

It is related above how the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zā'ida, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* three times, all in Dhū al-Qa'da." And 'Ā'isha commented, "It is well known that he performed the *ʿumra* four times, including that *ʿumra* along with which he performed the *ḥajj*."

Al-Bayhaqī stated in (his work) *al-Khilāfiyyāt* that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith al-Faqīh informed him, quoting Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥassān al-Iṣbahānī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Sharīk, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūnus, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Ishāq, from Mujāhid, who said, "Ibn 'Umar was asked, 'How many times did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform the *ʿumra*?' He replied, 'Twice.' 'Ā'isha commented, 'Ibn 'Umar knew that he performed the *ʿumra* three times, apart from the *ʿumra* he combined with the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "This line of transmission is not bad. However, it does contain *irsāl*.⁹³ Mujāhid did not actually hear directly from 'Ā'isha, according to some of the scholars expert on *aḥādīth*."

I note that Shu'ba categorized it as objectionable. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, however, considered it well-established. God knows best.

It is narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and others, quoting 'Ā'isha (as saying) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought a *ḥadī* with him the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*. (It tells) of her performing the *ʿumra* from al-Tan'im, how he unexpectedly ran into her on his way to the people of Mecca, how he stayed overnight at al-Muḥaṣṣab, and how he performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer at Mecca and then returned to Medina.

93. A term referring to the attribution of an account to a person who could not have heard it first hand from the person being quoted.

All this shows that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not perform an *ʿumra* after that *ḥijja* of his; and I know of no Companion who communicated that he did so.

It is well known that he did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded between the two pilgrimage ceremonies. Nor does anyone narrate that, after circumambulating the *kaʿba* and his passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, he shaved or cut his hair short or declared his *iḥrām* concluded. In fact, all agree that he persisted in his *iḥrām*. And it is not reported that he recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* when he went to Minā, and it is thus known that he did not perform the *ḥajj al-tammattuʿ*.

They are also in agreement that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, that he did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded between the two pilgrimage ceremonies, that he did not announce his state of *iḥrām* for the *ḥajj*, and that he did not perform the *ʿumra* after the *ḥajj*, but kept to the *ḥajj al-qirān*. All this is difficult to refute. But God knows best.

Moreover, the account of his having performed the *ḥajj al-qirān* is further substantiated because of that which is left out or has been refuted in the statements of those who maintain that he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād* or the *ḥajj al-tammattuʿ*. The (*al-qirān*) reports must therefore be given priority as is prescribed in the principles of jurisprudence.

From Abū ʿImrān comes the account that he performed the *ḥajj* with his freed-man. He stated, "I came to Umm Salama and asked, 'Mother of the Believers, I have never performed the *ḥajj*. With what should I begin it, the *ʿumra* or the *ḥajj*?' She replied, 'Begin with whichever you wish.'"

His account continues, "I then went to Ṣafiyya, 'the mother of the Believers', and when I asked her, she replied as Umm Salama had done. I went again to Umm Salama and informed her what Ṣafiyya had said. She commented, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "O family of Muḥammad, let those of you who make the pilgrimage recite the *talbiyya* for an *ʿumra* in a *ḥijja*.'"

Ibn Ḥibbān related this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Ibn Ḥazm narrated it in (reference to) the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Aslam, from Abū ʿImrān, from Umm Salama.

DIVISION

If it be said, "You have narrated from a group of Companions that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād*. Then you narrated from these very persons, as well as from others, that he combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra*. How can these be reconciled?"

The answer is, "The narrative of those who related that he performed the *ḥajj al-ifrād* implies that he performed the activities of the *ḥajj* individually, while the *ʿumra* entered into that performance in intent, in deed and in time."

This shows that he was satisfied with the circumambulation of the *ḥajj* and his procession (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) being for it and for that (the *ʿumra*),

as is the practice of the majority of scholars in the *hajj al-qirān*. This conflicts with Abū Ḥanīfa, may God have mercy upon him, in that he maintained that the person performing the *hajj al-qirān* makes two circumambulations and makes the procession (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) twice. He relied in this conclusion upon what was quoted from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, even though there are questions raised about the line of transmission of the *ḥadīth* back to him.

As for those who narrate his having performed the *hajj al-tamattu'* and then narrate his having performed the *hajj al-qirān*, we have dealt with this issue above. Namely, the term *al-tamattu'* as used by the early authorities was more general in meaning than the *al-tamattu'* of the *al-ḥijja* and the *hajj al-qirān*. In fact, they apply it to performing the *umra* in the months for the *hajj*, even when not in conjunction with the *hajj*, as Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ stated; "We performed the *tamattu'* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at a time when this fellow" – meaning Mu'āwiya – was an unbeliever in al-'Ursh" – meaning Mecca.

In this he was referring to one of two *umras* – either that of al-Ḥudaybiya, or the *umrat al-qadā'*. Regarding the *umra* from al-Ji'rāna, Mu'āwiya had by then already accepted Islam, since it came after the conquest of Mecca. And the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* was after that, in the year 10 AH. This is clear and obvious. But God knows best.

DIVISION

If it be said, "What is your response to the *ḥadīth* narrated by Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī in his *musnad* text: 'Hishām related to us, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunā'i, whose name was Ḥaywān b. Khālid, that Mu'āwiya said to a number of the Companions of the Messenger of God "Do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade the use of a tiger's skin as a saddle blanket?" "Why yes, by God," they replied. "I testify to that," he went on. "And do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade the wearing of gold, except for very little of it?" "Yes, by God," they replied. "And do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade that the *hajj* and the *umra* be combined together?" "No, by God," they replied. He said, "By God, this too is with those (statements)."'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Hammām, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunā'i, who said, "I was amongst a group of Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Mu'āwiya's home when the latter said, 'I adjure you by God, do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade riding mounted upon the skins of tigers?' 'Indeed yes, by God,' they replied. 'And do you know that he forbade the wearing of gold, except for very little of it?' 'Yes indeed, by God,' they replied. 'And do you know that he forbade the *al-mut'a*?' – meaning the *hajj al-mut'a*. 'No, by God,' they replied."

(Imām) Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, quoting Sa'īd, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunā'i, that he witnessed Mu'āwiya being

with a group of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and that Mu'āwiya asked them, "Do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade riding mounted on the skins of tigers?" "Yes indeed," they replied. "And do you know that he forbade the wearing of silk?" he asked. "Yes indeed, by God" they replied. "And do you know that he forbade drinking from a vessel of gold or silver?" "Yes indeed, by God", they replied. "And do you know that he forbade combining a *hajj* with an *ʿumra*?" "No, by God," they replied. "By God, it is with those (statements)," he said."

Ḥammād b. Salama narrated it thus, from Qatāda. And his account adds (Mu'āwiya's statement) "But you have forgotten."

Ash'ath b. Nizzār, Sa'īd b. Abū 'Arūba and Hammām also related it thus, from Qatāda as its initial narrator. And Maṭar al-Warrāq and Buhays b. Fahdān narrated it from Abū Shaykh, in reference to the *hajj al-mut'a*.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī narrated it along various lines from Abū Shaykh al-Hunā'ī; it is a *ḥadīth* with a fine line of transmission.

From it the account of Mu'āwiya, may God be pleased with him, forbidding combining the *hajj* with the *ʿumra* seems strange. Perhaps the *ḥadīth* originally referred to forbidding the *mut'a*.⁹⁴ The narrator thought the *mut'a* of the *hajj* was meant, whereas it was the *mut'a* relating to women. Yet those Companions narrate no *ḥadīth* forbidding it.

Or the prohibition may have related to the *iqrān*⁹⁵ of dates, as in the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Umar, but the narrator believed it to refer to the *al-qirān* in the *hajj*. That was not the case.

Or perhaps Mu'āwiya, may God be pleased with him, said, "Do you know that such-and-such was forbidden" without the person making known the prohibition being named, and then the narrator attributed this to the Prophet (ṢAAS), imagining this. For the person who forbade the *mut'a* of the *hajj* was actually 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, and his forbidding it was not actual prohibition, as we have shown above. He actually forbade it so that it should be performed separately from the *hajj*, on a different trip, in order to increase visits to the *ka'ba*.

The Companions, may God be pleased with them, were in great awe of him; they generally did not dare to contradict him. His son 'Abd Allāh would disagree with him and he would be told, "Your father used to forbid it." And he would respond, "I was afraid a rock would fall from the sky upon you! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed it. Is the practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be emulated, or that of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?"

94. The term here refers to the controversial early practice of "temporary marriages", to which this word also referred.

95. A note to the Arabic printed text states that the word also meant "eating two dates in one mouthful".

Similarly, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him, used to forbid it, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib opposed him, as is told above. 'Alī said, "I will not give up a practice of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because of a statement made by one of the people."

'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn stated, "We performed the *ḥajj al-tamattu'* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and no revelation came rendering it *ḥarām*. And he did not forbid it before his death."

This was promulgated by both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated about Sa'd that he expressed opposition to Mu'āwiya's disapproval of the *ḥajj al-mut'a*. He stated, "We performed it with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while this fellow was still an unbeliever in al-'Ursh." By this he meant Mu'āwiya who was, at the time, an unbeliever in Mecca.

I note that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did indeed perform the *ḥajj al-qirān* according to the *aḥādīth* we have quoted above to that effect. And there was a period of only 81 days between the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* and the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Approximately 40,000 witnessed, in word and deed, his performance of the *ḥijja*. If he had forbidden combining the *ḥajj*, which people had witnessed him perform, then it would not have been just one of the Companions who would have refuted it but a group of those who had either heard this or not heard this from him.

All this shows that this cannot be correct as reported from Mu'āwiya, may God be pleased with him. But God knows best.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Ḥaywa, quoting Abū 'Isā al-Khurasānī, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qāsim al-Khurasānī, from Sa'd b. al-Musayyab (who said) that one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) went to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and testified that he had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while suffering from the illness from which he died, forbid the performance of the *ʿumra* prior to the *ḥajj*.

This line of transmission is not devoid of controversy. Moreover, if this Companion was narrating this from Mu'āwiya, then the matter is as discussed above; this was in regard to the *mut'a*, and not the *ḥajj al-qirān*. If, however, he was narrating this from someone else, then it is problematical in general, but not specifically regarding the *qirān*. But God knows best.

Accounts substantiating those stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the state of ihrām and did not initially specify a ḥajj or an ʿumra, and then thereafter rendered it specific.

It is narrated from al-Shāfi'ī that this is preferable; however, it is a statement that is weak.

Al-Shāfiʿī, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Sufyān informed him, quoting Ibn Ṭawūs, Ibrāhīm b. Maysara and Hishām b. Ḥujayr, all of whom heard Ṭawūs say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina without specifying a *hajj* or an *ʿumra*, waiting for a divine decree. The decision did come down to him while he was between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Then he ordered those of his Companions who had recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* and had not brought *ḥadīṣ* with them to make it into an *ʿumra*. He stated, 'If I had known earlier what I now do, I would not have brought the *ḥadīṣ*. However, I have matted my hair and I did bring my *ḥadīṣ*, and the only time when I can declare my *iḥrām* concluded is after sacrificing my *ḥadīṣ*.'

"Surāqa b. Mālīk then approached him and asked, 'Messenger of God, make a decision for us as if born today. Is the *ʿumra* of ours for this year or for ever?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied; 'No; it is for ever; the *ʿumra* has entered into the *hajj* on until Judgement Day.'

"Alī arrived from Yemen and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'For what have you recited the *talbiyya*?' One of the two of them then said, '*Labbayka!* "At Your service!"' With the recitation of the *talbiyya* of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The other then said, 'At Your service, for the *ḥijja* of the Prophet (ṢAAS)!'

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, going back no further than to Ṭawūs; there is oddity in it.

It is a cardinal principle of al-Shāfiʿī, may God have mercy upon him, not to accept a *ḥadīth* that is *mursal* merely by itself, unless supported by another *ḥadīth*. Unless, that is, it derives from one of the major *tābiʿūn*, "the authorities of the second generation", as he stated in his *risāla*, "his treatise". This is because in most cases they relate such *aḥādīth* only from the Companions. But God knows best.

This *mursal ḥadīth* is not of that category. In fact, it contradicts those *aḥādīth* given before, whether relating to the *hajj al-ifrād*, the *hajj al-tamattuʿ* or the *hajj al-qirān*. These *aḥādīth* are authentic and have full lines of transmission, as given above. They have precedence over it. And since they affirm a matter denied by this *ḥadīth* that is *mursal*, and an affirmation takes precedence over a negation if otherwise equal, then how should it be here, where a *ḥadīth* with a full line of transmission is (classified as) *ṣaḥīḥ* and (the other account) is classified as *mursal* and could not substantiate an issue because of its broken line of transmission? But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, quoting Muḥādir, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), without making reference to either a *hajj* or an *ʿumra*. When we arrived, he ordered us to declare

our state of *iḥrām* concluded. When it was the night of al-Nafr,⁹⁶ Safiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy began to menstruate. The Prophet (ṢAAS), exclaimed, '*Ḥalqā 'aqrā!* "With a shaven head and menstruating!" 'I can only see her impeding you all.' He then asked (her), 'Did you make a circumambulation the day of the sacrifice?' 'Yes,' she replied. He then said, 'Then you may leave.' She said, 'Messenger of God, I did not recite the *talbiyya* (for the '*umra*').' He said, 'So make an '*umra* from al-Tan'im.'"

The narrator continued, "And so her brother accompanied her. She said, 'And we met Mudlij, and he said, 'You're (to assume the state of *iḥrām*) from so-and-so.'"

This is how al-Bayhaqī narrated this.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Muḥammad, said to be the son of Yahyā al-Dhuhli, from Muḥāḍir b. al-Muwarri'. His version, however, states, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), making reference only to the *ḥajj* . . ."

This is similar to the *aḥādīth* attributed to her quoted above.

However, Muslim narrated from Suwayd b. Sa'īd, from 'Alī b. Mushir, from al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), making reference to neither a *ḥajj* nor to an '*umra*."

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim included it, from a *ḥadīth* of Manṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, quoting 'Ā'isha as saying, "We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), thinking only that it was for the *ḥajj*."

This is highly authentic, and very firmly founded. But God knows best.

In another account from this line, she stated, "We went forth reciting the *talbiyya*, but not referring either to a *ḥajj* or to an '*umra*."

It is likely that they used not to mention that along with the *talbiyya*. They had designated it as *ḥāl al-iḥrām*, "the state of *iḥrām*", as in the *ḥadīth* of Anas: "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'At Your service, O God, for a *ḥajj* and an '*umra*.'" Anas went on to comment, "And I heard them shouting for both together."

Also there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from Abū Naḍra, quoting Jābir, and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, who both said, "We came (to Mecca) with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), shouting vigorously for the *ḥajj*." This *ḥadīth* is problematic. But God knows best.

An Account of the recitation of the talbiyya made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

Al-Shāfi'ī stated that Mālik informed him, from Nāfi', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, that the *talbiyya* spoken by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was:

96. During the pilgrimage, the day of the departure from Minā to Mecca.

"*Labbayka Allāhumma, Labbayk! Labayka, Lā sharika laka! Labbayk! Inna al-ḥamda wa al-ni'mata laka, wa al-mulku lak. Lā sharika lak.* 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service; You have no associate! At Your service! Praise and grace are Yours! Power is Yours! You have no associate!'"

'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar would make an addition to this: "*Labbayka laka wa sa'dayk! Wa al-khayru fi yadayka!, Labbayka! Wa al-raghbā'u ilayka wa al-ʿamal.* 'At Your service, and at Your pleasure! And all good is in Your hands! At Your service! And all joy, and all good are in Your hands! At Your service! And all aspirations are to You, and (all) work!'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, and Muslim did so from Yahyā b. Yahyā, both quoting Mālik.

Muslim stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abbād narrated to him, quoting Ḥatīm b. Ismāʿīl, from Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, and from Nāfi', the freed-man of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, and Ḥamza b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood up at the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. He recited the *talbiyya*, saying, "At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service; You have no associate; at Your service. Praise and grace are Yours. And power is Yours. You have no associate."

They said, "'Abd Allāh used to say, 'This is the *talbiyya* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' Nāfi' said, 'Abd Allāh would add along with this, 'At Your service! At Your service! At your service, and at Your pleasure! Good is in Your hands, and aspirations are to You, and so is work.''"

Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Saʿīd, from 'Ubayd Allāh, quoting Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "I learned the *talbiyya* from (the mouth of) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." And he went on to narrate as the others had stated in their *aḥādith*.

Ḥarmala b. Yahyā narrated to me, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar quoted to me his father as having stated, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having matted his hair, recite the *talbiyya*, saying, 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service! You have no associate. At Your service. Praise, grace and power are Yours; You have no associate.' He added nothing to these words.

"'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar used to say, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to perform two *raka'āt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. When the camel stood up bearing him at the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he recited the *talbiyya* in those words.'

"'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar stated that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to recite the *talbiyya* as had the Prophet (ṢAAS), using those words. He would say, 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service, and Your pleasure. Good is in Your hands. At Your service! Aspirations are to You, and so is work.'"

This is the phraseology of Muslim. The *ḥadīth* of Jābir gives the *talbiyya* as in that of Ibn 'Umar; it will be given in full shortly. Muslim related it separately.

Al-Bukhārī stated, after giving it through Mālik, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, as is given above. He stated, "Muḥammad b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting Sufyān, from al-A'mash, from 'Umāra, from Abū 'Aṭiyya, who quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, 'I well know how the Prophet (ṢAAS) would recite the *talbiyya*. He would say, "At Your service, O God! At Your service! At Your service; You have no associate. Praise and grace are Yours."'"

Abū Mu'āwiya gave it from al-A'mash. Shu'ba stated that Sulaymān informed him that Khaythama quoted Abū 'Aṭiyya from 'Ā'isha.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, from Sulaymān al-Thawrī, from Sulaymān b. Maḥrān al-A'mash, from 'Umāra b. 'Umayr, from Abū 'Aṭiyya al-Wādī, quoting 'Ā'isha. His account is the same as that narrated by al-Bukhārī.

Aḥmad narrated it from Abū Mu'āwiya, and 'Abd Allāh b. Numayr did so from al-A'mash, the same as was narrated by al-Bukhārī. He (Aḥmad) also narrated it from Muḥammad b. Ja'far and Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda, from Shu'ba, from Sulaymān b. Maḥrān al-A'mash, giving it as had al-Bukhārī. Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī narrated it the same in his text from Shu'ba.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl narrated to him, quoting al-A'mash, from 'Umāra b. 'Umayr, from Abū 'Aṭiyya, who said, "'Ā'isha stated, 'I well know how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would recite the *talbiyya*.'"

Abū 'Aṭiyya went on to state, "I then heard her recite the *talbiyya*. She said, 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service! You have no associate. At Your service. Praise and grace are Yours, and Power. You have no associate.'"

He is alone in adding in this text the words, "and Power. You have no associate".

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Salāma, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-A'raj, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Part of the *talbiyya* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the words, 'At Your service, O God of the truth.'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from Qutayba, from Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Salāma and Ibn Māja, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and 'Alī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted Waki', from 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Al-Nasā'ī stated, "I know of no one except 'Abd al-'Azīz who gave its line of transmission from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Faḍl."

Ismā'īl b. Umayya narrated it as *mursal*.

Al-Shāfi'ī stated that Sa'īd b. al-Qaddāḥ informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Ḥumayd al-A'raj, from Mujāhid, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) would express in the *talbiyya* 'At Your service, O God!'" And he went on to state the *talbiyya*.

He stated, "Eventually, one day when the people were standing away from him, it was as though he was delighted by his circumstances and he added to it, saying, 'At Your service! The (real) life is that of the hereafter!'"

Ibn Jurayj went on, "I considered that to have been the day on Mt. 'Arafāt."

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal* from this line.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Aḥmad Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzayma, quoting Naṣr b. 'Alī al-Jahḍamī, quoting Maḥbūb b. al-Ḥasan, quoting Dā'ūd, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address at 'Arafāt and that when he had said, "At Your service, O God, at Your service!" he went on to say, "The only good is that of the afterlife!"

This line of transmission is *gharīb*; its line of transmission does meet the criteria of the *sunan* texts, but the compilers of these did not promulgate it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanṭab, who quoted Abū Hurayra as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Gabriel ordered me to raise my voice in the *talbiyya*; it is one of the rites of the *ḥajj*."

Aḥmad was alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, from Ibn Wahb, from Usāma b. Zayd, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān and 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib, from Abū Hurayra, from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as above.

'Abd al-Razzāq stated that al-Thawrī informed him, from Ibn Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib, from Zayd b. Khālīd, who said, "Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, 'Order your Companions to raise their voices in the *talbiyya*; it is a rite of the *ḥajj*.'"

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, from 'Alī b. Muḥammad, from Wakī', from al-Thawrī. Similarly Shu'ba narrated it, as did Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Labīd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakī' related to him, quoting Sufyān, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanṭab, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib, from Zayd b. Khālīd al-Juhānī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Gabriel came to me and said, "Muḥammad, order your Companions to raise their voices in the *talbiyya*; it is a rite of the *ḥajj*.'"

Our teacher Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in his work *al-Atrāf* that Mu'āwiya also related the above from Hishām; and Qabīṣa (gave it) from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalib, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib, from his father, from Zayd b. Khālīd.

Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. 'Uyayna related it to him, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib b. Khallād, from his father, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as saying, "Gabriel came to me and said, 'Order your Companions to raise their voices in reciting the *talbiyya*.'"

Aḥmad stated, "I studied it under 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, from Mālik. And Rawḥ related to us, quoting Mālik – meaning Ibn Anas – from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazam, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib al-Anṣārī, from his father, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as saying, 'Gabriel came to me and ordered me to order my Companions – or those with me – to raise their voices in reciting the *talbiyya* or in the *ihlāl*'" – meaning of one of the two.

Al-Shāfi'ī narrated it thus from Mālik. And Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from al-Qa'nabī, from Mālik. Imām Aḥmad also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. Al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja did so from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "And Ibn Jurayj narrated that, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr wrote to me giving mention of it. And he did not refer to Abū Khallād in his line of transmission.'"

He (al-Bayhaqī) went on, "What is authentic is the account of Mālik and Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from 'Abd al-Malik, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib, from his father, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), similarly."

Al-Bukhārī and others gave it in the same form. Imām Aḥmad is quoted in the *musnad* text of al-Sā'ib b. Khallād b. Suwayd Abū Sahla al-Anṣārī, as follows, "Muḥammad b. Bakr related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj, and Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj as saying, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm wrote to me, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, from Khallād b. al-Sā'ib al-Anṣārī, from his father al-Sā'ib b. Khallād, that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Gabriel came to me and said, 'God orders you to order your Companions to raise their voices with the *talbiyya* or the *ihlāl*.'""

He (Imām Aḥmad) stated, "I do not know which of us, whether myself or 'Abd Allāh, or Khallād gave it as 'in the *ihlāl* or the *talbiyya*.'"

This is the wording of Aḥmad in his *musnad* text. Our teacher gave it thus in his work *al-Aṭrāf*, from Ibn Jurayj, as in the account of Mālik and Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. But God knows best.

THE ḤADĪTH OF JĀBIR B. 'ABD ALLĀH, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, ON THE ḤIJJĀ OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

It represents by itself an independent rite that we consider more appropriate to

give here, since it includes the *talbiyya* and other matters, as has been mentioned heretofore and as follows.

We will report its various lines of transmission and phraseology. Then we will follow it with testimonials from the various *aḥādīth* to the same effect. And to God one turns for help.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, quoting his father, who said, "We came to Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh while he was with Banū Salama. We asked him about the *hijja* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Jābir related to us that the latter stayed in Medina for nine years without making the pilgrimage. He then had an announcement made to the people that he would be a pilgrim that year.

Jābir went on, "A great mass of people came to Medina, all hoping to imitate the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to do as he did. He went forth five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, and we left with him. When he reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmayy, went into labour with Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr. She sent a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking what she should do. He replied, 'Wash, then put in place a folded cloth, then recite the *talbiyya*.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on to where his camel came to a point overlooking al-Bayḍāʾ; there he recited the *talbiyya* and the *tawḥīd*, saying, 'At Your service, O God! You have no associate; at Your Service. Praise and grace are Yours, along with power; You have no associate.'

"The people recited the *talbiyya*, adding words such as *dhā al-maʿārij*, 'He who possesses ladders.'⁹⁷ The Prophet (ṢAAS) heard (this), but said nothing to them.

"I looked as far as I could ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and there were people riding and walking. And it was the same behind him, and to both of his sides.

"He was right there among us; to him the Qurʾān would be revealed, and he knew how to interpret it. Whatever he did, we knew.

"We left, with our only intention being to make the *hajj*. When we reached the *kaʿba*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) saluted the 'black stone', jogged for three circumambulations and walked for four. When he had finished, he made his way to the *maqām Ibrāhīm*. Behind it he performed two prayer *rakaʿāt*. He then recited, 'and use Abraham's station as a place for prayer' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.125)."

Aḥmad stated, "And Abū ʿAbd Allāh" – meaning Jaʿfar – "added, 'and he recited verses affirming the Oneness of God, and the verse, "Say, O you unbelievers" (*sūrat al-Kāfirūna*; CIX, v.1).

"He then saluted the stone and went off to al-Ṣafā. There he recited, 'al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are rites of God' (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.158).

97. To heaven, that is.

"He then stated, 'We will begin with that which God began.' And he scaled al-Ṣafā and, gazing out at the *ka'ba* spoke the words, 'God is Most Great', and then 'There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. He has power, and to Him there is praise. He has control over everything. There is no god but God alone! He has fulfilled His promise, and proved His promise true. And he *hazama*, 'defeated' – or *ghalaba*, 'overcame' – the factions by Himself.' He then prayed and repeated these words.

"Thereafter he came down until his feet were in the *wādī*,⁹⁸ when he proceeded at a jog until, having ascended, he walked and proceeded on until he reached al-Marwa. He scaled it until he stood facing out to the *ka'ba* and spoke the same words there as he had upon al-Ṣafā. When it was the seventh circumambulation, at al-Marwa, he said, 'O people, if I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the *hadī*, and would have made it an *ʿumra*. Those who do not have *hadīs* with them should declare their *iḥrām* concluded, and make it into an *ʿumra*.' And all the people declared their *iḥrām* concluded.

"Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum asked, while down in the lowest part of the valley, 'Messenger of God, is this for this year (alone) or for ever?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intertwined his fingers and replied, 'For ever.' He repeated this five times. He then said, 'The *ʿumra* has entered into the *ḥajj* until Judgement Day.'"

Jābir went on, "Alī arrived from Yemen with a *hadī*. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had brought a *hadī* from those in Medina. Fāṭima had put on jewellery, colour-dyed clothing and had decorated her eyes with mascara. He (Alī) criticized her for that and she replied, 'My father ordered me to do it.' He said, 'Bring me the head kerchief.' (Jāfar commented: 'This word "he said" was not a reference to Jābir's speech' [but to 'Alī's])

"So 'Alī left, upset, to enquire from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), about what Fāṭima had said. 'Alī said, 'Fāṭima dressed in colour-dyed clothes and put on mascara, saying her father told her to do so.' He (the Messenger of God, ṢAAS), replied, 'She spoke the truth. She spoke the truth. I did tell her to do this.'"

Jābir went on, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) asked 'Alī, 'With what intent did you recite the *talbiyya*?' He replied, 'I said, "O God, I recite the *talbiyya* with the same intent as Your Messenger.'" He added, 'I have a *hadī* with me.' 'Then you should not declare your *iḥrām* concluded,' he told him."

Jābir went on, "The number of *hadīs* brought by 'Alī from Yemen and by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 100. The latter sacrificed by his own hand 63, and he then gave 'Alī (permission) to sacrifice the remainder. He allowed him to share in his own *hadī*. He then ordered that meat be removed

98. Between Ṣafā and Marwa is a short strip where Hagar, unable to see her son Ismā'īl, ran. Running at this site is now recommended as a part of the performance of the *sa'ī*, as was the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), according to the foregoing tradition.

from each sacrificed animal and it was placed in a cooking pot. They both then ate the meat and drank the gravy.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then stated, 'I have made sacrifice here; and all Minā is a place for sacrifice.' He then stood upon Mt. 'Arafāt and said, 'I have stood here; and all 'Arafāt is a station.' He then halted on al-Muzdalifa and said, 'I have stood here, and all Muzdalifa is a station.'"

This is how Imām Aḥmad gave this *ḥadīth*; its ending is much abbreviated.

Imām Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj narrated it in the *al-Manāsik* ("rites of pilgrimage") section of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, both of whom narrated it from Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, from his father, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh.

He gave us information of the different additions from the text of Aḥmad and Muslim, up to the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to 'Alī, "She spoke the truth. She spoke the truth. What was it you said when you declared your intention to make the *ḥajj*?" 'Alī replied, "O God, I am reciting the *talbiyya* for that which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited it." He went on, "I have a *ḥadī* with me." "Then do not declare your *iḥrām* concluded," he told him. The total number of *ḥadīs* that 'Alī brought from Yemen and were brought by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 100.

"And all the people declared their *iḥrām* at an end and shortened their hair except for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and those who had brought *ḥadīs* with them.

"When it was the *yawm al-tarwīyya*⁹⁹ they made their way to Minā and recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted his camel and performed the *al-zuhr*, *al-ʿaṣr*, *al-maghrib*, *al-ʿishāʾ*, and *al-fajr* prayers there. He then remained there a little while until the sun came up and he called for a pavilion of haircloth he had and it was set up for him at Namira.¹⁰⁰

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on, while Quraysh had no doubt that he was remaining at al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām,¹⁰¹ as Quraysh used to do in the *jāhiliyya* period. However, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went across to 'Arafāt and found that the pavilion had been set up for him at Namira. There he dismounted.

"When the sun had begun to decline, he called for his camel Qaṣwā' and it was saddled for him. He then went on down into the centre of the valley where he made an address to the people. He said, 'Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month, in this your land.

99. The rite of "making provisions of water", performed on the eight day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, the day preceding the "standing" at 'Arafāt.

100. A location close to 'Arafāt.

101. The station at Muzdalifa to the east of Mecca. The Quraysh, as opposed to all the other tribes, spent the ninth day of the *ḥajj* at this station as an indication of their superior status. They expected the Prophet to do the same, but he proceeded to 'Arafāt along with the other tribes.

"I declare that everything relating to the *jāhiliyya* is cast down beneath my two feet. The blood (feuds) of the *jāhiliyya* are abolished. The first blood feud I dismiss is that relating to the blood of Ibn Rabi'a b. al-Ḥārith,¹⁰² brought up as a foster-child in Banū Sa'd and killed by Hudhayl. Also the interest charges of the *jāhiliyya* are abolished. The first interest charge I abolish is that of al-Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; it is all abolished.

"Fear God (in your treatment of) women. You have taken them in God's trust, and their persons are made permitted to you by God's word. You may require of them that they not allow anyone you dislike to enter your furnishings; if they should do this, then beat them, but not viciously. They have the right from you to have their sustenance and their clothing, with kindness.

"I have left amongst you something wherein, if you keep to it, you will not go astray thereafter: God's Book. You will be questioned about me. What is it you will say?" They responded, 'We will bear witness that you did convey (the message), that you gave good advice and did your duty.' He then spoke with his index finger, using it to convey meaning to the people, saying, 'O God, I bear witness! O God, I bear witness!' (He said this) three times.

"He had a call to prayer made and then arose and performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer. Thereafter, he performed the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer; he made no other prayer between them both.

"After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode his camel to the *mawqif* ('Arafāt), making the chest of his mount face towards the rocks. He positioned Mt. al-Mashāt ahead of him and faced the *ka'ba*. He remained standing there until the sun set. The yellow of the sky had dissipated somewhat, and the sun-disk had set. Usāma b. Zayd then mounted behind him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away; he had so tightened al-Qaṣwā's bridle that her head almost touched the front of his saddle. With his right hand he was making a gesture that said, 'People! 'Go easy! Go easy!' Whenever he passed over hilly terrain, he loosened his grip somewhat until she had climbed up.

"When he came to Muzdalifa he prayed the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿiṣhā* with a single *adhān* and two *iqāmas*;¹⁰³ between these two prayer times he did not speak prayers.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then lay down until the dawn came. He performed the *al-fajr* prayer until morning arrived, with an *adhān* and an *iqāma*. He then mounted al-Qaṣwā and proceeded to the *mash'ar al-harām* (at Muzdalifa). He faced the *qibla*, spoke a prayer, praised and glorified God and asserted His Oneness. He remained standing until the dawn light was strong.

"He proceeded on before the sun rose, mounting al-Faḍl b. al-Abbās behind himself; this was a man with fine hair, a pale complexion and dignified mien. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved forward, several women in howdahs

102. He was a cousin of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

103. The *iqāma* follows somewhat after the *adhān*, the call to prayer, and indicates the imminent beginning of the prayer ceremonies.

passed by, at a gallop. When al-Faḍl began looking towards them, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his hand over the former's face. Al-Faḍl moved his hand over to the other side, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved it back over to the other side of al-Faḍl's face. Al-Faḍl then moved his face away from the other side, looking.

"When he reached the *wādī* Muḥasir, he spurred on his mount a little, then followed the middle trail that emerges at *al-Jamrat al-kubrā*¹⁰⁴ and he went on to the *jamra*, the stone pile at the tree. He cast seven pebbles at the stone mound, glorifying God with each pebble; each pebble was small and he threw them from the centre of the *wādī*.

"He then proceeded on to the sacrifice site, where he slaughtered 63 sacrificial camels by his own hand. He then allowed 'Alī to sacrifice those that remained and had him share in his own *ḥadi*. He ordered that a piece of the meat of each animal be cut out and placed in a pot, where it was all cooked. Both men ate from that meat and drank the gravy.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rode off and proceeded to the *ka'ba*. He performed the *al-zuhr* prayer in Mecca, and went over to Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who were distributing the water at *zamzam*. He said, 'Draw water, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib! Were it not that people would usurp this right from you (by wanting to do the same in emulation of my *sunna*) I would certainly have joined you in drawing water.' They handed him a bucket and he drank from it."

Muslim then narrated it from 'Amr b. Ḥaḥṣ, from his father, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir. He recounted it in similar words.

He proceeded to relate the story of Abū Sayyāra, to the effect that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), used to (perform the *ḥajj*) with those of the *jāhiliyya* riding on a mule. And that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I made sacrifice here, and all Minā is a place for sacrifice. And so make sacrifice on your journeys. I have stood here, and so all 'Arafāt is a station. And I have stood over here, and all Jam'¹⁰⁵ is a station."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it in full from al-Nufaylī, 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, Hishām b. 'Ammār and Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. No doubt some of these added a word or a point. All four quoted from Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl, from Ja'far, his account being similar to that of Muslim. We have referred above to some of his additions to it.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī also narrated it, from Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān, from Ja'far. Al-Nasā'ī narrated it also, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, in part, from Ibrāhīm b. Hārūn al-Balkhī, from Ḥātim b. Ismā'īl, in part.

104. It is said that Satan tried to mislead Ismā'īl at three different places during his trek with his father Abraham towards the place of sacrifice. A part of the pilgrimage rites is the standing at the "pillars of Satan" in commemoration of that event.

105. Another name for al-Muzdalifa.

*An Account of those places in which the Messenger of God
(ṢAAS) prayed while travelling from Medina to Mecca
on his 'umra and his ḥajj.*

Al-Bukhārī's text has a section headed *Chapter on the mosques on the way from Medina, and the places where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed prayers.*

He stated, "Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī related to us as follows, 'Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān related to us, quoting Mūsā b. 'Uqba, who said, "I saw Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh searching out places on the route, and praying in them. He would relate that his father used to pray in them, and that the latter had seen the Prophet (ṢAAS), pray in those places." Nāfi' related to me, from Ibn 'Umar, may God be pleased with both, that he used to pray in those places. I questioned Sālim and I know only that he agreed with Nāfi' about all these places. However, they did differ over a mosque at Sharaf al-Rawḥā'."

He (Fuḍayl) went on, "Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir said, 'Mūsā b. 'Uqba narrated to us, from Nāfi', that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would dismount at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa when he performed the 'umra and on his ḥijja, beneath an acacia tree at the place of the mosque that is there. Whenever he was returning from a military expedition, or a ḥajj or an 'umra, and his path would pass through there, he would descend to the centre of the wādī. When he appeared at the wādī, he would make his mount kneel at the plain that was on its eastern edge. He would dismount and rest there, and not at the mosque that was at a rock, nor at the palm trees near which the mosque stood. There was a deep wādī nearby in which 'Abd Allāh would pray. At its bottom there were piles of sand near which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would pray. The flood from the plain ultimately buried that location where 'Abd Allāh would pray.'"

(The account went on to state that) 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar related to Nāfi' that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would pray at the site of the small mosque, other than the one at the Sharaf al-Rawḥā'. 'Abd Allāh would point out the place where the Prophet (ṢAAS) would pray, and say, "Over there at your right when you stand praying in the mosque." That mosque is at the right edge of the road when you are proceeding to Mecca. The distance between it and the bigger mosque is approximately a stone's throw.

(The account goes on that) Ibn 'Umar would pray towards the sand hillock which was at the end of al-Rawḥā'. The side of that hillock would end at the edge of the road, below the mosque which lies between it and the beginning point of the open land, if on your way to Mecca. A mosque had been built there, but 'Abd Allāh did not pray in that mosque. He would leave it on his left and his rear and pray in front of it, facing towards the sand hillock itself. 'Abd Allāh would leave al-Rawḥā' and not perform the *al-ḡuhr* prayer until he reached that place, where he would pray. If he should be coming from Mecca and pass by it an hour before the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, or at the end of the period before dawn, he would dismount to rest until he could pray the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer there.

(The account went on that) ‘Abd Allāh (Ibn ‘Umar) related to him that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would dismount beneath a large *sarḥa* tree below al-Ruwaytha, at the right of the road and opposite it, in a place where there was a broad, level gulley which comes out at a hillock a little below the mail-station of al-Ruwaytha, some two miles away. Its top had broken off and it has bent at its centre; it stands on a track in which there are many deposits of sand.

(The account states that) ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar told Nāfi‘ that the Prophet (ṢAAS) also prayed at the side of a hillock at the back of al-‘Arj, on the way to Haḍba; at that mosque there are two or three graves. Over them stand stone markers, to the right of the road, at some *salam* trees. It was between those trees that ‘Abd Allāh would pass from al-‘Arj, after the sun had begun to decline after noon; he would perform the *al-zuhr* prayer in that mosque.

(The account states that) ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar also related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped at some trees to the left of the road at a rivulet below Harshā; that stream adjoins the extremity of Harshā, roughly an arrow’s cast away from the road. ‘Abd Allāh would pray at the tree closest to the road; it was also the tallest tree.

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar also told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go down into the stream that is very close to Marr al-Zahrān, before Medina, when he would descend from al-Ṣafrūwāt. He would go down to the bed of the stream, to the right side of the road if you are headed for Mecca, there being only a stone’s throw between that place and the road.

(Nāfi‘ also stated) that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would dismount at Dhū Ṭuwā and spend the night there. Next morning he would perform the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer when he arrived in Mecca. The place where he would perform that prayer was at some rough hillocks; this was not at the mosque that had been built there, but lower down on some rough hillocks.

(The account proceeds to state that) ‘Abd Allāh (b. ‘Umar) related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approached the two gaps in the mountain that stands between him and al-Jabal al-Ṭawīl, facing the *ka‘ba* and constructed the mosque that was built there to the left of the mosque beside the hillocks. The prayer-place of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was below it upon the black (hillocks). “You move some ten arms’ lengths away from the hillocks and then pray facing the two gaps in the mountain that stands between you and the *ka‘ba*.”

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, is alone in reporting this *ḥadīth* in full and with this line of transmission. However, Muslim narrated it from the point, at its end, where it states, “that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would dismount at Dhū Ṭuwā” to the conclusion of the *ḥadīth*. He gives a line from Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Musayyabī, from Anas, from ‘Iyyād, from Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it in full, from Abū Qurra Mūsā b. Ṭāriq, from Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar in similar form.

Many – or most of – these places (named) are not known today, because the names of most of them have been changed by the bedouin who are there. Ignorance has overcome most of them.

The reason al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, gave them in his work was so that a person might find his way to them for contemplation or sightseeing. Or perhaps most or many of them were known in al-Bukhārī's time. God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Chapter: The entry of the Prophet (ṢAAS) into Mecca, may God the Almighty and Glorious, honour it well.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh, quoting Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spent the night at Dhū Ṭuwā. When morning came, he entered Mecca." Ibn 'Umar would do this.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān and added, "until he performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer". Or his words were "until morning came".

Muslim stated that Abū al-Rabī' al-Zahrānī related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi' that Ibn 'Umar never came to Mecca without spending the night at Dhū Ṭuwā until morning came and he washed himself. He would then enter Mecca later that morning. He would relate that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would do this.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb.

Both (these scholars) give it from a different line, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, to the effect that when he entered close to the sanctified area, he would refrain from reciting the *talbīyya* until he had spent the night at Dhū Ṭuwā. And he narrated as above.

We have given above the account given by both scholars through Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would spend the night at Dhū Ṭuwā until morning came. When he reached Mecca he would perform the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer. Moreover, it was at some rough hillocks that he would pray. And that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would face towards the two crevices of the mountain that stood between him and the Jabal al-Ṭawīl, towards the *ka'ba*, and that he kept (the place) where the mosque was (later) built at the left of the mosque beside the hillocks. (The *ḥadīth* states) that the prayer place of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was below it upon the black hillocks and that he would move some ten arms' lengths away from the hillocks, then pray facing the two gaps in the mountain that, "stood between you and the *ka'ba*".

Both scholars included this in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

The outcome of all this is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed his journey to Dhū Ṭuwā, a place near Mecca adjacent to the sanctuary,

he refrained from reciting the *talbiyya* because he had arrived at his objective. He stayed there overnight until morning, then performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer at that place they described – between the two gaps of the Jabal al-Ṭawīl over from there.

Whoever has contemplated by sight these places referred to knows them very well and can visualize the spot where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer.

He then bathed in order to enter Mecca. He then mounted and entered in full view, in daytime, from the high pass at al-Baṭḥā'. It is also called "Kadā" because people see it and it looks down upon them. He entered Mecca the same way the day of its conquest, as we related above.

Mālik stated, from Nāfi', who quoted Ibn 'Umar as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca from the upper pass and left by the lower.

Both scholars included this in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Nāfi's *ḥadīth*.

They both give it also through 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Nāfi', quoting Ibn 'Umar, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Mecca from the upper pass at al-Baṭḥā', and left from the lower pass.

Both scholars relate a similar *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, quoting 'Ā'isha.

When his gaze fell upon the *ka'ba*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke the words narrated by al-Shāfi'ī in his *musnad* collection, as follows. Al-Shāfi'ī stated that Sa'īd b. Sālim informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, that when he saw the *ka'ba*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) raised his hands and said, "O God, grant this building ever more honour, glory, respect and awe. And favour those who venerate and revere it and all those who make the *ḥajj* or the *umra* pilgrimage to it, according them honour, respect, glory and reverence."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is incomplete. It has one witness, with a (tradition) that is *mursal*, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū Sa'īd al-Shāmi, from Makhūl, who said, 'When the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Mecca and saw the *ka'ba*, he would raise both hands and say, *Allāhu Akbar*, "God is most Great!'. Then he would state, "O God, You are peace, and peace comes from You. Greet us, therefore, our Lord in peace! O God, grant this building ever more honour, glory, awe and reverence. And favour those who make the *ḥajj* or the *umra* to it, augmenting their respect, honour, glory and reverence.'""

Al-Shāfi'ī stated that Sa'īd b. Sālim informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, who said, "It was related to me from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'Hands should be raised (after) prayer when one sees the *ka'ba*, and upon al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, as well as in the evening with the throng upon 'Arafāt, at both monuments where stones are cast, and in the presence of a deceased person.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā narrated this, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, as well as

from Nāfi', quoting Ibn 'Umar. One of his *aḥādīth* is *mawqūf*, while the other is *marfū'* to the Prophet (ṢAAS), without reference to the deceased person.

Ibn Abū Laylā stated, "This (tradition) is not strong."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) entered the mosque through the Banū Shayba gate.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that it was related to him from Ibn Jurayj, from 'Aṭā' b. Abū Rabāḥ, who said, "The person in a state of *iḥrām* may enter from wherever he wishes."

He went on to say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) entered through the Banū Shayba gate and left through the Banū Makhzūm gate to al-Ṣafā."

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "This *ḥadīth* is very *mursal*."

Al-Bayhaqī gives evidence for the preferability of entering the *ka'ba* from the Banū Shayba gate by giving an account through Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī, (who said), "Ḥammād b. Salama related to me, as did Qays b. Sallām, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Khālīd b. 'Ur'ura, from 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, who said, 'When the *ka'ba* collapsed, following (the reign) of Jurhum, Quraysh rebuilt it. When they wished to position the (black) stone, they argued over who should place it there. They agreed that the first person to enter through that gate should do so. It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who came in through the Banū Shayba gate. He asked for a cloth, placed the stone in its middle, then told (a representative of) each sub-tribe to take hold of one of its sides, and they raised it up. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then took it and positioned it.'"

We have given this in full in the chapter on the rebuilding of the *ka'ba* prior to the mission. Evidence for the preferability of entering through the Banū Shayba gate in this way is controversial. But God knows best.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CIRCUMAMBULATIONS MADE BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aṣḥab b. al-Faraj related to him, from Ibn Wahb, quoting Amr b. Muḥammad, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who said that he told the following to 'Urwa, "'Ā'isha told me, 'The first thing the Prophet (ṢAAS) did when he arrived (in Mecca) was to perform the ablutions. He then circumambulated; it was not an *umra*. Then Abū Bakr and 'Umar performed the *ḥajj* as he had done. Following that, I performed the *ḥajj* with Abū al-Zubayr. He began first with a circumambulation; then I saw the *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* do as he had. My mother told me that she, her sister, al-Zubayr and various others had recited the *talbiyya* for an *umra*. After they had touched the corner (of the *ka'ba* with the "black stone") they declared their *iḥrām* concluded.'"

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhārī. He also narrated it elsewhere from Aḥmad b. 'Isā. Muslim narrated it from Hārūn b. Sa'īd. All three accounts quote from Ibn Wahb.

Her statement, "it was not an *ʿumra*", shows that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not declare his *iḥrām* concluded between both rites (of the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*).

Moreover, the first thing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did was to salute the "black stone", before the circumambulation, as Jābir stated, "until when he reached the *kaʿba* with him, he saluted the 'corner', jogged for three circumambulations and walked four".

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Kathīr related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿĀbis b. Rabīʿa, from ʿUmar, (who said) that when he reached the (black) stone, he kissed it and said, "I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so."

Muslim narrated this from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, as did Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, Zuhayr b. Ḥarb and Ibn Abū Numayr, all quoting from Abū Muʾāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿĀbis b. Rabīʿa, who said, "I saw ʿUmar kiss the stone and say, 'I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayda and Abū Muʾāwiya narrated to him, both saying, "Al-Aʿmash related to me, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿĀbis b. Rabīʿa, who said, 'I saw ʿUmar go to the stone and say, "I swear by God, I well know that you are a stone and can bring neither harm nor advantage; had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so." He then approached and kissed it.'"

This text requires that he made his statement and then kissed it thereafter, contrary to the text given by the compilers of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. But God knows best.

Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ and Yaḥyā related to him as follows, the wording being from Wakīʿ, from Hishām, from his father, who said that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb went to the stone and said, "I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so." Hishām's father went on, "He then kissed it."

This *ḥadīth* is incomplete in its line between ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and ʿUmar.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Kathīr, quoting Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, who said that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to the corner (stone), "I swear by God, I well know that you are a stone and can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute you, I would not have done so." And he did salute it.

Then he (ʿUmar) stated, "We had nothing to do with geomancy. We did, however, see the unbelievers using it, and God destroyed them." He went on, "It

is something that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did and we do not want to give it up."

This shows that the salutation (of the stone) came after the statement.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Sinān related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Warqā', quoting Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, who said, "I saw 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kiss the stone and say, 'Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.'"

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated that Ḥarmala related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Yūnus – he being Ibn Yazīd al-Ayli – and 'Amr – he being Ibn Dīnār (who narrated the *ḥadīth*) – and Hārūn b. Sa'īd al-Abli related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting 'Amr, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim, quoting his father as saying, "Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kissed the stone and then said, 'I swear by God, I know that you are a stone. And had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.'"

In his account, Hārūn added, "'Amr stated, 'And Zayd b. Aslam related the same to me, from his father Aslam' – meaning from 'Umar – 'as above.'"

This is clear in stating that the kiss preceded the statement. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that 'Umar kissed the stone and then stated, "I know you are a stone. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so."

This is how Imām Aḥmad narrated it.

Muslim included it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, (who said that) 'Umar kissed the stone, then stated, "I am kissing you even though I well know you are a stone. But I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you."

Muslim then stated that Khalaf b. Hishām and al-Muqaddamī related to him, as did Abū Kāmil and Qutayba, all quoting from Ḥammād. Khalaf stated, "Ḥammād b. Zayd related to us, from 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal, from 'Abd Allāh b. Sarjis, who said, 'I saw al-Aṣla' – meaning 'Umar – 'kiss the stone and say, "By God, I am kissing you even though I well know that you are a stone and that you can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.'"

In the account of al-Muqaddamī and Abū Kāmil, the words are, "I saw al-Uṣayli'" ¹⁰⁶

Muslim is alone in giving this; al-Bukhārī does not.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Abū Mu'āwiya, from 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal, from 'Abd Allāh b. Sarjis. Aḥmad also narrated it from Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from 'Āṣim al-Aḥwal.

106. The word is a diminutive form of al-Aṣla', 'the bald-headed', 'Umar, that is.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, from Sufyān, from Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā, from Suwayd b. Ghafla, who said, “I saw ‘Umar kiss the stone and say, ‘I well know that you are a stone that cannot bring harm nor advantage, but I saw Abū al-Qāsim,¹⁰⁷ may God’s peace and blessings be upon him, saluting you.”

Aḥmad then narrated it from Wakī‘, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. He added, “And he kissed it and embraced it.”

Muslim related it similarly from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī, without additions. And from a *ḥadīth* of Wakī‘ with the following addition, “He kissed and embraced the stone and said, ‘I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saluting you.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās (who said) that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb bent down over the corner and said, “I well know that you are a stone; had I not seen my beloved, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), kiss you and salute you, I would not have saluted nor kissed you.” He then recited, “In the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) you had a fine example” (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.21).

This line of transmission is excellent and strong; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not include it.

Abū Da‘ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Ja‘far b. ‘Uthmān al-Qurashī related to him, from the people of Mecca. He said, “I saw Muḥammad b. ‘Abbās b. Ja‘far kiss the stone and he prostrated over it. Then he said, ‘I saw your maternal uncle Ibn ‘Abbās kiss it and prostrate himself over it. And Ibn ‘Abbās stated, “I saw ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kiss it and prostrate over it. And ‘Umar then said, ‘Had I not seen the Prophet (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.’””

This line of transmission is also good. But the major authorities did not include it; except, that is, for al-Nasā‘ī, who gave a line from ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān, from al-Walid b. Muslim, from Ḥanzala b. Abū Sufyān, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from ‘Umar. He related it in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad also narrated this *ḥadīth* from ‘Umar in his *musnad* collection, from Ya‘lā b. Umayya and Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawṣilī, through Hishām b. Ḥashish b. al-Ashqar, who quoted ‘Umar.

We gave all the above with their various lines of transmission, differences in wording and interpretations and explanations in the book we compiled of *aḥādīth* traced to the Commander of the Believers, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him. And all praise and credit go to God.

In sum, this tradition is narrated by various lines from the Commander of the Believers, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him. They provide conclusive proof for most of the *imāms* relating to this issue.

107. An honorific for the Prophet (ṢAAS).

In this account, it is not stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prostrated over the stone, except, that is, for the purport of the account of Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī, from Ja'far b. 'Uthmān; and it is not fully clear in its line of transmission.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, however, narrated it through Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl, quoting Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "I saw Muḥammad b. 'Abbād b. Ja'far kiss the stone, prostrate over it and then say, 'I saw your maternal uncle, Khālīd Ibn 'Abbās, kiss it and prostrate over it. And Ibn 'Abbās said, 'I saw 'Umar kiss it and prostrate over it. He then said, 'I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) act like this, and so I did it.'""

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdān, quoting al-Ṭabrānī, quoting Abū al-Zinbā', quoting Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān al-Ju'fī, quoting Yaḥyā b. Yamān, quoting Sufyān b. Abū Ḥusayn, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prostrate over the stone."

Al-Ṭabrānī stated, "Only Yaḥyā b. Yamān related it from Sufyān."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from al-Zubayr b. 'Arabī, who said, "A man asked 'Umar's son about the salutation of the stone. He said, 'I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute it and kiss it. He said, 'What if (in the process) I am jostled or overwhelmed by the crowd?' Ibn 'Umar replied, 'Abandon such talk! I did indeed see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute it and kiss it!'"

Although al-Bukhārī gave this, Muslim did not.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yaḥyā, from 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "I never omitted saluting these two corners, in hard times or easy, ever since I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute them both."

('Ubayd Allāh continued) "I asked Nāfi', 'Did Ibn 'Umar walk between the two corners?' He replied, 'He only walked so that it would be easier for his salutation.'"

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar (who said) that the Prophet (ṢAAS) never failed to salute the Yamānī (south-west) corner and the stone in each circumambulation.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Layth, from Ibn Shihāb, from Salīm b. 'Abd Allāh, from his father, who said, "The only corners of the *ka'ba* I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) salute were the two Yamānī¹⁰⁸ corners."

Muslim narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Sa'īd.

In one account from him, it is related that he said, "I don't think that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would have neglected to salute both Shāmī corners except for the fact that they were not completed on the foundations (set by) Abraham."

108. That is, the two corners on the side closest to Yemen. The other two are known as the "Shāmī" corners and are closest to Syria – al-Shām, that is.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "And Muḥammad b. Bakr said that he was informed by Ibn Jurayj, quoting 'Amr b. Dīnār, from Abū al-Sha'thā' who said, 'And who would avoid touching anything from the *ka'ba*!'"

Mu'āwiya used to salute the corners and so Ibn 'Abbās told him, "These two corners are not saluted." He replied, "No part of the *ka'ba* is to be left out. Ibn al-Zubayr used to salute them all."

Al-Bukhārī, may God Almighty have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this.

Muslim stated, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, that Abū al-Ṭāhir related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said) that Qatāda b. Da'ama related to him that Abū al-Ṭufayl al-Bakrī related to him that he heard Ibn 'Abbās say, "I only ever saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) salute the two Yamānī corners." Muslim is alone in giving this.

The account related by Ibn 'Umar agrees with what Ibn 'Abbās stated – that the two Shāmi corners were not saluted because they were not completed on the foundations (set by) Abraham. This was because Quraysh could not meet the expense, and they put the stone outside of the *ka'ba* when they built it. This is explained above.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) wished that it had been built and completed on the foundations of Abraham. But he was concerned over the fact that the people had so recently been in the *jāhiliyya* period, and that they would have resented it (the omission).

During the rule of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he demolished the *ka'ba* and rebuilt it according to the directions given by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as related by his ('Abd Allāh's) aunt, the Mother of the Believers', 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

If Ibn al-Zubayr used to salute all the corners, then it was after their rebuilding on the foundations of Abraham; then this would have been fine. And this is certainly the preponderant view.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yaḥyā, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never failed to salute the Yamānī corner and the stone during each circumambulation."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yaḥyā.

Al-Nasā'ī stated that Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī narrated to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān, from Ibn Jurayj, from Yaḥyā b. 'Ubayd, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Sā'ib, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, between the Yamānī corner and the stone, 'O our God, bring us good on earth, and also good in the hereafter; save us from the torture of hell-fire'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.201).

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Musaddad, from 'Isā b. Yūnus, from Ibn Jurayj.

Al-Tirmidhī stated that Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān narrated to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ādam, quoting Sufyān, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from

Jābir, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he entered the mosque and saluted the stone. He then passed on to his right, jogged for three circumambulations and walked four. He thereafter went to the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, 'Abraham's station', and said, 'And adopt *maqām Ibrāhīm* as a place to pray.' He performed two *raka'āt* with the *maqām* between himself and the *ka'ba*. He then, after two *raka'āt* went to the stone and saluted it. After that he left for al-Ṣafā. I think he said, 'Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are rites of God.'"

This is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan* and *ṣaḥīḥ*. And scholars act on that basis.

Iṣḥāq b. Rāhawayh narrated it as above, from Yaḥyā b. Ādam. And al-Ṭabrānī narrated it from al-Nasā'ī and others, from 'Abd al-A'ālā b. Wāṣil, from Yaḥyā b. Ādam.

An Account of how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) jogged and moved at a fast pace on his circumambulations and the idṭibā', 'tucking up one's gown under the right arm'.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aṣbagh b. al-Faraj related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from Ṣalīm, from his father, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he arrived in Mecca, act as follows. As he began the circumambulations, he saluted the 'black stone', and then he ran for three courses out of the seven."

Muslim narrated it from Abū al-Ṭāhir b. al-Sarḥ, as did Ḥarmala, both of them quoting from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Sallām related to him, quoting Shurayḥ b. al-Nu'mān, quoting Fulayḥ, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) ran for three courses, then walked for four during the *ḥajj* and the *umra*."

Al-Layth agreed with this, quoting from Kathīr b. Farqad, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from Muḥammad and from 'Abd al-Raḥmān, both of whom were sons of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam. They both quoted from Shu'ayb b. al-Layth, from his father, al-Layth b. Ṣa'd, from Kathīr b. Farqad, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, quoting Abū Ḍamra Anas b. 'Iyyād, quoting Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from Nāfi', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he first arrived in Mecca and began the circumambulations for the *ḥajj* or the *umra*, would run for three courses and walk for four and then would make two *raka'āt* before making the courses between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. 'Uqba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, quoting Anas, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, (who said) that the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "would for the first *ṭawāf* (circumambulation) move at a fast pace for three circumambulations, and then walk for four. And he also ran in the middle of the course when he passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar. Muslim stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Abān al-Juʿfī informed him, quoting Ibn Mubārak, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nafiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog from the stone to the stone for three circumambulations, and then walked for four.

He went on to narrate it from a *ḥadīth* of Salīm b. Akḥḍar, from ʿUbayd Allāh, in similar terms. Muslim also stated that Abū al-Ṭāhir related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb, quoting Mālik and Ibn Jurayj, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog for three circumambulations from the stone back to the stone. And ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, "Why the movement at a jog and the 'exposing of the shoulder', seeing that God had firmly established Islam and had ousted apostasy? However, we will not give up anything we used to do with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad, Abū Dāʿūd, Ibn Māja and al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. Saʿīd, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, who quoted him (ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb).

All of this refutes Ibn ʿAbbās and those who support his view that the movement at a jog is not an orthodox practice, since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did perform it when he and his Companions arrived on the morning of the Wednesday – during the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, that is – and the polytheists commented, "A delegation is arriving who have been weakened by the Yathrib fever." And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to move at a jog for three courses, then walk between the two corners. He only prevented them from jogging for all the circumambulations because of his concern for their health.

This is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; his statement giving the reasons for this are very clear in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim.

It is as though Ibn ʿAbbās denies that there was movement at a jog on the *ḥijjat al-waḍāʾ*! This fact, however, is fully substantiated as above. Indeed, in it there is evidence that the jogging was completed in the course from the stone and back to it. And that the passing between the two Yamānī corners was not made at a walking pace because of the absence of that cause referred to, namely weakness.

It is stated in a authentic *ḥadīth* from Ibn ʿAbbās, that they moved at a jog between them at the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna and that they performed *idṭibāʿ*, "tucked up their gowns under their right arms".

This fact also refutes the above objection, since there was no longer any fear remaining at the time of the *ʿumra* from al-Jiʿrāna, since it occurred after the conquest of Mecca, as told above.

Ḥammād b. Salama narrated it from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions performed the *ʿumra* from al-Ji'rāna and moved at a jog around the *ka'ba*, tucking their garments under their armpits and over their shoulders.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād in similar words, as well as from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn 'Abbās.

Regarding the *idṭībā'* of the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, Qabīsa and al-Firyābī stated, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Jurayj, from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Jubayr b. Shayba, from Ya'qā b. Umayya, from Umayya, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulate the *ka'ba* in a state of *idṭībā'*."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī and categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Muḥammad b. Kathīr related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ibn Ya'qā, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated with a green cloak he was wearing *muḍṭaba'*, 'tucked up', under his arm."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it similarly, from Wakī', from al-Thawrī, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ibn Ya'qā, from his father, to the effect that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he circumambulated the *ka'ba* while wearing a cloak from the *Ḥaḍramawt muḍṭabī'an*, "tucked up".

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth* quoted above, that when they reached the *ka'ba*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) saluted the "black stone", jogged for three circumambulations and walked for four. When he had finished, he made his way to the *maqām Ibrāhīm* and recited, "And use Abraham's station as a place for prayer" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.125). He positioned himself so that the *maqām* was between himself and the *ka'ba*. He related that he performed two *raka'āt* and then recited, "Say, 'He is God the One'" (*sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*; CXII, v.1), and "Say: 'O Unbelievers'" (*sūrat al-Kāfirūna*; CIX, v.1).

What if it were asked whether the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mounted or on foot on this circumambulation?

The answer would be that two different accounts have been transmitted that might seem contradictory. We will give both and offer reconciliation between them and so refute those who imagine there to be a contradiction in them. And through God comes success; His help is sought and He is sufficient for us and the best support of all.

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ and Yahyā b. Sulaymān both related to him that Ibn Wahb related to him, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated while upon his camel at the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, saluting the corner with a bent staff."

The other major scholars promulgated it, except for al-Tirmidhī, by various lines from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Darāwardī supported this, from the nephew of al-Zuhri, who quoted his uncle.

This sequence is very odd.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, quoting Khālīd al-Ḥadhdhā’, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *ka’ba* on a camel; each time he came to the corner, he gestured towards it.”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī and ‘Abd al-Wārith, both of them quoting from Khālīd b. Maḥrān al-Ḥadhdhā’, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated upon his mount; and when he ended up at the corner, he gestured to it.”

He categorized this as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Musaddad related to him, quoting Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Khālīd al-Ḥadhdhā’, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *ka’ba* upon a camel; and when he came to the corner, he gestured to it with something he had and invoked, ‘*Allahu Akbar!* “God is most Great!””

Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān supported this, quoting Khālīd al-Ḥadhdhā’.

He (al-Bukhārī) traced this comment in his *kitāb al-Ṭawāf* back on a line from ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from Abū ‘Āmir, from Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān.

Muslim narrated (it) from al-Ḥakam b. Mūsā, from Shu‘ayb b. Ishāq, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, to the effect that on the *ḥijjat al-wadā’* the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated around the *ka’ba* on a mule saluting the corner, disliking (the possibility) that the people would turn away from him.¹⁰⁹

This substantiates that on the *ḥijjat al-wadā’*, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated upon a mule. However, during the *ḥijjat al-wadā’* he made three *ṭawāf*. The first was that of *al-qudūm*. The second that of the *ifāda*, that being the *ṭawāf al-fard*, it being the day for the sacrifice. The third was the *ṭawāf al-wadā’*.¹¹⁰

Perhaps his being mounted referred to one of the other two, or to them both. Regarding the *ṭawāf al-qudūm*, he was on foot for it. Al-Shāfi‘ī gives a text on all this. But God knows best and is most Wise.

Proof for this explanation is provided by what the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *al-Sunan al-Kabīr*: “Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ told us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Mu‘ammil b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Isā, quoting al-Faḍl b.

109. For giving up a pre-Islamic practice that they favoured.

110. The *ṭawāf al-qudūm* is performed on arrival into the city of Mecca and the Sacred Mosque for the first time. The *ṭawāf al-ifāda* is a key rite of the *ḥajj* ceremony, while the *ṭawāf al-wadā’* is performed when bidding farewell to the Sacred City.

Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab, quoting Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, quoting ʿIsā b. Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq – Ibn Yasār, that is, may God have mercy upon him – from Abū Jaʿfar – he being Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn – from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, 'We went into Mecca as dawn rose. The Prophet (ṢAAS) came to the door of the mosque and made his camel kneel. Then he entered the mosque, beginning at the stone, which he saluted. His eyes welled with tears. He then moved at a jog for three circumambulations, and walked for four. When he had finished, he kissed the stone, placed his hands upon it and then wiped them over his face.'"

This line of transmission is excellent.

The account given by Abū Dā'ūd states that Musaddad related to him, quoting Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he was suffering somewhat.

He circumambulated on his camel and when he reached the corner, he saluted it with his staff. When he had completed the circumambulation, he made his camel kneel and then performed two *raka'āt* in prayer.

Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, who is regarded as a weak source, is alone in giving this.

He did not refer, moreover, to it having been the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, nor that it was the first circumambulation of the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*.

And neither Ibn ʿAbbās, in the authentic *ḥadīth* from him given by Muslim, nor Jābir, similarly, said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) rode during his circumambulation due to his weakness. Both these authorities in fact referred to the large throng of people and their massing around him. He did not like for them to be a throng in front of him. Information on this will be given shortly hereafter, if God so wills it.

This second act of kissing, moreover, mentioned by Ibn Ishāq in his account, that after the circumambulation and also after his having performed the two *raka'āt*, is firmly set in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Jābir. In it he stated, after reference to praying for the two *raka'āt* of the circumambulation, "he then returned to the corner and saluted it".

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Ibn Numayr together related to him, from Abū Khālid, that Abū Bakr stated, "Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar related to us, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfi', who said, "I saw Ibn ʿUmar salute the stone with his hand and then kiss his hand. He said, 'I have not given it up since I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do it.'"

This suggests that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (kiss his hands) on one of his circumambulations or in the last salutation he made, as we have related. Or that Ibn ʿUmar did not actually get to the stone due to some weakness he had, or so that he would not jostle against other persons and so do them harm.

For the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke as follows to Ibn ʿUmar's father, as quoted by Aḥmad in his *musnad* collection, "Wakī' related to us, quoting Sufyān,

from Abū Yaʿfūr al-ʿAbdī, who said, 'I heard a sheikh in Mecca during the reign of al-Ḥajjāj quote from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "ʿUmar, you are a strong man. Don't jostle at the stone, perhaps harming someone who is weak; if you should find the way to it clear, then salute it. Otherwise, face it and say *Allāhū Akbar* "God is most Great!"'."

This is an excellent line of transmission; however, the narrator who quotes ʿUmar is unknown and is not named.

It is apparent, however, that this *ḥadīth* is trustworthy and important. For al-Shāfiʿī narrated it from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Abū Yaʿfūr al-ʿAbdī, his name being Waqdān, (who said), "I heard a man of Khuḏāʿa say, following the killing of Ibn al-Zubayr who had been ruler of Mecca, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿUmar, "Abū Ḥaṣṣ, you are a strong man, so don't jostle at the corner in case you harm someone weak. However, if you find the way clear, then salute it; otherwise say, 'God is most Great', then pass on.'"

Sufyān b. ʿUyayna stated, "He (the source quoted) was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith; al-Ḥajjāj had made him Governor of Mecca when he departed from there following the death of Ibn al-Zubayr."

I note that this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was a distinguished and important man. He was one of the four persons whom ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān appointed to write out the copies of the Holy Qurʾān whom he dispatched to all places abroad; this text has met unanimous acceptance.

Accounts of the circumambulation of the Prophet (ṢAAS) between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Muslim narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection quoting Jābir in his long *ḥadīth* given above. Following his report of the Prophet (ṢAAS) having made seven circumambulations of the *kaʿba* and his having performed two prayer *rakaʿāt* at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, he went on to say that he returned to the corner (*al-rukn*), saluted it and then left through the door towards al-Ṣafā. When he approached al-Ṣafā, he recited, "al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are rites of God" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.158). He then said that he would begin with that with which God began.

He commenced at al-Ṣafā and scaled it until he saw the *kaʿba*. Facing towards it, he called out, "God is most Great!" Then he declaimed, "There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. He has power, and to Him there is praise. He has control over everything. There is no god but God! He has fulfilled His promise. He has aided his servant, and has alone defeated the factions." During this, he prayed and spoke similar words three times.

He then came down until his feet were set in the *wādī*; he moved at a jog, until having ascended, he walked to al-Marwa. He scaled it until he looked over to the *kaʿba* and he spoke upon it what he had upon al-Ṣafā.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Umar b. Hārūn al-Balkhī, Abū Ḥafṣ, that is, quoted Ibn Jurayj, from one of the Banū Ya'qūb b. Umayya, who quoted his father as saying, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) proceed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa wearing a *najrānī burda*, *muḍṭabī'an*, 'gown from Ḥajrān tucked up beneath his armpit'."

Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting Yūnus, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'ammil, from 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, quoting 'Atiyya, from Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Naḥrāt, who said, "I went into Ḥusayn's house, along with some women of Quraysh, while the Prophet (ṢAAS) was circumambulating between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. As he ran, his *izār*, 'his waist-wrapper', was moving around because of the energy with which he was running. He was saying to his Companions, "Run! God made running incumbent upon you."'"

Aḥmad also stated that Shurayḥ related to us, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'ammil, quoting 'Aṭā' b. Abū Rabāḥ, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Shayba, from Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Tajrāt. She said, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulating between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; the people were ahead of him, and he behind them. He was running so vigorously that I could see his knees. His *izār* was moving around and he was saying, 'Run, for God has made running incumbent upon you.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Aḥmad also narrated it from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from Wāṣil, the freed-man of Abū 'Uyayna, from Mūsā b. 'Ubayda, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Shayba, (who stated) that a woman informed her that she had heard the Prophet (ṢAAS), while passing between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, saying, "Running (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) has been made incumbent upon you, so run!"

This woman was Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Tajrāt, who is quoted in the first two *aḥādīth*. (It is also related) from the mother of the son of Shayba b. 'Uthmān, to the effect that she saw the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, saying, "The valley is only to be traversed vigorously."

Al-Nasā'ī (also) narrated it. What is meant here by *al-sa'y*, "running", is the movement from al-Ṣafā to al-Marwa and back. What is meant here by *al-sa'y* is not movement at a fast pace or racing, for God definitely did not make that incumbent upon us. Indeed, if a person walks in that same manner for the seven circumambulations between them both and does not jog in the river bed, that will suffice him (from God) according to the community of scholars; we know of no dispute among them regarding that.

Al-Tirmidhī, may God have mercy upon him, transmitted this from the scholarly community. He stated that Yūsuf b. 'Isā related to him, quoting Ibn Fuḍayl, from 'Aṭā' b. al-Sa'īb, from Kathīr b. Jahmān, who said, "I saw Ibn 'Umar walking on the course, and I asked, 'Are you going to walk on the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa?' He replied, 'If I should run, I have seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) run; and if I should walk, I have also seen him walk. I am now a very old man (and am forced to walk).'"

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*."

Ṣaʿīd b. Jubayr narrated from Ibn ʿAbbās a similar account. Abū Daʿūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAṭā b. al-Sāʾib, from Kathīr b. Jahmān al-Sulamī al-Kūfī, from Ibn ʿUmar.

Ibn ʿUmar's statement that he witnessed both activities by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offers two possibilities. One is that he saw him move on one occasion at a walking pace from which jogging was absolutely absent. The second is that he saw him run for part of the way and walk for a part.

This (latter) is a strong possibility, since al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿUmari, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would run along the bed of the river when he made the circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

It is stated above in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came down from al-Ṣafā and when his feet were set in the *wādī*, he moved at a jog until he had climbed above, when he came to al-Marwa.

This is what the scholars prefer in unanimity – that the person moving between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (mentioned above in Jābir's account) should preferably jog on each circumambulation in the bed of the *wādī*, the stream bed that runs between them. They (the scholars) defined that to apply to the distance between the *amyāl al-khuḍr*,¹¹¹ the 'green markers', one standing alone towards al-Ṣafā, adjacent to the mosque, and two more placed together towards al-Marwa, also adjacent to the mosque.

Some scholars have stated that the distance between these miles today is greater than the bed of the stream in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, in the book he compiled on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for al-Ṣafā and recited there, 'Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are rites of God. I shall begin with that which God began.' And he then circumambulated also between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa seven times. For three of these courses he was mounted on his mule and moving at a trot, while for four he walked."

He made no further comment on this statement, one not made by anyone preceding him – namely, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was mounted on his mule for three courses between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, and that he walked for four.

He offered no proof whatsoever for this horrendous error. When he arrived at the point (in his account) where evidence would be expected, he stated, "We did not find the number of the courses made at a jog referred to in sources; however, it is the object of (general) agreement (as above)."

This is his wording. If what he meant is that movement at a jog on the first three circumambulations is the object of agreement, as he states, this is not true; indeed, no one related this.

111. The description given here is unclear, as are the distances to which reference is made.

If he meant that the movement at a jog on the first three circumambulations is the object of unanimous agreement, this point is devoid of value and useless. For just as there is agreement on the movement at a jog in the first three circumambulations, as we have indicated, there is also agreement on its preferability also in the remaining four.

Ibn Ḥazm's insisting on the preferability of movement at a jog specifically for the first three circumambulations is contrary to what the scholars relate. But God knows best.

Regarding this comment of Ibn Ḥazm, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mounted between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, it has been shown above from Ibn 'Umar that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to make the *al-sa'y* jogging on foot along the stream bed.

Both compilers (of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) included this.

Al-Tirmidhī quotes him (Ibn 'Umar) as stating, "If I run, I have seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) run; and if I walk, I have seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walk."

And Jābir stated, "When his feet set in the *wādī*, he moved at a jog until, having ascended, he walked."

Muslim narrated this.

Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Tajrāt, said that he ran, while his *izār* was moving around him from the vigour of his running.

Aḥmad related this.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, quoting from Jābir, as given above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is said to have ascended al-Ṣafā until he saw the *ka'ba*. And the same for al-Marwa. We gave above from the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir, from Jābir (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque – until he circumambulated, that is. Moreover, he does not relate that he mounted it immediately on his departure for al-Ṣafā.

All this requires that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a walk between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

However, Muslim stated that 'Abd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting Muḥammad – meaning Ibn Bakr – quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated on his *rāḥila*, 'his riding camel', at the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* at the *ka'ba* and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa riding on a *ba'ir*,¹¹² 'a donkey', so that people would see him and be able to question him and he could look down. The throng inundated him, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

112. The word *ba'ir* more commonly applies to a male camel; however, it is sometimes in early sources applied to an ass or donkey. Since there seems to be a distinction necessary here, the word has been translated as "donkey".

Muslim also narrated this from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ‘Alī b. Mushir and also from ‘Alī b. Khashram, from ‘Isā b. Yūnus, and from Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, from Yahyā b. Sa‘īd. All of these quoted it from Ibn Jurayj. In some of these accounts the words ‘and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa’ are not given.

Abū Dā’ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Yahyāb. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān, Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *ka‘ba* on the *ḥijjat al-wadā‘* riding his camel, and also between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.”

Al-Nasā’ī narrated it from al-Fallās, from Yahyā, and from ‘Imrān b. Yazīd, from Sa‘īd b. Ishāq, both of them quoting from Ibn Jurayj.

This is recorded in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. Yet it is very problematical. Because the rest of the accounts from Jābir and others indicate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would walk between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

The account of Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir might well be that way because of the addition; I refer to his statement, “And between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa”. This (statement) may have been interpolated by someone after the Companion. But God knows best.

Or perhaps the Prophet (ṢAAS) did proceed on foot between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa for some of the circumambulations, and his reported behaviour was witnessed then. When there was a heavy throng around him, he rode, as is shown in the account of Ibn ‘Abbās that follows shortly.

Ibn Ḥazm conceded that his first circumambulation of the *ka‘ba* was on foot, and he maintained that his riding while on the circumambulations came thereafter. He also claimed that he was riding on the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. He stated, “Because he only circumambulated between them once.” He went on to explain Jābir’s statement, “until his feet were set in the *wādī*, he moved at a jog” by saying that he accepts that, even though the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mounted, and that when his camel “was set” in the *wādī*, so was all of himself, his feet being “set” along with the rest of his body. Ibn Ḥazm stated, “And the same goes for the reference to the *al-ramal*, “the movement at a jog”. By this the account refers to his mount’s movement at a jog, along with its rider.

This explanation is extremely far-fetched. But God knows best.

Abū Dā’ūd stated that Abū Salama Mūsā related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Abū ‘Āṣim al-Ghanawī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who stated, “I said to Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Your people claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog at the *ka‘ba*, and that that was his *sunna*, his “orthodox practice”.’ He replied, ‘They both spoke the truth and lied.’ I asked, ‘In what did they speak the truth, and in what lie?’ He replied, ‘They spoke the truth by saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog, but lied in that it was not a *sunna*. Quraysh said at al-Ḥudaybiyya, ‘Just leave Muḥammad and his Companions alone to die of worms!’ And then they made peace with him on the basis of his making the pilgrimage the following year and agreeing to them staying in Mecca for three

days. And then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived while the unbelievers were over in front of Mt. Qu'ayqi'an. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, 'Move at a jog three times around the *ka'ba*.' This was not a *sunna*.

"I asked, 'Your people claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa on a camel, and that that is a *sunna*.' He replied, 'They spoke the truth, and they lied.' I asked, 'In what did they speak the truth, and in what did they lie?' He replied, 'They spoke the truth in that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did circumambulate between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa on a camel. And they lied; that was not a *sunna*. The (throng of) people could not be kept away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or diverted from him. And so he circumambulated on a camel so that they could hear his words and see where he was, but their hands could not reach him.'"

This is how Abū Dā'ūd narrated it.

Muslim narrated it from Abū Kāmil, from 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, from al-Jurayrī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn 'Abbās. He (Abū al-Ṭufayl) related the virtue of circumambulating the *ka'ba* as above, then said, "I asked Ibn 'Abbās, 'Tell me about circumambulating between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, while mounted. Is that a *sunna*? Your people claim that it is a *sunna*.' He replied, 'They spoke the truth and they lied.' I asked, 'What do you mean by saying they spoke the truth and lied?'"

"He replied, 'People massed around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'This is Muḥammad! This is Muḥammad!' Even the aged were coming out of their houses. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not (want) to have people throng before him. And so when they crowded in large numbers around him, he rode.'

"Ibn 'Abbās concluded, 'Walking and running are better.'"

This is the wording of Muslim. It requires that he only rode when the circumstances warranted. Through this, reconciliation between the various *aḥādith* is possible. But God knows best.

Then there is the account related by Muslim in his *ṣaḥiḥ* collection. He stated that Muḥammad b. Rāfi' related to him, quoting Yahyā b. Ādam, quoting Zuhayr, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "I told Ibn 'Abbās, 'I believe I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' He asked, 'Describe him to me.' I said, 'I saw him at al-Marwa on a camel with a great many people all around him.' Ibn 'Abbās said, 'That was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). People would not be struck (to keep them away) from him, nor would they be forced (to keep away) from him.'"

Muslim is alone in giving this. In this account there is no evidence that he was mounted while passing between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, for he (the narrator) did not specify it to relate to the *ḥijjat al-wada'* or to some other time. Assuming that the account did relate to the *ḥijjat al-wada'*, it is possible that it related to the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished the courses, sat down upon al-Marwa, addressed the people, told those who had not brought a *ḥadi* to convert the *ḥajj* into an *ʿumra* and all those except the ones who had brought a *ḥadi* having concluded their *iḥrām*, stated, as is related above in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir. And thereafter, following all this, he had his camel brought, mounted it and rode off to his house at al-Abṭāḥ, as we will relate shortly, and it was at that point that he was seen by Abū al-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāḥila al-Bikrī, a man included among the lesser Companions.

I note that a faction of Iraqis, persons such as Abū Ḥanīfa and his companions, and al-Thawrī, maintain that the person performing the *ḥajj al-qirān* makes two circumambulations and makes two courses at a run; this is narrated from ʿAlī, Ibn Masʿūd, Mujāhid and al-Shaʿbī. They cite as evidence the long *ḥadīth* of Jābir and his evidence that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved on foot between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and the fact that his *ḥadīth* reports that the Prophet (ṢAAS) passed between them mounted, according to the account of the circumambulation between them both, once at a walk, then mounted.

Saʿīd b. Manṣūr narrated in his work *al-Sunan*, from ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) recited the *talbiyya* for a *ḥijja* and an *ʿumra*, and when he reached Mecca he circumambulated the *kaʿba* and made the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa for his *ʿumra*. He then came back and circumambulated the *kaʿba* and passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa for his *ḥijja*. And that he remained in a state of *ḥarām* until the day of the sacrifice.

This is his wording. Abū Dharr al-Harawī narrated it in his work *Manāsik* from ʿAlī, to the effect that he combined the *ḥajj* with the *ʿumra* and made two circumambulations and two *saʿy* courses for them. He (ʿAlī) stated, "That is what I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it similarly, as did al-Dārquṭnī and al-Nasāʾī in their materials relating to ʿAlī. Al-Bayhaqī stated, in his work on the *sunna*, that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith al-Faqīh, quoting ʿAlī b. ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, quoting Muḥammad b. Zumbūr, quoting Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, from Manṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, or Manṣūr, from Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, from Abū Naṣr, who stated, "I met ʿAlī, and had recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, while he had done so for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. I said, 'Can I do as you did?' He replied, 'That is so – provided you began with the *ʿumra*.' I asked, 'What should I do if that is what I wish?' He replied, 'Take a vessel of water and pour it over yourself. Then recite the *talbiyya* for both of them together. After that, circumambulate twice and make the *saʿy* passages twice for them. And do not declare your *iḥrām* concluded before the day of the sacrifice.'"

Manṣūr stated, "I related that to Mujāhid, and he said, 'We used to combine with only one circumambulation. But nowadays that is not what we do.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Shuʿba narrated it from Manṣūr, but in his account he made no reference to the *saʿy*. He also stated that the "Abū Naṣr" mentioned in the line of transmission is

not known. If what he relates is authentic, then it is likely, he concluded, that he meant the *ṭawāf al-quḍūm* and the *ṭawāf al-ziyāra*.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "It is also narrated with other lines of transmission from 'Alī, both *marfū'* and *mawqūf*." It pivots upon al-Ḥasan b. 'Amāra and Ḥafṣ b. Abū Dā'ūd, 'Isā b. 'Abd Allāh and Ḥammād b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. All of them are weak, and nothing on that subject that they narrate should be cited as evidence. But God knows best.

What is transmitted in the authentic *aḥādīth* contradicts the above.

We previously quoted the account of Ibn 'Umar given in al-Bukhārī's *ṣaḥīḥ* collection to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* for an 'umra and added the *ḥajj* to it. And so Ibn 'Umar also performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*. He circumambulated for both the *ḥajj* and the 'umra, once only, saying, "This is what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did."

Al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja and al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Darāwardī, from 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'Those who join the *ḥajj* together with the 'umra perform one circumambulation for them both and one *sa'y* for them both.'"

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*."

I note that the line of transmission for this meets the criteria of Muslim.

The same happened to 'Ā'isha, "the mother of the Believers". She was one of those who recited the *talbiyya* for an 'umra since she had not brought a *ḥadi* with her. When she menstruated, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told her to wash and to recite the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* with her 'umra. And so she performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*. When they returned from Minā, she asked that he allow her to perform an 'umra after the *ḥajj* and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did so in order to please her, as is asserted in the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shāfi'ī stated that Muslim al-Zanjī, he being Khālīd's son, informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, from 'Aṭā', that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Ā'isha, "Your circumambulation of the *ka'ba* and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa suffice for you for both your *ḥajj* and your 'umra."

This is evidently a *mursal* quotation; but its content is fully substantiated by many of al-Shāfi'ī's comments.

He stated that Ibn 'Uyayna informed him, from Ibn Abū Najīh, from 'Aṭā', from 'Ā'isha, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Al-Shāfi'ī stated, "And Sufyān may have quoted it from 'Aṭā', from 'Ā'isha, and he may have said, 'and the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to 'Ā'isha'." He went on to quote as above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "And Ibn Abū 'Umar narrated it from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna as *mawṣūl*. Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Wāḥib, from Ibn Ṭawūs, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, in similar form.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jābir say, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to

see ʿĀ'isha, she was weeping. He asked her, "Why are you crying?" "I am crying because the people have declared their *iḥrām* concluded, while I have not, and because they have circumambulated the *ka'ba* and I have not. And now is the time for this *hajj*."

He stated, "This is a matter that God has decreed for Adam's daughters. Wash yourself and recite the *talbiyya* for a *hajj*." She stated, "And so I did that. When I had cleansed myself, he said, 'Circumambulate the *ka'ba*, and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, and then your state of *iḥrām* for the *hajj* will be concluded, as well as your *ʿumra*.'"

She asked, "Messenger of God, I am concerned about my *ʿumra* and that I did not circumambulate until I had performed the *hajj*." He said, "Go with her, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and let her make the *ʿumra* from al-Tanʿīm."

Muslim also quotes a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj. The latter stated that Abū al-Zubayr informed him that he heard Jābir say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

The supporters of Abū Ḥanifa, may God have mercy on him, maintain that the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions who had brought *ḥadīs* combined between the *hajj* and the *ʿumra*, as the aforementioned *aḥādīth* indicate. But God knows best.

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad informed him, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from ʿAlī who said about those who perform the *hajj al-qirān*, "They should perform two circumambulations and one *saʿy*."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "Some people said that there should be two circumambulations and two *saʿy*. They cite as evidence for this a weak account from ʿAlī." Jaʿfar said, "Our statement is narrated from ʿAlī, and we also narrated it from the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

However, Abū Dāʿūd stated that Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ related to us, that Abū ʿĀṣim related to them both, from Maʿrūf – meaning Ibn Kharrabūdh al-Makkī – quoting Abū Ṭufayl, who said, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulate the *ka'ba* upon his camel, saluting the corner with a staff and then kissing it." Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ added, "He then went forth to al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and circumambulated seven times on his camel."

Muslim narrated this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Dāʿūd al-Tayālīsī, from Maʿrūf b. Khurbūdh, without the addition given by Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ. Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā narrated it similarly from Maʿrūf, without the addition. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated it from Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr, from al-Aṣamm, from Yahyā b. Abū Ṭālib, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥakīm, from Yazīd b. Mālik, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, also without the addition. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan and Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Ishāq both stated that Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Duḥaym related to them, quoting Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim, quoting Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā and Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn who both stated, "Ayman b. Nābil informed us, from Qudāma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmmār, who said, 'I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) pass between

al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa upon a camel; there was no hitting, no sending away and no shouts to get out of the way.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “They both spoke thus. A group other than Ayman also related it. They stated, ‘Stones were thrown on the day of the slaughter.’ It is likely that the statements of both men were authentic.”

I note that Imām Aḥmad narrated it in his *musnad ḥadīth* collection, from Wakiʿ, Qirān b. Tamām, Abū Qurra Mūsā b. Ṭarīf, the *qāḍī* of the people of Yemen, Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī and Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān, from Ayman b. Nābil al-Ḥabashī, the father of ʿImrān al-Makkī, a resident of ʿAsqalān, the freed-man of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. He is considered a very reliable source whom al-Bukhārī quoted. He gave the account of Qudāma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmmār al-Kilābī, who related that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones on the day of the sacrifice from the middle of the *wāḍī*, mounted upon a grey female camel, and that there was no hitting, no sending away and no shouts to get out of the way.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it similarly, from Aḥmad b. Manīʿ, from Marwān b. Muʿāwiya. Al-Nasāʿī gave it from Ishāq b. Rāḥawayh. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, both of whom quoted from Wakiʿ, from Ayman b. Nābil, from Qudāma. This is how Imām Aḥmad narrated it. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

DIVISION

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, “until, at the conclusion of his circumambulation, at al-Marwa, he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, ‘If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the *ḥadī*.’”

Muslim narrated this.

In this account there is evidence against those who maintain that the *saʿy* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa totals fourteen passages, each movement out and back being counted as one time. A group of major authorities of the Shāfiʿī view maintain this.

This *ḥadīth* constitutes a refutation of them. Because the final circumambulation, according to what they say, would be at al-Ṣafā, not at al-Marwa.

This is why Aḥmad stated in his account in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir, “When it was the seventh circumambulation, at al-Marwa, he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) said, ‘O people, if I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the *ḥadī* and I would have made it an *ʿumra*. Those who have not brought a *ḥadī* with them may declare their *iḥrām* concluded and they should make it an *ʿumra*.’ And so all the people did declare their *iḥrām* concluded.”

Muslim stated, “And so all the people did declare their *iḥrām* concluded and removed their hair, except for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and those who had brought *ḥadis* with them.”

Chapter.

A group of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), too long to mention here, narrated his order to those who had not brought *hadīs* to convert the *ḥajj* into an *ʿumra*. The proper place for giving that information is in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*. If God so wills it.

There are differences about this. Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī stated that this was a prerogative of the Companions and that this conversion was abrogated for others. They hold fast to the statement of Abū Dharr, may God be pleased with him, "Conversion from the *ḥajj* to the *ʿumra* applied only to the Companions of Muḥammad. May God be pleased with them."

Muslim narrated this.

Imām Aḥmad refuted this. He stated, "Eleven of the Companions narrated it; where does this account stand with regard to that?" He then, may God have mercy upon him, went on to allow the conversion to other than the Companions.

Ibn ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with him, stated that this conversion should necessarily apply to all those who had not brought *hadīs*. Indeed, he maintained that it was legally permissible for someone who had circumambulated the *kaʿba* and had not brought a *ḥadī*, and that these circumstances alone made this permissible. In his view, the pilgrimage ceremonies consist either of the *ḥajj al-qirān* for those who have brought a *ḥadī*, or the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* for those who have not. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Nuʿmān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Jurayj, from ʿAṭā, from Jābir. And from Tāwūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās. They both stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions arrived on the morning of the 4th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, reciting the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*, mixing in nothing with it. When we arrived, he gave us orders and we made it an *ʿumra*. And he declared that our *iḥrām* was concluded (thus allowing us to go) to our wives. Gossip about this spread thereafter."

ʿAṭā went on to quote Jābir as saying, "So one of us might go off to Minā with his penis damp from sperm!" He went on, gesturing, "This reached the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he said, 'It has reached me that there are people saying such-and-such. I swear by God, I am more innocent, more pious towards God than they are! If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have made sacrifice. And if I had not had a *ḥadī* I would have declared my *iḥrām* concluded.'

"Surāqa b. Juʿshum then arose and said, 'Messenger of God, is this just for us, or for ever?' 'For ever,' he replied."

Muslim stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting al-Layth – he being Ibn Saʿd – from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābir as saying, "We arrived along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reciting the *talbiyya* for a *ḥajj* alone. ʿĀʾisha arrived for an *ʿumra*. When we were at Saraf she menstruated. Then when we reached (Mecca) we circumambulated the *kaʿba*, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, and the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told those of us who had not brought a *ḥadi* to declare our *iḥrām* concluded. "To what extent?" we asked. "Totally," he replied. And so we had sexual relations with our wives, put on perfume and dressed in clothes. Only four nights remained from that time until (the ceremonies on) 'Arafāt."

These two *ahādīth* state clearly that the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Mecca the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* on the morning of the fourth of Dhū al-Ḥijja. That was a Sunday, when daytime came, at dawn, because the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja that year was indisputably a Thursday, because the day for (the congregation at) 'Arafāt was Friday, according to the text of the *ḥadīth* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. As we will show.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived on Sunday, the fourth of that month, he began, as we have related, with circumambulation of the *ka'ba* then he made the *al-sa'y* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. When he completed his circumambulation between the two, at al-Marwa, he ordered those who had not brought *ḥadis* with them to declare their *iḥrām* decisively concluded. He required that of them definitely, and they did so. Some of them were regretful that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not declared his *iḥrām* concluded because he had brought the *ḥadi*. They had wanted to conform to his practice and would have found solace in this. When he perceived how they felt, he said to them, "If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the *ḥadi* and would have made it an *'umra*."

That is, "If I had known that this would upset you, I would have left bringing the *ḥadi* until after I had declared my *iḥrām* concluded, as you have done."

From this the evidence might seem clear to you of the superiority of the *ḥajj al-tamattu'*, as Imām Aḥmad maintained on the basis of this. He stated, "I do not doubt that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), performed the *ḥajj al-qirān*; however, the *ḥajj al-tamattu'* is superior, since he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) expressed his regret at it."

The response to this would be as follows: the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not express regret over the *ḥajj al-tamattu'* because of its superiority over the *ḥajj al-qirān*, for those who had brought a *ḥadi*. He expressed regret because then he would not have upset his Companions by retaining his *iḥrām* state and by telling them to declare their *iḥrām* concluded.

Therefore – but God knows best – when Imām Aḥmad contemplated this "secret", he gave the text of another *ḥadīth* from the Prophet (ṢAAS), to the effect that the *ḥajj al-tamattu'* is best for those not bringing a *ḥadi*, because of the latter's order to those of his Companions who had not brought *ḥadis* to perform the *ḥajj al-tamattu'*, and that the *ḥajj al-qirān* would be preferable for those having brought *ḥadis*, just as God, Almighty and Glorious is He, chose for His Prophet (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* and His order to him in that regard, as related above. But God knows best.

Chapter.

Thereafter, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished his circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and having ordered those who had not brought *hadis* to conclude their pilgrimage, left in the company of those with him and stopped at al-Abṭah, to the east of Mecca. He stayed there for the remainder of that Sunday and the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, until he had performed the *ṣubḥ* prayer of Thursday. Throughout all those days he prayed there with his Companions without returning to the *ka'ba*.

Al-Bukhārī has a chapter entitled, *Chapter of those who do not approach the ka'ba and do not circumambulate before going out to 'Arafāt and then return after the first circumambulation.*

He went on to state therein that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr narrated to him, quoting Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. 'Uqba, as saying, "Kurayb quoted 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās as having said to him, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Mecca, performed seven circumambulations and the *sa'y* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. He did not approach the *ka'ba* after his circumambulation until he returned from 'Arafāt.'"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Chapter.

During this time, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was staying at al-Baṭḥā, outside Mecca, 'Alī arrived from Yemen. The Prophet (ṢAAS) had sent him – as we narrated above – to Yemen as its governor after Khālīd b. al-Walīd, may God be pleased with them both.

When 'Alī arrived, he found that his wife Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had declared her *iḥrām* concluded, as had the wives of the latter, who had not brought *hadis*. Fāṭima had put on *koḥl* and dressed in colour-dyed clothing. 'Alī asked her, "Who told you to do this?" "My father," she replied.

Somewhat annoyed at her, he then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him that she had declared her *iḥrām* concluded, had dressed in colour-dyed clothes and put on *koḥl*. He told him, "And she claims that you told her to do that, Messenger of God."

He replied, "She spoke the truth." He repeated this three times.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, "With what intent did you recite the *talbiyya* when you determined upon the *ḥajj*?" He replied, "With the same intent as the Messenger of God," he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told him, "I have brought the *hadī* with me, so do not declare your *iḥrām* concluded."

The number of *hadis* 'Alī had brought from Yemen and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had brought with him from Medina and had bought on the way totalled

100 camels. They shared all the *hadīs* between them. All this is related in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, may God have mercy upon him, and has been given above.

This report refutes the account related by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, may God have mercy upon him, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, to the effect that 'Alī met with the Prophet (ṢAAS) at al-Juḥfa. But God knows best.

Abū Mūsā was among those who arrived with 'Alī; however, he himself did not bring a *ḥadī* and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered him to declare his *iḥrām* concluded after he had circumambulated for the *ʿumra* and had made the *saʿy*. He then revoked his *ḥajj* into an *ʿumra* and performed the *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ*. He would use that experience in issuing his legal decision during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb gave his opinion that the *ḥajj* (alone) should be made quite separate from the *ʿumra*, he (Abū Mūsā) abandoned his legal position out of respect for the Commander of the Believers, 'Umar, may God be pleased with him and grant him pleasure.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Sufyān, from 'Awn b. Abū Juḥayfa, from his father, who said, "I saw Bilāl make the call to prayer and circulate all around, and turn his face everywhere, his fingers in his ears. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in a red pavilion he had, made of leather, I believe. Then Bilāl went out ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), carrying a short lance. He set it up and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the prayer."

'Abd al-Razzāq stated, "And I heard him in Mecca say that at al-Baṭḥā' dogs, women and donkeys would pass in front of him. He was dressed in a red *ḥulla*, 'outer garment', beneath which I thought I could see the sheen of his legs." He said, "Sufyān, we think it (what he wore) was a *ḥibara*, 'a shawl'."

Aḥmad stated that Waki' related to him, quoting Sufyān, from 'Awn b. Abū Juḥayfa, from his father, who said, "I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at al-Abṭāḥ while he was in a red pavilion he had. Bilāl came out with the residue of (the water from the ablution) sprinkling it (on those around him).

"Bilāl made the call to prayer and I watched as his mouth moved first here, then there" – meaning to the right and the left. "Then the *ʿanaza*, 'a short lance', was set up, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out, dressed in a red *jubba*" – or a red *ḥulla* – "and I thought I could see the sheen of his legs. He performed the *al-ḡuhr*" – or the *al-ʿaṣr* – "prayer, facing towards the *ʿanaza*. Women, dogs and donkeys passed by without hindrance. He kept on performing prayers of two *rakaʿāt* until he reached Medina."

On one occasion, the account quotes the narrator as saying, "He performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer of two *rakaʿāt* and the *al-ʿaṣr* of two *rakaʿāt*."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections this is given from an account of Sufyān al-Thawrī.

Aḥmad also stated, that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba and Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, who quoted Abū Juḥayfa as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left and went to al-Baṭḥā'. He performed the ablution and the *al-ḡuhr* prayer with two *rakaʿāt* with a short lance before him."

ʿAwn made an addition to this, quoting his father as quoting Abū Juḥayfa as saying, "and there were donkeys and women passing behind us".

Ḥajjāj stated in the *ḥadīth*, "Then people began taking hold of his hand and wiping it over their faces. I took his hand and placed it on my face; I found it to be cooler than ice and more sweet-smelling than musk."

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it in full from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained, as we have stated above, at al-Abṭaḥ the Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. The people who had not brought *ḥadīs* had declared their *iḥrām* concluded.

During that period, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib arrived from Yemen with the Muslims accompanying him and the wealth he brought. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not return to the *kaʿba* after he had circumambulated it.

The morning of Thursday, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the morning prayer, that day being that of *al-tarwīyya*. It is also called the "Minā day" because (people) go there then.

It has been narrated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had made an address before that day. The previous day, as I have seen in various commentaries, is known as the *yawm al-zīna*, "decoration day", because on it the sacrificial animals are garlanded with ornaments and similar items. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-*Ḥāfiẓ* informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Jalūdī, quoting Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Mahrān, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Abū Qurra, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed the people the day of the *tarwīyya*, he would instruct them about their religious rites."

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then set off on his mount to Minā, before the noon – though some say thereafter. Those who had previously declared their *iḥrām* for the *ḥajj* concluded, now declared it in effect when they left al-Abṭaḥ for Minā. They did this as their mounts set off carrying them there.

ʿAbd al-Malik stated, quoting ʿAṭā, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "We arrived with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and declared our *iḥlāl* in effect. When it was the day of the *tarwīyya*, and after we had turned our backs to Mecca, we recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*."

Al-Bukhārī made reference to this in a brief note.

Muslim stated that Muḥammad b. Ḥātim related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that Jābir stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us, when we had declared our *iḥrām* concluded, to again declare it in effect when we moved off to Minā. And we recited the *talbiyya* from al-Abṭaḥ."

ʿUbayd b. Jurayj stated to Ibn ʿUmar, "I saw that when you were in Mecca and the people recited the *talbiyya* on seeing the crescent, you did not recite it until the day of *al-tarwīyya*." He replied, "I did not see the Prophet (ṢAAS) recite the *talbiyya* until his camel set off bearing him."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it as part of a lengthy *ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAṭāʾ was asked about how those next to Minā would recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. He stated, "Ibn ʿUmar would recite the *talbiyya* the day of *al-tarwīyya*, after he had performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer and settled himself on his mount."

I note that that was what Ibn ʿUmar would do when he performed the *ʿumra*; he would declare his *iḥrām* concluded after the *ʿumra* and then on *al-tarwīyya* day he would refrain from reciting the *talbiyya* until his mount set off with him towards Minā. Similarly, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) declared his *iḥrām* concluded from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa after having performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer and when his mount had set off with him.

However, on the *al-tarwīyya* day, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not perform the *al-ḡuhr* prayer at al-Abṭāḥ, but he did perform it that day at Minā. There is no dispute at all over this.

Al-Bukhārī has a section entitled, *Chapter on where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ḡuhr prayer on al-tarwīyya day*.

He stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Ishāq al-Azraq, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rufayʿ, who said, "I asked Anas b. Mālik, 'Tell me something you learned from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); where was it he performed the *al-ḡuhr* and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayers on *tarwīyya* day?' He replied, 'At Minā.' I asked, 'And where did he pray the *al-ʿaṣr* on *al-naḡr*¹¹³ day?' He replied, 'At al-Abṭāḥ.' He then commented, 'Do as your leaders do!'"

The rest of the community of scholars, except for Ibn Māja, gave this from a variety of lines of transmission, from Ishāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Imām Aḥmad related it similarly, from Ishāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, though it may be considered *gharīb*, coming from a *ḥadīth* of al-Azraq, from al-Thawrī."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī related to him that he heard Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh quote ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rufayʿ, who said, "I met Anas b. Mālik. And Ismāʿīl b. Abān related to me, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who said, 'I went off to Minā on *al-tarwīyya* day and met Anas leaving mounted on a donkey. I asked, "Where did the Prophet (ṢAAS) perform the *al-ḡuhr* prayer today?" He replied, "Look at where your leaders pray, and perform your prayers."'"

Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Abū Kudayna, from al-Aʿmash, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said that)

113. The day of the departure of the pilgrims from Minā.

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed five prayers at Minā. And Aḥmad also said that Aswad b. ʿĀmir related to him, quoting Abū Maḥyāt Yaḥyā b. Yaʿlā al-Taymī, from al-Aʿmash, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer on *al-tarwīyya* day at Minā, and he prayed the day time (prayers) on the day (of the assembly) at ʿArafāt.

Abū Dāʾūd narrated it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from Aḥwaṣ, from Jawāb, from ʿAmmār b. Ruzayq, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash. His words were, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer on *al-tarwīyya* day and the *al-fajr* prayer on ʿArafāt day at Minā."

Al-Tirmidhī gave it from al-Ashajj, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ, from al-Aʿmash, to the same effect. He stated, "This is not among what Shuʿba included in what al-Ḥakam heard from Miqsam."

Al-Tirmidhī stated that Abū Saʿīd al-Ashajj related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ajlaḥ, from Ismāʿīl b. Muslim, from ʿAṭā, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed with us at Minā the *al-zuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib*, the *al-ʿishā* and the *al-fajr* prayers. Then in the morning he went to ʿArafāt." Al-Tirmidhī went on, "There is some controversy over Ismāʿīl b. Muslim."

In that sub-heading it is also given from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and Anas b. Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Someone who saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) informed me that he went to Minā on *al-tarwīyya* day with Bilāl at his side carrying a pole on which was a piece of cloth with which he was sheltering the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). (Sheltering him) from the heat, that is." Aḥmad alone gave this.

Al-Shāfiʿī gave in his text the information that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode from al-Abṭaḥ to Minā after noon, but that he only prayed the *al-zuhr* at Minā. This *ḥadīth* might be cited (in contradiction) of him. But God knows best.

It is given above in the *ḥadīth* of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, who said, "All the people declared their *iḥrām* at an end and clipped (their hair) except for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and those who had brought *ḥadīs* with them. And when it was the *tarwīyya* day, they set off for Minā and recited the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode and performed the *al-zuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib*, the *al-ʿishā* and the *al-fajr* there. He then stayed a little longer until the sun arose and he called for a pavilion of haircloth he had and it was set up for him at Namira.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then proceeded on, while Quraysh had no doubt that he would be staying at *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām* (at Muzdalifa), as Quraysh used to do in the *jāhiliyya* period.

"But he went across to ʿArafāt and found that the pavilion had been set up for him at Namira. There he dismounted. When the sun began to decline, he called for his camel al-Qaṣwāʾ and she was saddled for him. He then went on down to

the centre of the *wādi* and made an address to the people. He said, 'Your blood and your property are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month, in this your land.'

"I declare that everything relating to the *jāhiliyya* is cast down beneath my two feet. The blood feuds (of the *jāhiliyya*) are cast down. The first blood feud I dismiss is that relating to the blood of Ibn Rabi'a b. al-Ḥārith. (He was brought up as a foster-child in Banū Sa'd and killed by Hudhayl.) Also, the interest charges of the *jāhiliyya* are abolished. The first interest charge I abolish is that of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Muṭṭalib; it is all abolished.

"Fear God (in your treatment) of women. You have taken them in God's trust, and their persons are made permitted to you by God's word. You may require of them that they not allow anyone you dislike to enter your furnishings; if they should do this, then beat them, but not viciously. They have the right from you to have their sustenance and their clothing, with kindness.

"I have left for you something wherein, if you keep to it, you will not go astray – God's Book. You will be questioned about me. What is it you will say?"

"They responded, 'We will bear witness that you have fulfilled (your mission), that you gave good advice and did your duty.'

"He then spoke with his index finger, using it to convey meaning to the people, saying, 'O God, bear witness! O God, bear witness! O God, bear witness!' (He said this) three times."

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nasāʾī stated that he was informed by ʿAlī b. Ḥajr, from Mughīra, from Mūsā b. Ziyād b. Hidhyam b. ʿAmr al-Saʿdī, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in his address on the day (of the assembly at) ʿArafāt, on the *ḥijjat al-wadaʿ*, 'Learn that your blood and your possession and your honour are sacrosanct for you, just as this day, this month and this land are sacrosanct for you.'"

Abū Dāʿūd stated, under the heading, *The address on the minbar at ʿArafāt*, that Ḥannād related to him, from Ibn Abū Zāʾida, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Zayd b. Aslam, from a man of Banū Ḍamra, from his father or his uncle, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) upon the *minbar* at ʿArafāt."

This line of transmission is weak, because there is in it a man who is dubious. Moreover, it is stated above in the long *ḥadīth* of Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his address while mounted on his camel al-Qaṣwāʾ.

Abū Dāʿūd then stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Dāʿūd, from Salama b. Nubayṭ, from a man from the tribe, from his father Nubayṭ, (who said) that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing at ʿArafāt upon a red camel making an address.

This also has a dubious link; however, Jābir's *ḥadīth* does testify to it.

Abū Dāʿūd then stated that Ḥannād b. al-Sarri and ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba both stated that Wakīʿ related to them, from ʿAbd al-Majīd b. Abū ʿAmr, who said, "Al-ʿAddāʾ b. Khālīd b. Hawdha related to me" – Ḥannād added, "from ʿAbd al-Majīd" – "quoting Khālīd b. al-ʿAddāʾ b. Hawdha, who said, 'I saw the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address to the people on the day of 'Arafāt, upon a camel, standing up in the stirrups.”

Abū Dā'ūd stated, “Ibn al-‘Alā narrated it from Wakī‘, as Ḥannād had spoken. And ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm related to me, quoting ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar, quoting ‘Abd al-Majīd Abū ‘Amr, from al-‘Addā’ b. Khālīd to the same effect.”

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is given from Ibn ‘Abbās, who is quoted as saying, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make an address at ‘Arafāt and say, ‘Those without sandals shall wear leather socks; those without a waist-wrapper shall wear (instead) trousers for the pilgrim (in the state of *iḥrām*).’”¹¹⁴

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Yaḥyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr quoted his father ‘Abbād as saying, “The man who used to make announcements to the people relating to the pronouncements of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he was on ‘Arafāt, was Rabi‘a b. Umayya b. Khalaf. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said (to him), ‘Say: “O people, the Messenger of God says, ‘Do you know what month this is?’” They will say, “The holy months.” Then say to them, “God has made your blood and your possessions sacrosanct for you, just as is this month of yours.” Then say, “O people, the Messenger of God asks you, ‘Do you know what land this is?’”’” And he went on to complete the *ḥadīth* as above.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq proceeded to state that Layth b. Abū Sulaym related to him, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from ‘Amr b. Khārija, who said, “‘Attāb b. Usayd sent me to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for a purpose while he was standing upon ‘Arafāt. I gave him the message, then stood below his camel. (I was so close that) its saliva was dripping upon my head. I heard him say, ‘O people, God has assigned to each person his portion. It is not permissible to make a bequest to an heir. The child relates to the bed.¹¹⁵ And stoning is for fornicators. Anyone claiming as his father someone who is not, or a freed-man claiming as his master someone who is not, the curse of God, the angels and all men is upon them. God will not accept for him any penance, nor any requital.’”

Al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Qatāda, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm, from ‘Amr b. Khārija. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

I note it has some variance from the *ḥadīth* of Qatāda. But God knows best.

We will also refer hereafter to the address made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following this one, on the day of the sacrifice, giving judgement, exhortations, details and prophetic ethics it expresses, if God so wills it.

Al-Bukhārī has a section entitled, *Chapter: the talbiyya and the takbir made when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he departed in the morning from Minā to ‘Arafāt.*

114. During the performance of the rites, the pilgrim is dressed in the *iḥrām*, which consists of two pieces of cloth which act as his upper and lower garments. His shoes, furthermore, should not cover his heels or ankles.

115. To its mother, that is.

In it he stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Thaqafī (who said) that he asked Anas b. Mālik, while they were both travelling in the morning from Minā to 'Arafāt, "How did you act this same day with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He replied, "He did not rebuke those of us who recited the *talbiyya*, nor did he rebuke those of us who spoke the *takbīr*."

Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik and Musā b. 'Uqba, both of whom quoted from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. 'Awf b. Rabāḥ al-Thaqafī al-Ḥijāzī, from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh (who said) "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān wrote to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf to the effect that he suggest to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar that he make the *hajj*. When it was the day for 'Arafāt, Ibn 'Umar – along with myself – when the sun had begun to incline – or the narrator's words were "when the sun had set" – "and we were near al-Ḥajjāj's tent, Ibn 'Umar shouted out, 'Well, where is he?' Al-Ḥajjāj emerged. Ibn 'Umar told him, 'Time to leave!' 'Right now?' al-Ḥajjāj asked. 'Yes,' Ibn 'Umar replied. Al-Ḥajjāj asked, 'Wait while I pour water over myself.' Ibn 'Umar dismounted and walked about (impatiently) between myself and my father. I said to al-Ḥajjāj, 'If you want to act precisely in accord with the *sunna* today, then you should make the address short and proceed quickly to the stay (on 'Arafāt).' Ibn 'Umar commented, 'He spoke the truth.'"

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it from al-Qa'nabī, from Mālik. Al-Nasā'ī promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ashhab and Ibn Wahb, from Mālik.

Al-Bukhārī went on, after narrating this *ḥadīth*, to quote al-Layth as stating that 'Aqīl related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, who quoted Sālim as saying, "In the year when al-Ḥajjāj attacked Ibn al-Zubayr, the former asked 'Abd Allāh (Ibn 'Umar), 'What do you do at this station, at 'Arafāt?' I replied, 'If you want to act in accord with the *sunna*, then offer the prayer just after midday on the day at 'Arafāt.' Ibn 'Umar commented, 'He spoke the truth. According to the *sunna*, they (the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), would perform the *al-ḡuhr* and the *al-ʿaṣr* together.' I asked Sālim, 'Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do that?' Sālim responded, 'In doing that would you (people) act in any other way than in accord with the *sunna*.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to him, quoting Ya'qūb, quoting Abū 'Awf, from Ibn Ishāq, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Minā early, having performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, on the morning of the day for (the assembly on) Mt. 'Arafāt. He stopped at Namira, at the station of the *imām*, where the latter would stay at 'Arafāt, until, at the time of the *al-ḡuhr* prayer, he left as a *muhajjir* and he combined together the *al-ḡuhr* and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayers.

Jābir related this similarly in his *ḥadīth* after he gave the address quoted above. He went on, "Bilāl then made the call to prayer followed by the *iqāma*.

Thereupon he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) arose and performed the *al-zuhr* prayer, and after that arose again and performed the *al-ʿaṣr*, and he did not combine any other prayer between these two."

This *ḥadīth* requires that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first gave the address and then the prayer was held, without him having engaged in the second address.

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and others informed him, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father and from Jābir, concerning the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* as follows, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the station on ʿArafāt and made the first address to the people. Bilāl made the call to prayer and thereafter the Prophet (ṢAAS) proceeded to deliver the second address. He finished the address, as did Bilāl the prayer call. Bilāl then made the *iqāma* and he (the Prophet) arose and performed the *al-zuhr* and then again the *al-ʿaṣr*."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abū Yahyā is alone in giving this.

Muslim stated, quoting Jābir, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode off to the station, where he positioned the belly of his camel al-Qaṣwāʾ to the rocks, placing himself so that Mt. al-Mashāt was ahead of him and he faced the *qibla*."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yahyā b. Sulaymān related to him, from Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Bukayr, from Kurayb, from Maymūna, (who said), "The people were uncertain about whether the Prophet (ṢAAS), was fasting, so I sent a container of milk to him while he was standing at the station. He drank from it while everyone looked on."

Muslim included it from Hārūn b. Saʿīd al-Abī, from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf informed him, quoting Mālik, from Abū al-Naḍr, the freed-man of ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from ʿUmayr, freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, from Umm al-Faḍl, daughter of al-Ḥārith, (who said), "People disputed in my presence on ʿArafāt day concerning the fast of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Some people said, 'He is fasting.' Others said, 'He is not fasting.' So I sent a vessel of milk to him while he was standing up on his camel, and he drank it."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik also. They both gave it from other lines of transmission, from Abū al-Naḍr.

I note that Umm al-Faḍl was the sister of Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, mother of the Believers; the story of both is one and the same. But God knows best. The line of transmission to her is authentic, because it comes directly from her, unless, that is, it be after that or there were several lines of transmission from the one and the other woman. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Ayyūb, who said, "I don't know whether I heard it from Saʿīd b. Jubayr or from his sons who quoted him, as saying as follows, 'I went to Ibn ʿAbbās while he was standing upon ʿArafāt eating a pomegranate. He said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) broke his fast on ʿArafāt and Umm al-Faḍl sent milk to him which he drank."'"

Aḥmad stated that Waki' related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Dhī'b, from Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of al-Taw'ama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that they disputed over the fast of the Prophet (ṢAAS), on 'Arafāt day, and that Umm al-Faḍl sent milk to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he drank it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq and Abū Bakr both said that Ibn Jurayj informed him that 'Aṭā' stated, "'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās invited al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās to eat on 'Arafāt day. He said, 'But I am fasting.' 'Abd Allāh told him, 'Don't fast. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought a vessel containing milk on 'Arafāt day and he drank from it. So do not fast. The people are waiting for you.'"

Ibn Bukayr and Rawḥ quoted the words as "The people await you."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "A man standing with the Prophet (ṢAAS) at 'Arafāt fell off his camel and broke his neck" – or his words were, "and it broke his neck". "The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'Wash him with water boiled with wood of the lote tree, wrap him in a double shroud. Do not perfume him, cover his head or embalm him. God will resurrect him on Judgement Day, (and he will be) *mulabbīyyan*, 'expressing his readiness to serve God'."

Muslim narrated it from Abū al-Rabi' al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Al-Nasā'ī stated that Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm – he being Ibn Rāhawayh – informed him, quoting Waki', quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Bukayr b. 'Aṭā', from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya'mur al-Dīlī, who said, "I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at 'Arafāt. People from Najd came to him and asked him about the *hajj*. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The *hajj* is 'Arafāt; those who are there in the night at 'Arafāt, before dawn on the night of the assemblage, will have concluded their *hajj*.'"

The rest of the scholars of the *al-sunan* narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī. Al-Nasā'ī and Shu'ba added to it Bukayr b. 'Aṭā'.

Al-Nasā'ī stated that Qutayba informed him, quoting Sufyān, from 'Amr b. Dīnār, quoting 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣafwān, who quoted Yazīd b. Shaybān as saying, "We were positioned at 'Arafāt in a place far removed from the station. Ibn Mirba' al-Anṣārī came over to us and said, 'I am sent to you by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He tells you, "(You should) be at your shrines; you have a heritage, a heritage from your father, Abraham.'"

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, 'good'; we know it only from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Uyayna from 'Amr b. Dīnār."

The Ibn Mirba' referred to above was named in full Zayd b. Mirba' al-Anṣārī; only this one *ḥadīth* is attributed to him.

And on this subject there are *aḥādīth* from 'Alī, 'Ā'isha, Jubayr b. Muṭ'īm and al-Sharīd b. Suwayd. And it has been given above, from the account of Muslim, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, that the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS), stated, "I have stood here, and all 'Arafāt is a station." Mālik added in his work *al-Muwatta'* the words, "And spread out, therefore, from the valley of 'Arafāt".

Chapter: Those parts of the prayers delivered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he stood upon Mt. 'Arafāt that are recorded.

It has been narrated above that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) broke his fast on the day at 'Arafāt; this shows that breaking fast there is preferable to fasting because of the added strength that provides for the prayers, since they are the more important objective there.

This is why the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained mounted upon his camel (at 'Arafāt) from noon to sunset.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī related in the *musnad* compendium, from Ḥawshab b. 'Aqīl, from Mahdī al-Hajarī, from 'Ikrima, from Abū Hurayra, from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to the effect that at 'Arafāt, he forbade fasting on the day (of the assembly) at 'Arafāt.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to us, quoting Ḥawshab b. 'Aqīl, quoting Mahdī al-Muḥārībī, quoting 'Ikrima, the freed-man of Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "I went to Abū Hurayra in his home and asked him about fasting on Mt. 'Arafāt the day (of the assembly) there. He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade fasting on 'Arafāt for (the assembly) there.'"

On one occasion, 'Abd al-Raḥmān gave the transmission of the *ḥadīth* from Mahdī al-'Abdī.

Aḥmad narrated it similarly from Wakī', from Ḥawshab, from Mahdī al-'Abdī. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Ḥawshab. Al-Nasā'ī gave it from Sulaymān b. Ma'bad, from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, as well as from al-Fallās, from Ibn Mahdī. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and 'Alī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted from Wakī', from Ḥawshab.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and Abū Sa'īd b. Abū 'Amr informed him that it was related to them both by Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Abū Usāma al-Kalbī, quoting Ḥasan b. al-Rabī', quoting al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubayd, from Ḥawshab b. 'Uqayl, from Mahdī al-Hajarī, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "At 'Arafāt, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade fasting on the day (of the assembly) at 'Arafāt."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubayd spoke it similarly. The correct line is from 'Ikrima, from Abū Hurayra.

Abū Ḥatīm Muḥammad b. Hibbān al-Bustī narrated, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, that he was questioned about fasting on the day on 'Arafāt. He replied, "I made the pilgrimage with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he did not fast it. And also with Abū Bakr, and he did not fast it. And also with 'Umar, and he did not fast it. As for myself, I do not fast it, nor do I order it to be fasted, nor do I forbid it."

Imām Mālik stated, from Ziyād b. Abū Ziyād, the freed-man of Ibn 'Abbās, from Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Kariz, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The best prayer was that of the day of 'Arafāt, and (on that day) was one made by me and the prophets before me: *Lā ilāha illā Allāhu waḥdahu lā sharika lah*. 'There is no god but God Alone; He has no associate'."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This is *mursal*. And it is narrated from Mālik with a different line of transmission that is *mawṣūlan*. But that line is *ḍa'if*."

Imām Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The best prayer was that on the day at 'Arafāt. And the best statement I and the prophets before me made was, 'There is no god but God alone; He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything.'"

Imām Aḥmad also gives the following *ḥadīth* from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "Most of the prayer of the Prophet (ṢAAS), at the day of 'Arafāt was, 'There is no god but God alone; He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything.'"

Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Manda stated that Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Ayyūb al-Nisābūrī, quoting Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd b. Jābir al-Aḥmasī, quoting Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, quoting Faraj b. Faḍāla, from Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'My prayer and that of the prophets before me on the evening of (the assembly) at 'Arafāt was, 'There is no god but God alone; He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd – meaning Ibn 'Abd Rabbiḥ al-Juraḥī – related to us, quoting Baqiyya b. al-Walīd, quoting Jubayr b. 'Amr al-Qurashī, from Abū Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, from Abū Yahyā, the freed-man of the family of al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, from al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, may God be pleased with him, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite this verse while he was at 'Arafāt: 'God bears testimony, as do the angels and those with knowledge, that there is no god but He, the upholder of righteousness. There is no god but He, the Powerful, the Wise' (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.18). And I, O God, am of those who testify to that."

The *ḥafīẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated in his work *al-Manāsik* that al-Ḥasan b. Muthannā b. Mu'adh al-'Anbarī stated, quoting 'Affān b. Muslim, quoting Qays b. al-Rabi', from al-Agharr b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, from Khalīfa, from 'Alī, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The best statement I or the prophets before me ever made was on the evening (of the assembly) at 'Arafāt: 'There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over every thing.'"

Al-Tirmidhī stated in his work *al-Da'awāt* that Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Mu'addib related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Thābit, quoting Qays b. al-Rabi', who was of Banū Asad, from al-Agharr b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, from Khalīfa b. Ḥusayn,

from 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, who said, "The most part of what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed on the day at 'Arafāt, at the station, was 'O God, praise is Yours, such as that we speak, and better than we speak. O God, my prayer goes to You, along with my devotion. And my living and my dying are yours, Lord of my heritage. I seek refuge with You from the agony of the grave, the whisperings of the breast and conflicting matters. O God, I take refuge with You from the evil of what the wind may bring.'"

Al-Tirmidhī then stated, "It is *gharīb* from this line. Its line of transmission is not strong."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated it through Mūsā b. 'Ubayda, from his brother 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayda, from 'Alī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The greater part of the prayer of those before me and of my prayer at 'Arafāt, is my saying, "There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything. O God, place a light in my seeing, a light in my hearing and a light in my heart. O God, give comfort to my breast and ease my affairs. O God, I seek refuge with you from the whisperings of the breast, and conflicting matters, the evil of the trials of the grave, the evil of what comes in by night, the evil of what comes by day, the evil of what the winds bring in and the evil of fate's calamities.'"

Al-Tirmidhī then stated, "Mūsā b. 'Ubayda is alone in giving this. He is a weak source, and his brother 'Abd Allāh was not a contemporary of 'Alī."

Al-Ṭabrānī stated in his work *al-Manāsik* that Yaḥyā b. 'Uthmān al-Naṣrī related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ayḷī, from Ismā'īl b. Umayya, from 'Aṭā' b. Abū Rabāḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Among what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed for on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* was, 'O God, You hear my words, see my whereabouts and know of me what is secret and what is plain; nothing about me is hidden from You. I, the miserable, the poor, the seeker for help and protection, the concerned, the sympathetic, the consoler, the penitent, I petition You as do the poor, I plead with You in humility as do the humble, I pray to You as does one who is fearful and in distress, as one who submits his neck to You, and sheds his tears before You, bending low his body before You, humiliating himself before You. O God, do not render me, O God, wretched in my prayer to You; be compassionate and merciful with me, O Best of all who receive requests, and Best of all who give.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Malik, quoting 'Aṭā', who said, "Usāma b. Zayd stated, 'I was mounted behind the Prophet (ṢAAS) at 'Arafāt. He raised his hands praying. His camel bent forward and its halter fell. He picked up the halter with one of his hands while he raised up his other.'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it similarly from Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, from Hushaym.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to him, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, quoting 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh

al-Hāshimi, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), praying at 'Arafāt with his hands placed upon his chest like a poor man pleading for food."

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated in his *musnad* collection, that 'Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarrī related to him, quoting a son of Kināna b. al-'Abbās b. Mirdās, from his father, from his grandfather 'Abbās b. Mirdās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed on the evening at 'Arafāt for forgiveness and mercy for his nation, and that his prayer was lengthy. He ('Abbās) stated that God revealed to him, "I have forgiven (all), except the oppression of one another. As for their sins that are between Myself and them, those I have forgiven." ('Abbas went on,) "The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'O God, You have power to reward with good this unfortunate for his wrongs done to him, and to forgive this wrong-doer.' But He did not respond to him that evening.

"When morning for (the passage to) Muzdalifa came, he repeated his supplication. God Almighty responded to him, 'I have forgiven them.' And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and one of his Companions asked him, 'Messenger of God, why are you smiling at a time when you used not to smile?' He replied, 'I am smiling at that enemy of God, Satan. When he learned that God, the Almighty and Glorious, had responded to me about my nation, he fell down praying in distress and lamenting loudly, pouring dirt over his head.'"

Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī narrated it in his work *al-Sunan* from 'Isā b. Ibrāhīm al-Burakī and Abū al-Walid al-Ṭayālīsī, both of whom quoted from 'Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarrī, from Ibn Kināna b. 'Abbās b. Mirdās, from his father, from his grandfather. (That account is) abbreviated.

Ibn Māja narrated it from Ayyūb b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī b. 'Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarrī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Kināna b. 'Abbās, from his father, from his grandfather. (That account is) extended.

Ibn Jarīr narrated it in his *Tafsīr (Exegesis)* from Ismā'īl b. Sayf al-'Ijlī, from 'Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarrī, from a son of Kināna, whose name was Abū Lubāba, from his father, from his grandfather al-'Abbās b. Mirdās.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated that Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ma'mar, from someone who heard Qatāda state, "Julās b. 'Amr related to us, from 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the day of 'Arafāt, "O people, God this day has granted you more time. He has granted you forgiveness, except for your (blameworthy) interactions with one another. He has replaced your misdeeds with good and given to those of you who do good what they request. Go forth, in the name of God."

"When they were assembled, he said, "God has forgiven those of you who are good and has welcomed the intercession of your good men for those of you who have done evil. Mercy descends and includes them all. And then mercy is dispersed over the land and falls upon all repentants who have guarded their

tongues and hands. Satan and his troops are upon the mountains of 'Arafāt watching what God is doing with them. And when mercy comes down, Satan and his troops pray in distress and lament loudly. I would egg them on for a long time at fear of forgiveness, and it encompassed them (the Muslims) And so they (the devils) are dispersing, praying in distress and lamenting.””

An Account of the sublime revelation at that honoured station.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ja'far b. 'Awn related to him, quoting Abū al-'Umayy, from Qays b. Muslim, from Ṭāriq b. Shihāb, who stated, “A Jew came to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and said, ‘Commander of the Believers, you recite a certain verse in your Book; had it come down upon us Jews, we would have adopted that day as an *‘id*, “a festival day”.’ ‘What verse is that?’ he asked. He replied, ‘The words of the Almighty, “Today I have fulfilled for you your religion. I have fulfilled of you my grace, and I have honoured you with Islam as a religion”’ (*sūrat al-Mā'ida*; V, v.3).

“‘Umar commented, ‘I swear by God, I well know the day when it was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the hour too – in the evening at ‘Arafāt, on the Friday.’”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabāḥ, from Ja'far b. 'Awn. He also gave it, as did Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī, through several lines from Qays b. Muslim.

*Accounts of the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),
from 'Arafāt to the mash'ar al-ḥarām.*

Jābir stated in his long *ḥadīth*, “He remained standing there until the sun set. The yellow of the sky dissipated somewhat, until the sun-disk had gone. Usāma b. Zayd then mounted behind him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away; he had so tightened al-Qaṣwā's bridle that her head almost touched the front of his saddle. With his right hand, he was making a gesture that said, ‘People! Go easy! Go easy!’ Whenever he came to a hill, he loosened his grip somewhat until she had climbed up.

“When he came to al-Muzdalifa he prayed the *al-maghrib* and the *al-‘ishā'*, with an *adhān* and two *iqāmas*; between these two prayer times he did not speak prayers.”

Muslim narrated this.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter *His journey when he left 'Arafāt*, that 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who said, “Usāma was asked, while I was seated, ‘How did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travel on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* when he set off?’ He replied, ‘He

would travel at the *al-ʿanaq*, “canter”, pace; if he found open space, he would speed up even more to the *al-naṣṣ* “gallop”, pace.”

Hishām stated, “The *al-naṣṣ* pace is faster than that of *al-ʿanaq*.”

Imām Aḥmad and the other major scholars, except for al-Tirmidhī, gave this through several lines, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Usāma b. Zayd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, “I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the evening at ʿArafāt. When the sun set, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out. When he heard the hurried jostling of the people behind him, he called, ‘Take it easy, everyone! May *al-sakīna*, “(God’s) tranquillity”, be upon you! Piety is not (measured) by speed!”

Usāma went on, “When the people crowded around him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would move off at the *al-ʿanaq* pace and if he found an opening ahead, he would increase to the *al-naṣṣ* speed. When he reached al-Muzdalifa, he combined both prayers, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ*.”

Imām Aḥmad then narrated it similarly through Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb, from Usāma b. Zayd. Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Kāmil related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Qays b. Saʿd, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth from ʿArafāt, I was mounted behind him. He began to rein in his camel to the point that the prominent bone behind its ear almost touched against the front of his saddle. He would say, ‘People, go easy, and with dignity! Piety is not (measured) by a camel’s speed.”

He narrated it similarly from ʿAffān, from Ḥammād b. Salama, and al-Nasāʾī did so from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Muslim narrated it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from Yazīd b. Hārūn, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Sulaymān, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma similarly. He stated, “Usāma said, ‘And he proceeded forward in the same manner until he came to Jamʿ.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aḥmad b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fulayk, from Ibn Abū Dhīʿb, from Shuʿba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd (who said) that he was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the day of ʿArafāt until the latter entered the defile. He then poured water out and performed the ablution. After that he rode away, without performing the prayer.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Hammām, from Qatāda, from ʿUrwa, from al-Shaʿbī, from Usāma b. Zayd, who related, “I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he rode off at a modest pace from ʿArafāt. His camel did not raise its legs (in fast motion) before he reached Jamʿ.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd as telling him that the Prophet (ṢAAS) mounted him behind himself from ʿArafāt and that when the former reached the defile, he dismounted and urinated. He did not mention his pouring water, but stated, "I poured water on him and he performed a light ablution. I asked, '(For) the prayer?' He replied, 'Prayer is ahead of you.'"

Usāma went on, "He then reached al-Muzdalifa and performed the *al-maghrib* prayer. People untied their saddles and I helped him. After that he performed the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayer."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd. Al-Nasāʾi narrated it from al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba and Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥarmala, both of whom quoted from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma.

My teacher Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated in this work *al-Aṭrāf*, "The correct (line of transmission) is from Kurayb, from Usāma."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth from ʿArafāt and dismounted at the defile. He urinated and performed the ablution, but not fully. I asked him, 'Prayer?' He replied, 'Prayer is ahead of you.' He rode on to al-Muzdalifa and performed a complete ritual ablution. Prayer was held and he performed the *al-maghrib*. After that everyone made their camels kneel at his dwelling. Prayer was again held and he performed the *al-ʿishāʾ*. Between the two he did not say any prayers."

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it thus from al-Qaʿnabī. Muslim did so from Yahyā b. Yahyā. Al-Nasāʾi narrated it from Qutayba, from Mālik, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba. Both scholars gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, also from Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Muslim also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba and Muḥammad b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb; their account is similar to that of their brother, Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, from Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥarmala, from Kurayb, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd, as saying, "I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he reached the defile on the left, which is below al-Muzdalifa, he made his camel kneel and urinated. He then came over and I poured water over him and he performed a light ablution. I asked, 'Prayer, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'Prayer is before you.' He then rode off to al-Muzdalifa. He performed the prayer and thereafter al-Faḍl was mounted behind him on the morning of the assembly (at ʿArafāt)." Kurayb stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās informed me from al-Faḍl that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on reciting the *talbiyya* until he reached al-Jamra."

Muslim narrated it from Qutayba, Yahyā b. Yahyā, Yahyā b. Ayyūb and ʿAlī b. Ḥijr. All four of them quoted from Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Waki' related to him, quoting 'Umar b. Dharr, from Mujāhid, from Usāma b. Zayd, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted him behind himself from 'Arafāt. Usāma went on, "The people said, 'Our friend will report to us what he (the Prophet) does.' Usāma said, 'When he set forth from 'Arafāt he pulled back the head of his camel until it touched or almost did, against the centre of the saddle. He gestured to the people, (calling) "Go easy!" three times until he reached Jam'. He then mounted al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās behind himself. People said, "Our friend will report to us what he does." Al-Faḍl said, "He kept on at the same modest pace as the day before until he came to an open *wādi* and he raced off down it until the land levelled out."'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sa'īd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Suwayd, quoting 'Amr b. Abū 'Umar, the freed-man of al-Muṭṭalib, quoting Sa'īd b. Jubayr, the freed-man of Wāliba al-Kūfī, quoting Ibn 'Abbās as saying that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had set off on the day of the assembly (at 'Arafāt) he heard a great turmoil behind him with camels being slapped. He gestured towards them with his whip and said, "People, go easy! Piety is not (measured) by speed!"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line of transmission. Given above are the accounts of Imām Aḥmad, Muslim and al-Nasā'ī through 'Aṭā' b. Abū Rabāḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās, from Usāma b. Zayd. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā'īl b. 'Umar related to him, quoting al-Mas'ūdi, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off¹¹⁶ from 'Arafāt, the people hurried after him. He ordered a crier to call out, 'People! Piety is not (measured) by the speed of a horse or a camel!' And I saw no camel lifting its legs (in fast motion) until he had dismounted at Jam'."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn and Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Isrā'īl, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rūfay', who said, "Someone who heard Ibn 'Abbās say the following related it to me, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not dismount from 'Arafāt and Jam' unless it was for urination.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Malik, from Anas b. Sirīn, who said, "I was with Ibn 'Umar at 'Arafāt. When it was time for him to leave, I went along with him to the *imām*. He prayed with him the first (prayer) and the *al-ṣaṣr*. He then (entered into the *wuqūf*) rite, as did I and my companions, until the Imām set off and we did so with him. Eventually we arrived at the pass below al-Ma'zimīn, where he made his camel kneel, as did we ours. We thought that he intended to pray, but his servant informed us that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) had reached that spot, he had urinated, and that he wished to do the same."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā related to him, quoting Juwayriyya who quoted Nāfi' as saying, "'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar used to combine the *al-maghrib*

116. The Arabic word *afāda* used in this context means "to proceed forth amidst a throng of pilgrims".

and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at Jamʿ. However, he would pass through by the defile through which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had passed. He would enter it, relieve himself, perform an ablution and would not pray until he reached Jamʿ.”

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ādam b. Abū Dhḥb related to him from al-Zuhri, from Ṣalīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at al-Jamʿ, each one of them with an *iqāma*. He did not speak any other (superogatory) prayers between them, nor following either of them.”

Muslim narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Mālik, from al-Zuhri, from Ṣalīm, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-maghrib* and *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers combined together at al-Muzdalifa.

Muslim went on to state that Ḥarmala related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb (who said) that ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar told him that his father said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers together at Jamʿ without (him making) any prayer prostrations between them both. He performed the *al-maghrib* with three *rakaʿāt* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* with two *rakaʿāt*. ʿAbd Allāh used to pray at Jamʿ the same way until he died.”

Muslim then narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, and Salama b. Kuhayl, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, to the effect that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) performed the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at one (and the same) service at Jamʿ. He then related a *ḥadīth* back to Ibn ʿUmar to the effect that he (Ibn ʿUmar) performed prayers like that. And Ibn ʿUmar related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted thus.

He then narrated it through al-Thawrī, from Salama, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* at Jamʿ, performing three *rakaʿāt* for the *maghrib* and two *rakaʿāt* for the *al-ʿishāʾ* at one service with a single *iqāma*.

Muslim then stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Abū Ishāq, who said, “Saʿīd b. Jubayr stated, ‘We departed (from ʿArafāt) as pilgrims with Ibn ʿUmar. When we reached Jamʿ, he performed the *al-maghrib* and *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at one service, and then he completed (the prayer). He said, “That is how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed with us at this place.”’”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Khālid b. Makhḥad related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, quoting ʿAdī b. Thābit, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭamī, quoting Abū Yazīd al-Anṣārī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ* prayers at Muzdalifa on the *ḥijjat al-waḍāʿ*.

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it in the *al-Maghāzī* from al-Qa'nabī, from Mālik, and Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Bilāl, and al-Layth b. Sa'd, all three of them quoting from Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, from 'Adī b. Thābit.

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it also, from al-Fallās, from Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Shu'ba, from 'Adī b. Thābit.

Al-Bukhārī then gives a section entitled, *Section on those who announced the adhān and the iqāma for each of these two (prayers).*

He went on to state that 'Amr b. Khālīd related to him, quoting Zuhayr b. Harb, quoting Abū Ishāq (who said), "I heard 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd say, "'Abd Allāh went on the pilgrimage and when we came to al-Muzdalifa at the time for the *adhān*, at dusk or close thereto, he gave orders to a man and the latter announced the *adhān* and the *iqāma*. He then performed the *al-maghrib* prayer and two *raka'āt* thereafter. Then he called for his supper and dined. After that he ordered someone – a man, I think – and the latter announced the *adhān* and the *iqāma*.'"

'Amr commented, 'I know of no one but Zuhayr who expresses such doubt.'¹¹⁷

(The *ḥadīth* continues) "He then performed the *al-ʿishā* prayer with two *raka'āt*, and when the sun came up, he said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to perform at this hour only this prayer in this place, on this day." 'Abd Allāh stated, "These were two prayers that were transferred from their (usual) times – the *al-maghrib* after the people arrive at al-Muzdalifa, and the *al-fajr*, when the dawn rises." He stated, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) do this."

This wording, his statement, "and the *al-fajr*, when the dawn rises" is more clear and precise than the other *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Bukhārī from Ḥaḍḥ b. 'Umar b. Ghiyāth, from his father, from al-A'mash, from 'Amāra, from 'Abd al-Rahmān, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who said, "I only ever saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform two prayers at other than their usual times: he combined the *al-maghrib* with the *al-ʿishā*, and the *al-fajr* before its time."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Mu'āwiya and Jarīr, from al-A'mash.

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to bed until dawn arrived. He performed the *al-fajr* prayer when the morning was visible, with an *adhān* and an *iqāma*."

ʿUrwa b. Muḍarris b. Aws b. Ḥāritha b. La'm al-Ṭa'ī witnessed this prayer along with Jābir.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Khālīd and Zakariyya', from al-Sha'bi, quoting ʿUrwa b. Muḍarris, who said, "I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), when he was at Jam' and said, 'Messenger of God, I have come to you from the two mountains of Ṭa'ī. I have worn myself out and exhausted my camel and, by God, I did not leave out any mountain without standing on it. Does this count for me as a *ḥajj*?' He replied, 'Whoever has

117. With reference, presumably, to the identity of the person asked to announce the call to prayer.

witnessed this prayer with us' – meaning the *al-fajr* prayer – 'at Jam' and stood with us, then proceeded on from there, having previously proceeded from 'Arafāt, whether by day or night, such a person will have completed his *hajj* and accomplished the rites.'"

Imām Aḥmad also narrated this, as did the *ahl al-sunan*, from various lines, from al-Sha'bi, from 'Urwa b. Muḍarris. Al-Tirmidhi categorized this as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

DIVISION

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to send on ahead of himself a group of his family during the night before the departure of the people from al-Muzdalifa to Minā.

Al-Bukhārī gives a section entitled, *Chapter on those who send on ahead their family during the night; they stand at al-Muzdalifa and pray and advance ahead after the moon has set.*

He went on to state that Yahyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Sālim stated, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar used to send on ahead the weak members of his family. They would stand at the *mash'ar al-ḥarām* at night, speaking the name of God for as long as they wished. Then they would leave before the Imām would stand there and before he proceeded ahead. Some of them would go to Minā for the *al-fajr* prayer, while some would proceed thereafter. When they arrived, they would cast stones at the *al-jamra*,¹¹⁸ "the mound". Ibn 'Umar used to say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission.'"

(Al-Bukhārī went on) Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me from Jam' by night."

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Yazīd, who quoted Ibn 'Abbās as telling him, "I was one of those whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent on ahead on the night (of the assembly) at al-Muzdalifa among the weak members of his family."

Muslim narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, quoting 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me from Jam' at daybreak with the slow-movers."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, quoting Salama b. Kuhayl, from al-Ḥasan al-'Urānī, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us on ahead, along with the suckling women of Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, in charge of our people who were tired. He set about slapping our thighs with his hand and saying, 'Now, kinfolk, do not

118. The pillars or steles that symbolize Satan at Minā; the pilgrims throw stones or pebbles at these during the pilgrimage rites. The word *jamra* (plural *jamarāt*) is used to denote both the pillars and the pebbles.

cast stones until the sun rises!’” Ibn ‘Abbās went on, “I don’t imagine that anyone cast stones at the pillar until the sun rose.”

Aḥmad also narrated it from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Abū Dā’ūd narrated it, from Muḥammad b. Kathīr, from al-Thawrī. Al-Nasā’ī narrated it from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd, from Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted Wakī‘, from Miṣ‘ar and Sufyān al-Thawrī, both of whom quoted from Salama b. Kuhayl.

Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from al-A‘mash, from al-Ḥakam b. ‘Uyayna, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by us on the night of the sacrifice and it was already very dark. He set about slapping our thighs and saying, ‘Now, kinsfolk, proceed forth, but don’t cast stones at the pillar until the sun rises.’”

Imām Aḥmad then narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Mas‘ūdī from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent on ahead the weak members of his family from al-Muzdalifa at night. He proceeded to advise them not to cast stones at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba until the sun rose.”

Abū Dā’ūd stated that ‘Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba, quoting Ḥamza al-Zayyāt b. Ḥabīb, from ‘Atā’, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would send on ahead the weaker members of his family late at night and order them” – meaning that they did not cast stones at the pillar until the sun rose.

Al-Nasā’ī narrated it thus from Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from Bishr b. al-Sarrī, from Sufyān, from Ḥabīb – al-Ṭabrānī stated him to be Ibn Abū Thābit – from ‘Atā’, from Ibn ‘Abbās. Ḥamza al-Zayyāt thus moved out of his customary place (in the line of transmission). With regards to the line of transmission for the *ḥadīth*, it is excellent. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, from Yaḥyā, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting ‘Abd Allāh, the freed-man of Asmā’, who said that Asmā’ stayed on the night (of the assembly) at Muzdalifa and proceeded to pray and did so for an hour. ‘Abd Allāh went on, “She then asked, ‘My son, has the moon disappeared?’ I replied, ‘No,’ and so she prayed for (another) hour. Then she asked, ‘My son, has the moon disappeared?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Then set out,’ she said. So we did and continued on until she had cast stones at the pillar. She then returned and performed the *al-subḥ* prayer in her dwelling. I asked her, ‘Hantāh, I believe we’re still in dark of night.’ She replied, ‘Son, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission (for this prayer at this time) to women borne in litters.’”

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj.

If the account of Asmā’, daughter of (Abū Bakr) “the trusting”, casting stones before the rising of the sun, as is told here, based on established textual authority, then her account is to be preferred over that of Ibn ‘Abbās, because

the line of transmission of her *ḥadīth* is more authentic than that of his. It may, however, be said that the young men are quicker and more active than the women, and so he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) ordered the former not to cast before sunrise and permitted the litter-borne women to cast before sunrise, since the latter were less agile and it was more appropriate for them to be unseen. But God knows best.

If Asmāʾ did not do it in accord with established textual authority, then the *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās is to be preferred over what she did.

However, the former is substantiated further by the statement of Abū Dāʾūd who said that Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhili related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Jurayj, quoting ʿAṭā, quoting Mukhbīr, from Asmāʾ, who said that she cast the stones at night. (Mukhbīr stated) "I told her, 'We have cast the stones at night' She stated, 'We used to do that in the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Aflaḥ b. Ḥumayd, from al-Qāsim, from Muḥammad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "We stopped at al-Muzdalifa and Sawda asked permission from the Prophet (ṢAAS), to move on prior to the departure of the rest of the people. She was a woman slow of movement. He did give her permission and she left before the rest. We remained until next morning and moved out along with him. For me to have asked his permission as Sawda had done would in fact have been far dearer to me than any other happiness."

Muslim gave it from al-Qaʿnabī, from Aflaḥ b. Ḥumayd. Both (compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, from al-Daḥḥāk – meaning ʿUthmān's son – from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Umm Salama the night of the sacrifice and she cast the stones before dawn. She then left and proceeded onwards. And that was the day that would be for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)," – to be with her, Abū Dāʾūd added.

Abū Dāʾūd is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is excellent and strong and its narrators men considered fully trustworthy.

*An Account of the recitation by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),
of the talbiyya at al-Muzdalifa.*

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Ḥuṣayn, from Kathīr b. Mudrik, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh said, while we were at Jamʿ, 'I heard him to whom the *sūrat al-Baqara* was revealed say at this station, "*Labbayka, Allāhumma, Labbayk!* 'At Your service, O God, at Your service.'""

Chapter: On the wuqūf (station) of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the mash'ar al-ḥarām, his daf' (departure) from al-Muzdalifa before sunrise and his iydā' (passage forth) into Wādi Muḥassir.¹¹⁹

God the Almighty stated, "When you proceed forth from 'Arafāt, speak the name of God at *al-mash'ar al-ḥarām*" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.198).

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, "He performed the *al-fajr* prayer at dawn with an *adhān* and an *iqāma*. He then mounted al-Qaṣwā' and proceeded to the *al-mash'ar al-ḥarām*. He went to the *qibla*, spoke a prayer, praised and glorified God and asserted His oneness. He remained standing until the dawn light was strong. He proceeded on before the sun rose, mounting al-Faḍl behind himself."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ḥajjāj b. Minhāl related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from Ibn Ishāq, who said, "I heard 'Amr b. Maymūn say, 'I witnessed 'Umar perform the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer at Jam'. He then stood up and said, 'The unbelievers used not to proceed forth until the sun rose and they would call out, 'Ashriq Thabir! 'Look down upon (Mt.) Thabūr!'" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded forth before the sun rose."

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Rajā' related to him, quoting Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, who said, "I left for Mecca with 'Abd Allāh. When we reached Jam', he performed two prayers, an *adhān* and an *iqāma* accompanying each of these. Between these two prayers, he took his supper. He then performed the *al-fajr* prayer when the dawn rose." (Some narrators say "when the dawn rose" and others say, "the dawn had not risen".)

"'Abd Allāh went on, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "These two prayers have had their times changed in this place – the people (should) not arrive at Jam' until they perform (the *'ishā'* prayer), and the *al-fajr* prayer is at this hour."

"He" ('Abd Allāh) "stood there until it became light and then he stated, 'If the Commander of the Believers were to proceed forth now, he would act in proper accord with the *sunna*.' And I don't know whether it was his comment or the departure of 'Uthmān that came first. And he continued to recite the *talbiyya* until he cast the stones at the day of sacrifice."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh *al-Hāfiẓ* informed him, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Shaybānī, quoting Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mubārak al-'Absī, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd, from Ibn Jurayj, from Muḥammad b. Qays b. Makhrama, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us at 'Arafāt. He praised and lauded God and then he said, 'To proceed, those who believed in polytheism and in idols used to go on from here at sunset, so that the sun would be over the mountain tops like mens' turbans

119. The words *wuqūf*, *daf'* and *iydā'* represented in this title by "station", "departure" and "passage forth" are technical terms associated with the rites of the pilgrimage for which there are no effective English equivalents. Wādi Muḥassir is a *wādi* close by al-Muzdalifa.

upon their heads. Our procedure is different from theirs. They would go on from *al-mash'ar al-ḥarām* when the sun rose over the mountain tops like mens' turbans upon their heads. Our procedure is different from theirs."

He (al-Bayhaqī) went on, "Abd Allāh b. Idrīs related it from Ibn Jurayj, from Muḥammad b. Qays b. Makrama as being *mursal*."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Khālid Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān related to him, quoting al-A'mash, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded forth from al-Muzdalifa before the sun rose.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Zuhayr b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, quoting his father, from Yūnus al-Ayli, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, (who said) that Usāma was mounted behind the Prophet (ṢAAS), from 'Arafāt to al-Muzdalifa. He then mounted al-Faḍl behind himself from al-Muzdalifa to Minā. Each of these men said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast stones at al-'Aqaba."

Ibn Jurayj related it from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās.

Muslim related from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Sa'd, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Abū Ma'bad, from Ibn 'Abbās, from al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās, who had been mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that the latter said on the evening of the (assembly) at 'Arafāt and on the morning (of the assembly) at Jam' when they proceeded on their way, "Proceed with tranquillity." He restrained his camel until he entered Muḥassir while on his way from Minā. He said, "Gather the pebbles that will be used for casting at the *jamara*."¹²⁰ Al-Faḍl went on, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he had cast (stones) at the pillar."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gives the following in a section entitled, *Proceeding on into Wādī Muḥassir*.

He went on to state, "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū 'Amr al-Muqrī' and Abū Bakr al-Warrāq, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān, quoting Hishām b. 'Ammār and Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. Both the latter men said, 'Ḥatīm b. Ismā'īl related to us, quoting Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, concerning the *ḥajj* of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He (Jābir) stated, "On arriving at Muḥassir, he had urged his camel on a little."'"

Muslim narrated it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Abū Bakr b. Shayba.

Al-Bayhaqī went on to narrate from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on in a state of *al-sakīna*, '(God's) tranquillity'. And he ordered them to proceed with tranquillity. He went on into Wādī Muḥassir. He ordered them to cast stones that were like pebbles for sling shots. And he said, 'Adopt your rites from me; I may not see you after this year.'"

120. The pebbles that the pilgrim uses in the rite of the *rami* (the stoning of Satan) are gathered at Muzdalifa.

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, from Zayd b. 'Alī, from his father, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Rāfi', from 'Alī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded forth from Jam' and reached Muḥassir. He slapped his camel until he crossed the *wādī*, then he stopped. Later he mounted al-Faḍl behind himself and went on to the pillar (at Minā) and cast stones at it.

He related it thus, in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting Sufyān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rāfi', from Zayd b. 'Alī, from his father, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Rāfi', from 'Alī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at 'Arafāt and said, 'This is the station; and all 'Arafāt is a station.' He proceeded forth when the sun set and mounted Usāma behind himself. He began forcefully urging on his camel, while the people were jostling at his right and left. He did not turn towards them. He was saying, 'Go easy, people!'

"He then reached Jam'. There he performed both prayers with them, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ*. He spent the night there and next morning went to Mt. Quḥāḥ. He stood there and said, 'This station and all Jam' is a station.' He then proceeded on until he reached Muḥassir. He stood there, then urged his camel ahead until he had crossed the *wādī*, whereupon he restrained it. Thereafter he mounted al-Faḍl behind himself and travelled on to the pillar, at which he cast stones. He then went on to the sacrifice site and said, 'This is a sacrifice site; all Minā is a site for sacrifice.' A young girl of (Banū) Khath'am then asked him to make a ruling, saying, 'My father is an old man who is mentally senile. It is time for him to fulfil God's requirement of making the *ḥajj*. Will he be rewarded if I accomplish it on his behalf?' 'Yes; perform it for your father,' he replied."

(The narrator) stated further, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) turned the head of al-Faḍl aside. Al-'Abbās asked him, 'Messenger of God, why did you turn aside the head of your cousin?' He replied, 'I saw a young man and a young woman, and I could not trust Ṣatan with them.'

"A man then came up to him and asked, 'Messenger of God, I have shaved (my head) before making sacrifice.' He replied, 'Make sacrifice, despite the prohibition.' Then another man came and asked, 'Messenger of God, I have performed the circumambulation of the *ḥajj* before I shaved (my head).' He replied, 'Shave or cut it short; it's no problem.'

"After that he went to the *ka'ba*, made the circumambulation (of the *ḥajj*) and proceeded on to *zamzam*. He then said, 'Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; were it not that people would have overwhelmed you (in their wanting to emulate me) I would surely have drawn water with you.'"

Abū Dā'ūd related it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Yahyā b. Ādam, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Al-Tirmidhī related it from Bandār, from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī. Ibn Māja (related it) from 'Alī b. Muḥammad, from Yahyā b. Ādam.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*. We know it as a *ḥadīth* of 'Alī only through this line."

I note that there are testimonies to it from authentic lines of transmission that are given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere. These include the story of the Khath'amī woman; it is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections through al-Faḍl. Reference is made to her above, in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir. We will relate further a portion of it.

Al-Bayhaqī related it, with its (full) lines of transmission from Ibn 'Abbās, to the effect that the latter denied that there was movement at speed in Wādī Muḥassir. He said, "That was only on the part of the bedouin." And he went on, "And affirmation is to be preferred over denial."

I note that his assertion of affirmation over it is controversial. But God knows best.

That¹²¹ is made authentic according to (reports) of a group of the Companions referring to (the practice of) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It is also authenticated by the actions of the two sheikhs Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who are referred to as having done that. Al-Bayhaqī related from al-Hākim, from al-Najjād and others, from Abū 'Alī, Muḥammad b. Mu'adh b. al-Mustahill, known as Durrān, from al-Qa'nabī, from his father, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, that as 'Umar urged on his mount, he would recite the verse,

"My camel races towards You (O God), her bridle loose-fitting,¹²² her faith different from that of the Christians."

Accounts of the casting by the Prophet (ṢAAS), of stones only at the pillar at al-'Aqaba on the day of the sacrifice. How he cast them and when. And from what position he cast them, and how many they were.

Also, his cessation of recitation of the talbiyya when he cast them.

It has been stated above from a *ḥadīth* of Usāma, al-Faḍl and other of the Companions, may God be pleased with them all, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast (stones) at the *jamra* at al-'Aqaba.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Imām Abū 'Uthmān informed him, quoting Abū Ṭāhir b. Khuzayma, quoting his grandfather – the Imām *par excellence*, Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzayma, that is – quoting 'Alī b. Ḥajr, quoting Sharīk, from 'Āmir b. Shaqīq, from Abū Wā'il from 'Abd Allāh who said, "I closely watched the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast the first stone at the pillar of al-'Aqaba."

121. The discussion relates to the movement at a fast pace through the Muḥassir valley.

122. The camel is emaciated due to the distance and the speed of its long journey.

He (al-Bayhaqī) also stated that Ibn Khuzayma related to him, quoting 'Umar b. Ḥaṣṣ al-Shaybānī, quoting Ḥaṣṣ b. Ghayāth, quoting Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ibn 'Abbās, from al-Faḍl, who said, "I proceeded on with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from 'Arafāt and he continued reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast stones at the pillar at al-'Aqaba, saying *Allāhū Akbar* 'God is most Great' with each stone. He then broke off the recitation of the *talbiyya* with the final stone."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This addition is strange and it is not present in the well-known accounts attributed to Ibn 'Abbās, quoting al-Faḍl, even though Ibn Khuzayma did select it."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Abān b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from 'Ikrima, who said, "I proceeded on with al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (from 'Arafāt). I can still hear him reciting the *talbiyya* up until he cast the stone at al-'Aqaba. When he cast it, he ceased (the recitation). I asked, 'Why is this?' He replied, 'I saw my father 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib recite the *talbiyya* until he cast stones at the pillar at al-'Aqaba. And he told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to do that.'"

It is narrated above from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth from Abū al-Zubayr, from Abū Ma'bad, from Ibn 'Abbās, from his brother al-Faḍl, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered the people in Wādī Muḥassir to throw pebbles such as are used in sling shots in casting at the pillar.

Muslim related this.

Abū al-'Aliyya stated, from Ibn 'Abbās, that al-Faḍl related to him, saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me on the morning of the day for sacrifice, 'Choose me some pebbles.' So I chose him some like those used in slings. He put them in his hand and said, 'With the like of these! With the like of these! Beware of excess; it was excess in religion that destroyed those before you.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, "When he reached Wādī Muḥassir, he spurred on his mount a little, then followed the middle trail that emerges at *al-jamrat al-kubrā* (at Minā), 'the greater pillar', and then he went on to the pillar and cast seven pebbles at it, glorifying God with each pebble; each pebble was small and he threw them from the centre of the *wādī*."

Muslim related it thus.

Al-Bukhārī stated, that Jābir, may God be pleased with him, said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) cast stones on the morning of the day for sacrifice. And thereafter he cast them after the sun began to decline."

This *ḥadīth* that al-Bukhārī recorded is given by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, who stated that Abū al-Zubayr informed him that he heard Jābir state, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones at the pillar on the morning of the day for the sacrifice, and thereafter, when the sun began to decline."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is given in a *ḥadīth* of al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd, who said, "'Abd Allāh cast from the centre of the

wādi and I commented, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, people cast stones at it from above it.’ He replied, ‘By Him other than Whom there is no God, this is the station about which revelation came in *sūrat al-Baqara*.’”

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī.

In one version he quotes, from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, from Ibrāhīm, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who said the following about ‘Abd Allāh b. Masʿūd: “He came to *al-jamrat al-kubrā* and placed himself with the *kaʿba* to his left and Minā to his right. He cast seven (stones) and said, “This is how he to whom *sūrat al-Baqara* was revealed cast.”

Al-Bukhārī then has a section entitled, *Section on those who cast seven (stones) at the mound, glorifying God with each pebble; Ibn ‘Umar stated this about the Prophet (ṢAAS)*.

This is only known in the *ḥadīth* of Jābir, through Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, quoting his father about Jābir, (to the effect that) when the latter arrived, he would approach the pillar and cast seven pebbles, stating *Allāhu Akbar!* “God is most Great”, with each pebble that were of the size shot in slings.

In this section, al-Bukhārī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, about ‘Abd Allāh b. Masʿūd (to the effect that the latter) cast seven pebbles at the pillar from the middle of the *wādi*, saying God is most Great! with each pebble. He then said, “It is here, by Him other than Whom there is no God, that he to whom *sūrat al-Baqara* was revealed stood.”

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, who quoted Abū al-Zubayr as stating that he heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast at the mound seven pebbles like those shot in slings.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Abū al-Qāsim – meaning Miqsam – from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) cast at the mound at al-ʿAqaba on the day of the sacrifice while mounted.

Al-Tirmidhī related it from Aḥmad b. Manīʿ, from Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ Abū Zāʾida, who said, “It is *ḥasan*”. Ibn Māja gave it, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from al-Ḥajjāj b. Artāt.

Aḥmad, Abū Dāʾūd, Ibn Māja and al-Bayhaqī related it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Sulaymān b. ʿAmr b. al-Aḥwaṣ, from his mother, Umm Jundab al-Azdiyya, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones at the pillar from the middle of the *wādi* while he was mounted. He would say, ‘God is most Great!’ with each pebble; there was a man mounted behind him, shielding (him from view). I asked about the man and people said, ‘That is al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās.’ People were crowding all around. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘People, don’t kill one another! And when you cast at the mound, use pebbles like those shot in slings.’”

This is the phraseology of Abū Dāʾūd.

In one account he gave, she said, "I saw him at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba mounted. And between his fingers I saw stones, and he cast (them). The people also cast (stones). He did not stand at it."

According to Ibn Maja, she said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the sacrifice at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba. He was mounted on his mule." He went on to complete the *ḥadīth*.

The reference here to the mule is very strange.

Muslim narrated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, quoting Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast at the mound while mounted on his camel on the day of the sacrifice. And he was saying, 'You should take your rites (from me) for, I do not know, perhaps I will not make the pilgrimage after this *ḥijja* of mine.'"

Muslim also related (it) from a *ḥadīth* of Zayd b. Abū Unaysa, from Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn, from his grandmother Umm al-Ḥusayn. Yahyā related that he heard her say, "I performed the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I saw him when he cast at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba and (when) he left mounted on his camel on the day of sacrifice, as he said, 'You should take your rites (from me), for I do not know, perhaps I will not make the pilgrimage after this *ḥijja* of mine.'"

In one account, she stated, "I went on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I saw Usāma and Bilāl; one of them was taking hold of the halter of the camel of the Prophet (ṢAAS), while the other man was raising his gown to shield him from the heat, until he cast at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting Ayman b. Nābil, quoting Qudāma b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kilābī, (who said) that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), cast at the mound at al-ʿAqaba from the middle of the *wādī* on the day of the sacrifice mounted upon a reddish-hued camel he owned. And there was no striking, no pushing away and no saying, "Keep away! Keep away!"

Aḥmad also narrated it from Wakiʿ, Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān and Abū Qurra Mūsā b. Ṭāriq al-Zubaydī, all three of whom quoted Ayman b. Nābil. He also narrated it from Abū Qurra, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ayman.

Al-Nasaʿī and Ibn Māja gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Wakiʿ. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Aḥmad b. Manīʿ, from Marwān b. Muʿāwiya, from Ayman b. Nābil. He stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Nūḥ b. Maymūn related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh — meaning al-ʿUmarī — from Nāfiʿ, who said, "Ibn ʿUmar would cast at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba while mounted on his camel on the day of the sacrifice. And he did not go to any of the others thereafter unless on foot. He claimed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used not to go to them unless on foot, whether going or returning."

Abū Dāʿūd related it from al-Qaʿnabī, from ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmarī.

DIVISION

Jābir stated, "Then he left for the sacrifice site, where he sacrificed 63 camels by his own hand. He allowed 'Alī to sacrifice those that remained and had him share in his own *ḥadi*. He ordered that a piece of meat of each animal be cut out and placed in a pot, where it was all cooked. Both men ate from that meat and drank the gravy."

We will discuss this *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma'mar, from Ḥumayd al-A'raj, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'adh, from one of the men who was one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The man stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address at Minā and directed them to their places. He said, 'Let the *muhājirīn* stay there.' And he gestured towards the right side of the *qibla*. 'And the *ansār* over here.' And he gestured towards the left side of the *qibla*. 'And let the other people stay round about them.'"

He went on, "He then instructed them in their rites. The hearing of those at Minā was accentuated so that they could hear him at their places. And I heard him say, 'Cast at the pillar (small) pebbles like those shot from slings.'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as far as the words, "And let the (other) people stay around them".

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith from his father. And Abū Dā'ūd did so from Musaddad, from 'Abd al-Wārith. Ibn Māja gave it from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Mubārak, from 'Abd al-Wārith, from Ḥumayd b. Qays al-A'raj, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'adh al-Taymī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us while we were at Minā. Our hearing was so accentuated that we could hear what he was saying."

The remainder of the *ḥadīth* was then given.

Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shared the *ḥadi* with 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, and that the sacrificial animals brought by 'Alī from Yemen and those brought with him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 100 camels, and that the latter sacrificed 63 animals by his own hand.

Ibn Ḥibān and others stated, "And that (figure) corresponded with his age, for he was (at the time) 63 years old!"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made sacrifice on the *hajj* of 100 animals of which he sacrificed 60 by his own hand. He ordered that the remainder be brought and they were sacrificed. A piece of each one was taken and placed in a pot. He ate from it and drank its gravy.

"On the day at al-Ḥudaybiyya, he sacrificed 70 animals, including the camel of Abū Jahl. When they were blocked from the *ka'ba*, they (the camels) expressed their anguish, as though yearning for their young."

Ibn Māja narrated part of it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. 'Alī b. Muḥammad did so from Wakī', quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Abū Laylā.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting a man, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najih, from Mujāhid b. Jabr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought with him 100 animals. Of these he sacrificed 30 by his own hand, and then he ordered 'Alī who sacrificed the remainder. He said, 'Divide up their meat, skins and pack-saddles among the people. Do not give the butcher any of it (as payment). Take a piece of meat from each camel, place them in a single pot so that we may eat from their flesh and drink from their gravy.' And he did so."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mujāhid, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from 'Alī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to go over to his sacrificial camels and to give away their meat, skins and pack-saddles, and told me not to give any of them to the butcher. He said, 'We will give him some of our own.'"

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Muḥammad b. Ḥātim related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ḥarmala b. 'Imrān, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī, who quoted 'Arafa b. al-Ḥārith as saying, "I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) being brought the sacrificial animals. He said, 'Summon Abū Ḥasan to me.' And 'Alī was summoned to him. He then said, 'Take hold of the lower part of the spear.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of its upper part. They then used it to stab the camels. When he had finished, he mounted his mule, seating 'Alī behind himself."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this. There is some strangeness in both its line of transmission and its content. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aḥmad b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh, quoting al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Abū al-Qāsim – meaning Miqsam – from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones at the pillar at al-'Aqaba. He then made sacrifice and shaved (his head)."

Ibn Ḥazm claimed that he sacrificed cattle for his wives and sacrificed a cow at Minā. He sacrificed two fine rams for himself.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) SHAVING HIS HEAD.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from Ibn 'Umar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), shaved his head on this *ḥijja*.

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm – he being Ibn Rāhawayh – from 'Abd al-Razzāq.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shu‘ayb, who said, “Nāfi‘ stated, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar used to say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shaved (his head) on his *hijja*.”’”

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, from Nāfi‘.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmā’ related to him, quoting Juwayriyya son of Asmā’, from Nāfi‘, who quoted ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shaved (his head) as did a number of his Companions; some of them cut (their hair) short.”

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from Nāfi‘. He added, “‘Abd Allāh quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, ‘May God have mercy on those who shaved (their heads).’ He said this once or twice. People asked, ‘Messenger of God, does that apply to those who cut (their hair) short?’ He replied, ‘And those who cut short as well.’”

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Waki‘ and Abū Dā‘ūd al-Ṭayālisi, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, from his grandmother, who said that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the *hijjat al-wadū‘* speak a prayer three times for those who shaved (their heads) and a prayer once for those who cut (their hair) short. Waqī‘ did not include the words, “on the *hijjat al-wadū‘*”.

Muslim narrated this *ḥadīth* thus from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. ‘Ubayd Allāh gave it from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar. ‘Umāra gave it from Abū Zur‘a, from Abū Hurayra. Al-‘Alā’ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān related it from his father, from Abu Hurayra.

Muslim stated that Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, from Hishām, from Ibn Sirīn, from Anas b. Mālik who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Mt. Minā, proceeded to the pillar, cast at it, went to his dwelling at Minā and made sacrifice. He then said to the barber, “Take”. He gestured towards his right side (of his head), then to his left side. He began giving the hair to the people.

In one account he gives, he shaved the right side of his head and distributed it, a hair or two at a time, to the people. He gave the hair of the left side to Abū Ṭalḥa. In another account of his, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the hair of the right side to Abū Ṭalḥa, and also gave him the hair of the left side, telling him to distribute it among the people.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughira, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the barber was shaving him. His Companions were encircling him, not wanting a hair to fall anywhere but into a man’s hand.”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Chapter.

After having cast stones at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dressed in robes, put on perfume and sacrificed his *ḥadi*. Before he circumambulated the *ka‘ba* ‘Ā’isha put perfume on him.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Madīnī related to him, quoting Sufyān – he being Ibn 'Uyayna – quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, the latter being the finest of men of his era, who said that he heard his father, the finest man of his era, say that he heard 'Ā'isha state, "I put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with these two hands of mine when he adopted the *iḥrām* state and again when he declared it at an end, before he circumambulated," and that she spread out her hands.

Muslim stated that Ya'qūb al-Dawraqī and Aḥmad b. Manī' both related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting Maṣṣūr, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father who quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, "I would put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before he adopted the *iḥrām* state, and on the day of the sacrifice, before he circumambulated the *ka'ba*; I used perfume mixed with musk."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for his state of *iḥrām* when he affirmed it and for his state of *iḥlāl* after he had cast stones at the pillar at al-'Aqaba, before he circumambulated the *ka'ba*."

Al-Shāfi'ī stated that Sufyān b. 'Uyayna informed him, from 'Amr b. Dīnār, from Sālim, who quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for both his states, of *iḥrām* and *iḥlāl*."

'Abd al-Razzāq narrated it from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from 'Ā'isha.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Ibn Jurayj is quoted as saying that 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Urwa informed him that he heard 'Urwa and al-Qāsim quoting 'Ā'isha as having said, "I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), by my own hands, using perfume in powder form, on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, both for the *iḥrām* and the *iḥlāl*."

Muslim related it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān, from Abū al-Rijjāl, from his mother 'Amra, who quoted 'Ā'isha as above.

Sufyān al-Thawri stated, on the authority of Salama b. Kuhayl, from al-Ḥasan al-'Awfi, who quoted Ibn 'Abbās as saying, "When you have cast stones at the pillar, your state of *iḥrām* will be concluded and all things previously *ḥarām* will be *ḥalāl* for you, except for women (they will continue to be *ḥarām* for you); until you circumambulate the *ka'ba*." A man asked, "What about perfume, Abū al-'Abbās?" He replied, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rub musk on to his head. And is that perfume, or not?"

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated that Abū 'Ubayda related to him, from 'Abd Allāh b. Zam'a, from his father and his mother, Zaynab, daughter of Umm Salama, who quoted Umm Salama as saying, "It was the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would circulate, the night of the sacrifice. He was with me when Wahb b. Zam'a came in, accompanied by a man of the family of Abū Umayya. Both men were wearing long shirts. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, 'Have you performed the *ṭawāf* (of the *ifāda*)?' 'No,' both men replied.

‘Then take off your shirts,’ he told them, and they did so. Wahb then asked him, ‘Why, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘This is a day when you are given permission (to wear the shirts) if you have cast (stones) at the pillar and have sacrificed animals, if you had brought some. Then you would be in a state of *iḥlāl* for all that had previously been *ḥarām* for you, except for women until you have circumambulated the *kaʿba*. If you have cast stones but not completed the *ṭawāf*, you will remain in a state of *iḥrām*, until after you circumambulate the *kaʿba*.’”

Abū Dāʿūd narrated it similarly from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Yahyā b. Maʿīn, both of whom quoted from Ibn Abū ʿAdī, from Ibn Ishāq.

Al-Bayhaqī gave it from al-Ḥākim, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Ishāq, from Abū al-Muthannā al-ʿAnbarī, from Yahyā b. Maʿīn. He adds the following at the end, “Abū ʿUbayda stated that Umm Qays, daughter of Miḥṣan related to him, as follows, “Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan, along with a group of men of Banū Asad, all dressed in shirts, left my place on the evening of the day of the sacrifice. Then they returned to us that evening carrying their shirts in their hands.’ She questioned them and they told her the same as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said to Wahb b. Zamʿa and his companion.”

This *ḥadīth* is very *gharīb*. I do not know a single other scholar who quoted it.

Accounts of the visit of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the ancient kaʿba.

Jābir stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rode on and proceeded in a throng to the *kaʿba*. He performed the *al-zuhr* prayer in Mecca and went over to Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who were distributing the water at *zamzam*. He said, ‘Dismiss Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! Were it not for the people’s preference for you having charge of the water distribution, I would have disputed with you!’ They handed him a bucket and he drank from it.”

Muslim narrated this. In this text there is evidence that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode to Mecca prior to the decline of the sun and circumambulated the *kaʿba*. Having finished this, he performed the *al-zuhr* prayer there.

Muslim also stated that Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ informed him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṭawāf* (of the *ifāda*) on the day of the sacrifice and then returned and performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Minā.

This differs from the *ḥadīth* of Jābir; both are given by Muslim. If we analyze both accounts, it is possible for it to be said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Mecca, then returned to Minā, found the people waiting for him there and prayed with them.” But God knows best.

It is possible that he returned to Minā within the time allotted to the *al-zuhr* prayers, even though he had done so much that morning, because that was in

summer and the day time was long. He proceeded that day from al-Muzdalifa well after the light of dawn had come, but before actual sunrise. He then went to Minā and began casting pebbles at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba. He proceeded on to sacrifice the 63 camels by his own hand, while ʿAlī sacrificed the remainder of the 100. Thereafter, a piece of the meat of each camel was taken, placed in a pot and cooked until done. He ate some of the meat and drank some of the gravy. In the meantime, he shaved his head and put on perfume. And when he had completed all this, he rode to the *kaʿba*.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) delivered a major address that day; I do not know whether that was before his departure to the *kaʿba* or following his return thereafter to Minā. God knows best.

The outcome of this is that he did ride to the *kaʿba* and made seven circumambulations of it while mounted. He did not circumambulate between al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwa, as is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from Jābir and ʿĀ'isha, may God be pleased with them both. He then drank from the waters of *zamzam* and from a beverage of dates made from water from *zamzam*.

All of this substantiates the assertion of those who stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Mecca, as Jābir related. And it is likely that he returned to Minā at the very end of noon and then also performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Minā with his companions."

This was problematic for Ibn Ḥazm, and he did not know what to say about it. And he is to be excused for this, due to the contradictions in the various *aḥādīth* relating to it that are (classified as) *ṣaḥīḥ*, 'authentic'. God knows best.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that ʿAlī b. Baḥr and ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Maʿnī both related to him, quoting Abū Khālīd al-Aḥmar, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿĀ'isha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṭawāf* (of the *ifāda*) on the last day (or the latter part of the day) *ḥina ṣallā al-zuhr*,¹²³ when he had performed the *al-zuhr* prayer. Then he returned to Minā, where he stayed for the nights of the *ayyām al-tashriq*,¹²⁴ casting stones at the pillar when the sun began to decline. Each time he cast seven pebbles, saying 'God is most Great', with each pebble."

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "And so Jābir and ʿĀ'isha agreed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), performed the *al-zuhr* prayer on the day of the sacrifice at Mecca. Both of them – though God knows best – are more accurate in this than was Ibn ʿUmar."

He went on, "This does not mean anything particular; for this account of ʿĀ'isha does not determine that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Mecca, though that would be likely if the correct wording in the account were *ḥattā ṣallā al-zuhr* (until he had performed the *al-zuhr* prayer). If, however, the statement read *ḥina ṣallā al-zuhr* (when he performed the *al-zuhr*

123. The words used in this *ḥadīth* are the subject for discussion immediately hereafter.

124. The three days of the *ḥajj* that follow the day of the sacrifice.

prayer) – which is more likely – that, then, would be evidence that he performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Minā before he went to the *ka'ba*. This is more likely. But God the Almighty, may He be praised, knows best.”

Ibn Ḥazm is therefore contradicting the *ḥadīth* of Jābir. For this would require that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Minā before he rode to the *ka'ba*. Yet the *ḥadīth* of Jābir requires that he rode to the *ka'ba* before he performed the *al-zuhr* prayer, and he did perform it at Mecca.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Zubayr said, quoting ‘Ā’isha, and Ibn ‘Abbās also said that, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) postponed it”, that is the *ṭawāf al-ziyāra*, until the night.

This comment given by al-Bukhārī is also narrated by the scholars from a *ḥadīth* of Yahyā b. Sa‘īd, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī and Faraj b. Maymūn, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from ‘Ā’isha and Ibn ‘Abbās, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) postponed the circumambulation of the day of the sacrifice until the night. The scholars of the *al-sunan ḥadīth* texts narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Abū al-Zubayr, from ‘Ā’isha and Ibn ‘Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited it at night.

If this is interpreted as him having postponed it until after the sun had declined, meaning until the evening, then that could be true. But if this is interpreted as referring to after the setting of the sun, then that would be very unlikely, and contrary to what is established in the authentic and well-known *aḥādīth* which state that he circumambulated the day of the sacrifice during day time and drank from water drawn from *zamzam*.

The circumambulation for which he went out at night was the *ṭawāf al-wadā‘*, “the (so-called) farewell circumambulation”. Some narrators refer to it as the *ṭawāf al-ziyāra*, “the visit circumambulation”, as we will relate, if God so wills it. Or they refer to it simply as the *ṭawāf ziyāra*,¹²⁵ “visit circumambulation”, before the *ṭawāf al-wadā‘* and after the *ṭawāf al-ṣadar*, “the circumambulation of the return from the pilgrimage”, that being the *ṭawāf al-fard*, “the circumambulation of the divine ordinance”.

There is another *ḥadīth* that we will quote in its proper place to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the *ka'ba* each of the nights at Minā; this too is unlikely. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī related, from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Amr b. Qays, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from al-Qāsim, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, who stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to his Companions and they visited the *ka'ba* on the day of the sacrifice at midday, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited it at night with his wives.”

125. Without the definite article, that is.

This too is a very strange *ḥadīth*. (Also) there is a statement of Ṭāwūs and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) postponed the circumambulation on the day of the sacrifice until night time."

What is authentic from the accounts and what is agreed by the majority, is that he circumambulated on the day of the sacrifice during day time. What is likely is that this was before the sun declined, or perhaps thereafter. But God knows best.

What is well established is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he circumambulated the *ka'ba* seven times while he was mounted. He then went to *zamzam* where Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib were serving water to themselves and the people. From it he took a bucket from which he drank. It was then emptied over him.

As Muslim stated, "Muḥammad b. Minhal al-Darīr informed us, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muzanī, who heard Ibn 'Abbās say, while he was sitting with him at the *ka'ba*, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived on his camel, with Usāma mounted behind himself. They brought a vessel containing *nabidh*;¹²⁶ he drank from it and gave the remainder to Usāma. He said, 'You have acted correctly and done well. Continue in this way.'"

Ibn 'Abbās went on, "And so we do not wish to change what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered."

In an account from Bakr, a bedouin asked Ibn 'Abbās, "How come I see your uncle's folk pouring milk and honey, while you serve *al-nabidh*? Is this because of your poverty, or your miserliness?" Ibn 'Abbās then related to him this *ḥadīth*.

Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Ḥumayd, from Bakr, from 'Abd Allāh (who said) that a bedouin asked Ibn 'Abbās, "How come Mu'āwiya's kinsfolk serve water and honey, the family of so-and-so serves milk, while you serve *al-nabidh*? Is this due to your miserliness or your poverty?"

"Ibn 'Abbās replied, "We're neither miserly nor poor; however, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to us, Usāma b. Zayd mounted behind himself, and asked to drink. We served him this" – meaning the *nabidh* – "and he drank from it. He said, 'You have done well. Continue in this way.'"

Aḥmad related it, from Rawḥ and Muḥammad b. Bakr, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abbās, and Dā'ūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, from Ibn 'Abbās.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Ishāq b. Sulaymān, quoting Khālīd, from Khālīd al-Ḥadhadhā', from Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, (who said) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to the watering place and asked to drink. Al-'Abbās said, 'Faḍl, go to your mother and bring something from her for the Messenger of God to drink.' The latter asked, 'Give me to drink.' He (al-'Abbās) replied, 'Messenger of God, they are putting their hands into it.' He asked, 'Give me to drink!' and he drank from it.

126. Here "unfermented date juice".

"He then went to *zamzam* while they were serving its water (to the pilgrims) and working in it. He said, 'Work, for you are engaged in proper work.' He then said, 'Were it not that you would be overwhelmed (by people wanting to emulate me) I would also have drawn water by placing the rope on this' – meaning his own shoulder, to which he gestured."

He (al-Bukhārī) also gives a *ḥadīth* of 'Āṣim, from al-Shaʿbī, that Ibn 'Abbās said, "I served (water) to the Prophet (ṢAAS), from *zamzam*, and he drank it while standing." 'Āṣim said, "Ikrima swore, 'That day he rode on nothing but a *ba'ir*, 'a camel'.""

In one account the wording is, "on nothing but his *nāqa*, 'his (she) camel'."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥushaym related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *ka'ba* while (mounted) on a camel. He saluted the "black stone" with a staff he had.

He went on, "He came to the watering place and said, 'Serve me to drink.' They replied, 'The people plunge into this; but we will bring you some of it from the *ka'ba*.' He replied, 'I don't need that; serve me from what the people drink.'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated from Musaddad, from Khālīd al-Taḥḥān, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived while we were drawing water. He circumambulated on his camel." He went on to narrate the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ and 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Qays, and 'Affān stated in his *ḥadīth*, that Qays informed him, from Mujāhid, who quoted Ibn 'Abbās as saying, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) came to *zamzam*. We drew up a bucket for him, and he drank. Then he spat into it, and we poured it into *zamzam*. After that he said, 'Were it not that you would be overwhelmed (by people wanting to emulate me) I would draw it out with my own hand.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving it; its line of transmission meets the criteria of Muslim.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not repeat the circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa a second time, being content with his first. As Muslim related in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection through Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who heard Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa."

I note that the reference here to "his Companions" is to those who had brought *ḥadīs* and who were performing the *ḥajj al-qirān*.

It is similarly established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Ā'isha, who had joined the *ḥajj* to the *umra* and was

therefore performing the *hajj al-qirān*, "Your circumambulation of the *ka'ba* and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (once) suffices for both your *hajj* and your *umra*."

Those who support the teaching of Imām Aḥmad consider that the statement of Jābir and his companions applies generally, to both those performing the *hajj al-tamattu'* and those who are performing the *hajj al-qirān*. Imām Aḥmad, therefore, laid down that for the person performing the *hajj al-tamattu'*, one circumambulation would suffice for both his *hajj* and his *umra* even if he had been (out of the state of *iḥrām*) during the interim.

This is a strange statement, taking literally from the *ḥadīth*. But God knows best.

Those who accept the teachings of Abū Ḥanifa regarding the *hajj al-tamattu'*, and also those of the Mālikīs and the Shāfi'īs, state that those performing the *hajj al-tamattu'* are required to perform two circumambulations (of the *ka'ba*) and two passages (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa), though the Ḥanafīs (alone) extend that rite to those performing the *hajj al-qirān* as well. This, however, is a rule unique to their school (of law). They maintain that the latter (the *qirān*) should also perform both (circumambulations), tracing this back to 'Alī *mawqūfan* directly to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

We have already spoken on all that with regard to the circumambulation, and have shown that the lines of transmission for that are weak and contradict *aḥādīth* that are categorized as *ṣaḥīḥ*. But God knows best.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Minā after having performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Mecca, as the *ḥadīth* of Jābir shows. Ibn 'Umar stated, "He returned and performed the *al-zuhr* prayer at Minā."

Muslim narrated both (*aḥādīth* relating to this), as we have given above. It is possible to reconcile between both by that having occurred at Mecca and at Minā. But God knows best.

Ibn Ḥazm discussed this issue, but reached no decisive conclusion about it. And he is to be excused for this, since the accounts considered authentic relating to it are contradictory. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on (with the pilgrims) for the rest of that day, when he had performed the *al-zuhr* prayer. Then he returned to Minā, where he stayed for the nights of *ayyām al-tashrīq*, casting (pebbles) at the mound, when the sun began to decline, seven at each mound, and saying 'God is Most Great' with each one."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this *ḥadīth*.

This shows that his proceeding to Mecca on the day of the sacrifice was after the sun began to decline. This contradicts absolutely the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Umar.

And there is also controversy over his contradiction of the *ḥadīth* of Jābir. But God knows best.

Chapter.

On that fine day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave a wonderful address that numerous *ahādīth* reiterate. We will relate those of them that God, the Almighty and Glorious, so enables us.

Al-Bukhārī gave a section entitled, *Chapter on the address made during the days at Minā.*

He went on to state that ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd, quoting Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān, quoting ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the people on the day of the sacrifice. He said, “O people, what day is this?” They replied, “A day that is *ḥarām*, ‘sacrosanct’.” “And what land is this?” he asked. “A sacrosanct land,” they replied. “And what month is this?” he asked. “A sacrosanct month,” they replied. He then said, “Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct for you, like this day of yours in this your land in this your month.”

Ibn ‘Abbās went on, “He repeated this several times. Then, raising his head, he went on, ‘O God, have I delivered (the message well)? O God, I have delivered (the message).’”

Ibn ‘Abbās continued, “By Him in whose hand is my soul, it was his testament to his nation. (He then stated), ‘Let those witnessing this inform those absent. Do not revert into being unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another!’”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from al-Fallās, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān. He characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū ‘Āmir, quoting Qurra, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, quoting ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakra, from his father, and a man more worthy in my view than ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmām, from Abū Bakra, may God be pleased with him, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address to us on the day of the sacrifice. He said, ‘Do you know what day this is?’ We replied, ‘God and His Messenger know best.’ He was silent, so that we thought he was going to give it some different name. He then asked, ‘Is this not the day of the sacrifice?’ ‘Why, yes,’ we replied. ‘And what month is this?’ he asked. ‘God and His Messenger know best,’ we replied. He was silent, so that we thought he was going to give it some different name. He then asked, ‘Is this not *Dhū al-Ḥijja*?’” ‘Yes indeed,’ we replied. ‘And what land is this?’ he asked. ‘God and His Messenger know best,’ we replied. He was silent so that we thought he was going to change its name. ‘Is this not the sacrosanct land?’ he asked. ‘Yes indeed,’ we replied.

“He went on, ‘Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month of yours, in this land of yours, until the day you meet your Lord. And have I delivered (the message)?’ ‘Yes,’ we

replied. He went on, 'O God, bear witness! Let those present inform those absent; and many who will be informed (of this) will be more conscious than those who hear (it now). Do not revert into being unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another.'

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated it through several lines, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn. Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Awn, from Ibn Sirīn, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakra, from his father. He added at its end, "He then turned aside to two fine rams, both of which he sacrificed. He also (turned towards) a herd of goats and divided them up between us."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā'īl related to him, quoting Ayyūb, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from Abū Bakra, (who said) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address on his *ḥijja*, saying, 'Time has run a course, as was its way the day God created the heavens and the earth. The year has twelve months, of which four are sacrosanct. Three follow one another in succession – Dhū al-Qa'da, Dhū al-Ḥijja and al-Muḥarram. And there is Rajab of (Banū) Muḍar, which is between Jumādā and Sha'ḥbān.'

"He went on, 'And what day is this?' We replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He was silent, so that we thought he was giving it a different name. He then asked, 'Is this not the day of the sacrifice?' We replied, 'Yes indeed.' He then asked, 'What month is this?' We said, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He was silent so that we thought he was giving it a new name. He then asked, 'Is it not Dhū al-Ḥijja?' 'Yes indeed,' we replied. Then he asked, 'What country is this?' 'God and His Messenger know best,' we replied. He was silent, so that we thought he was giving it a new name. Then he asked, 'Is it not the sacrosanct land?' We replied, 'Yes indeed.' He then said, 'Your money and your possessions,' – I think he also said 'and your honour' – 'are sacrosanct for you, as this day of yours is sacrosanct in this your month and this your country. You will meet your Lord and he will question you about your deeds. Do not revert after me into error, striking the necks of one another. Have I delivered (the message well)? Let those witnessing deliver the message to those absent. And perhaps those who are informed will be more conscious of it than some of those who heard it.'"

This is how it occurs in the *ḥadīth* collection of Imām Aḥmad, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from Abū Bakra. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it similarly from Musaddad. Al-Nasā'ī gave it from 'Amr b. Zurāra, both of whom quoted from Ismā'īl – he being Ibn 'Uliyya – from Ayyūb, from Ibn Sirīn, from Abū Bakra.

It is interrupted in its line of transmission because both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from another route, from Ayyūb and others, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakra, from his father.

Al-Bukhārī stated also that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting 'Āṣim b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, from his father, from Ibn 'Umar. He said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked at Minā, 'Do you know what day this is?' They replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He went

on, 'This day is sacrosanct; and do you know what land this is?' They replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He went on, 'It is a sacrosanct land.' He asked, 'And do you know what month this is?' They replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' 'It is a sacrosanct month,' he said. He went on, 'And God made sacrosanct for you your blood, your possessions and your honour, like he made sacrosanct the nature of this your day in this your month in this your land.'"

Al-Bukhārī gave it in various places of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as did the rest of the major scholars, except for al-Tirmidhī, through various routes from Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from his grandfather, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar.

Al-Bukhārī (also) stated, "And Hishām b. al-Ghāz stated that Nāfi' informed him, from Ibn 'Umar, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stood between the pillars on the *ḥijja* he made on his pilgrimage and said, 'This is the day of *al-ḥajj al-akbar*, "the major pilgrimage". The Prophet (ṢAAS) then began by declaring, 'O God, bear witness!' He then said farewell to the people and they said, 'This is the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, "the farewell pilgrimage".'

Abū Da'ūd gave a line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* from Mu'ammal b. al-Faḍl, from al-Walid b. Muslim. Ibn Māja gave it from Hishām b. 'Ammār, from Ṣadaqa b. Khālīd, both of whom quoted from Hishām b. al-Ghāz b. Rabi'a al-Jarashī Abū al-'Abbās al-Dimashqī.

His standing at the pillars to make this address renders it possible that it was delivered after his casting at the pillar on the day of the sacrifice and before his circumambulation. It is also possible that it was delivered after his circumambulation, his return to Minā and his casting (the stones) at the pillars.

However, the first possibility is strengthened by what al-Nasā'ī narrated, when he said that 'Amr b. Hishām al-Ḥarrānī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Salam, from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Zayd b. Abū Unaysa, from Yaḥyā b. Ḥuṣayn al-Aḥmasī, from his grandmother Umm Ḥuṣayn. She stated, "I took part in the *ḥijja* of the Prophet (ṢAAS); I saw Bilāl holding the bridle of his camel, while Usāma b. Zayd raised a garment above him, sheltering him from the heat, while he was in the *iḥrām* state, until he cast at the pillar at al-'Aqaba. He then made an address to the people, praising and lauding God and saying many things."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Zayd b. Abū Unaysa, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from his grandmother, Umm al-Ḥuṣayn. She stated, "I performed the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I saw Usāma and Bilāl; one of them was holding the bridle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the other raised his garment sheltering him from the heat until he cast (pebbles) at the mound at al-'Aqaba."

She went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said many things. I then heard him say, '(Even) if a castrated' – I think he said 'black' – 'slave should

become your commander, who leads you with God's Book, then listen to him and obey.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh related to him, quoting al-A'mash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ – he being Dhakwān al-Sammān – from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us on the day of the sacrifice and he said, 'Which day is the most sacrosanct?' They replied, 'This day of ours.' He asked, 'Which month is the most sacrosanct?' They replied, 'This month of ours.' He asked, 'Which land is the most sacrosanct?' They replied, 'This land of ours.' He then said, 'Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you as this day of yours in this country of yours in this month of yours are sacrosanct. Have I delivered the message successfully?' 'Yes,' they replied. He then said, 'O God, bear witness.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving it with this line; it meets the criteria of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba narrated it from Abū Mu'āwiya, from al-A'mash.

The *ḥadīth* of Ja'far b. Muḥammad is given above, from his father, from Jābir in the address given by the Prophet (ṢAAS), on the day at Mt. 'Arafāt. God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Alī b. Baḥr related to him, quoting 'Isā b. Yūnus, from al-A'mash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*", and he proceeded to give it.

Ibn Māja narrated it from Hishām b. 'Ammār, from 'Isā b. Yūnus. Its line of transmission meets the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Abū Hishām related to him, quoting Ḥaḍḍ, from al-A'mash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra, and Abū Sa'īd (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address. He asked, 'What day is this?' They replied, 'A sacrosanct day.' He said, 'Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you as this day of yours in this month of yours in this land of yours are sacrosanct.'"

Al-Bazzār went on to state, "Abū Mu'āwiya narrated it from al-A'mash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra and Abū Sa'īd. Abū Hishām joined both together for us, from Ḥaḍḍ b. Ghiyāth, from al-A'mash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra and Abū Sa'īd."

I note that the account given by Aḥmad from Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Ṭanāfusi, from al-A'mash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, is given above. Perhaps Abū Ṣāliḥ gave it from three (sources).

Hilāl b. Yasāf stated, from Salama b. Qays al-Ashja'i, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, 'They are only four in number; do not associate anything with God; do not kill, for God has forbidden this, unless by the right; do not commit adultery; and do not steal.'"

Salama b. Qays al-Ashjaʿī went on, “And no one became more careful regarding these four than myself when I heard them from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Aḥmad and al-Nasāʿī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Maṣṣūr, from Hilāl b. Yasāf. Sufyān b. ʿUyayna narrated it similarly, as did al-Thawrī, from Maṣṣūr.

Ibn Ḥazm stated on the subject of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* that Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Anas al-ʿUdhri related to him, quoting Abū Dharr ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Harwī al-Anṣārī, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān, the *ḥāfiẓ* at al-Aḥwāz, quoting Sahl b. Mūsā b. Shirzād, quoting Mūsā b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀsim, quoting Abū al-ʿAwwām, quoting Muḥammad b. Juḥāda, from Ziyād b. ʿAlāqa, from Usāma b. Sharīk, who said, “I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* while he was delivering an address. He said, ‘Your mother, your father, your sister, your brother and then the closest to you, and the closest to you.’ Some people then came and said, ‘Messenger of God, Banū Yarbūʿ attacked us!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘No person should harm any other.’ A man who had forgotten to cast stones at the pillars then asked him what he should do. He replied, ‘So cast the pebbles (now); no matter.’ Another man then came to him and said, ‘Messenger of God, I forgot to circumambulate.’ He replied, ‘So circumambulate (now); no matter.’ Another man came to him who had shaved before he had made sacrifice. He told him, ‘Make sacrifice; no matter.’ And that day whenever anyone asked him anything, he always replied, ‘No matter; no matter!’

“He then said, ‘God may make all problems go away – except for a man who borrows money from a man who is a Muslim; for him there is a problem, and he is ruined.’ He went on, ‘God brought down no disease for which He did not provide a cure – except for senility, that is.’”

Imām Aḥmad and the orthodox scholars give some of this text from this line. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “It is *ḥasan*, *ṣaḥīḥ*.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAlī b. Mudrik, who said he heard Abū Zurʿa relate from Jarīr – who was his grandfather – that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*, “Jarīr, listen to the people.” He then said in his address, “Do not revert into unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another.”

Aḥmad then narrated it from Ghundar, and from Ibn Mahdī, both of whom quoted it from Shuʿba. Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba.

Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, from Qays, who said, “We were informed that Jarīr stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Listen to the people. I really do not know, after what I see, (whether) you will revert to being unbelievers, striking the necks of one another.’”

Al-Nasāʿī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr.

Al-Nasāʿī stated that Ḥannād b. al-Sarrī related to him, from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Ibn Gharqada, from Sulaymān b. ʿAmr, from his father, who said, “I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* as he said,

'People!' He said this three times. 'What day is this?' They replied, 'It is the day of the "greater pilgrimage".'

"He went on, 'Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct among yourselves as this day of yours in this land of yours is sacrosanct. Let no man do harm to his child. Satan has despaired that he will be worshipped in this your land! However, you will be obedient to him in your performance of some acts you think insignificant, and he will be pleased. All usury of the *jāhiliyya* period is abolished. You have (the right to) your capital only. Do no wrong, and you will not be wronged.'" He proceeded to complete the *ḥadīth* as above.

Abū Dā'ūd gives a section entitled, *Chapter of those who stated, 'He gives an address on the day of the sacrifice'*.

He went on to state that Hārūn b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, quoting 'Ikrima – he being Ibn 'Ammār – quoting al-Hirmās b. Ziyād al-Bāhili, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make an address to the people while on his camel *al-'Aḍbā'* on the day of the immolation at Minā."

Aḥmad and al-Nasā'ī narrated it from several lines, from 'Ikrima b. 'Ammār, from al-Hirmās, who said, "My father was mounted behind myself and I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address to the people at Minā on the day of the sacrifice while on his camel *al-'Aḍbā'*."

This is the wording of Aḥmad. It is from one of the three volumes of his *musnad* compendium.

Abū Dā'ūd stated further that Mu'ammil b. al-Faḍl al-Harrānī related to him, quoting al-Walid, quoting Ibn Jābir, quoting Sulaym b. 'Āmir al-Kalā'ī, who said he heard Abū Amāma say, "I heard the address given by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Minā on the day of the sacrifice."

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting Sulaym b. 'Āmir al-Kalā'ī, who said, "I heard Abū Umāma state, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), one day while mounted upon al-Jad'ā', his feet placed in the stirrups, stretching out so that people would hear. He said at the top of his voice, "Do you not hear?" One man in one of the groups of people asked, "Messenger of God, with what do you charge us?" He replied, "Worship your Lord. Perform your five (prayers). Fast for your month. And obey when you are commanded. (Then) you will enter your Lord's garden."'

"I (Sulaym) asked him, 'Abū Umāma, (how old were you) at that time?' He replied, 'At that time I was a man of 30, controlling the camel and urging it forwards towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Aḥmad also narrated it from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, from Mu'āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, and al-Tirmidhī gave it from Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kūfī, from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb. He stated that it was *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, "good and authentic".

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Mughira related to him, quoting Ismā'īl b. 'Abbās, quoting Shuraḥbīl b. Muslim al-Khawḷānī who stated that he heard

Abū Umāma al-Bahilī say, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in his address on the year of the *ḥijjat al-wadaʿ*, 'God has given to each worthy man his due, and so there is no testamentary inheritance for an heir. The child applies to the bed (to the parents). For the adulteress there is the stone, and their reckoning is with God. Anyone making a claim to anyone but his father or claims an association with any patron not his own, upon him shall be God's curse that shall follow him till Judgement Day. A woman may not expend from her household (funds) except with the permission of her husband.'

"Someone asked him, 'Messenger of God, not even for food?' He replied, 'That is the best of our possessions.' He then went on to say, 'Things borrowed must be returned.'"

The scholars of the four orthodox schools narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan*, "good".

Abū Dāʿūd, may God have mercy upon him, then gave a section entitled, *Section on when he makes an address on the day of the sacrifice*.

He went on to state that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Dimashqī related to him, quoting Marwān, from Hilāl b. ʿĀmir al-Muzanī, quoting Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmr al-Muzanī, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make an address to the people at Minā when dawn arose. He was mounted on a grey she-mule. ʿAlī was speaking on his behalf. Some of the people there were standing, others were seated."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Duḥaym, from Marwān al-Fazārī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʿāwiya related to him, quoting Hilāl b. ʿĀmir al-Muzanī, from his father, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address to the people at Minā on a she-mule, wearing a red cloak. And there was a man who had participated in the battle of Badr in front of him speaking on his behalf. I then advanced and placed my hand between his foot and his shoe-lace. I was surprised at how cool it (his foot) was."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd related to him, quoting a sheikh of Banū Fazāra, from Hilāl b. ʿĀmir al-Muzanī, who quoted his father as saying, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), mounted upon a grey she-mule; ʿAlī was speaking on his behalf."

Abū Dāʿūd narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muʿāwiya, from Hilāl b. ʿĀmir.

Abū Dāʿūd went on to give a chapter entitled, *Section on what the Imām refers to in his address at Minā*.

He then stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Ḥumayd al-Aʿraj, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿādh al-Taymī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us while we were at Minā. Our hearing was so accentuated that we could hear what he was saying while we were in our dwellings. He started off by instructing them on their rites, until he reached the (method of stoning) the pillars, at which point he raised both index fingers. Thereafter he gave orders

to the *muhājirīn* and they positioned themselves at the front of the mosque. He gave orders to the *anṣār* and they went behind the mosque. (The rest of) the people took their places thereafter."

Aḥmad narrated it from 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith, from his father. Al-Nasā'ī gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Mubārak, from 'Abd al-Wārith in similar form.

Hereabove is given the account of Imām Aḥmad, from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'adh, from a man who was one of the Companions. God knows best.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from al-Zuhri, from 'Isā b. Ṭalḥa, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ (who said). "While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was making an address to us on the day of the sacrifice, a man got up and said to him, 'I used to think that this-and-that was before so-and-such.' Another man then arose and said, 'I used to think that this-and-that was before this.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'Do it (thus). No matter.'"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. Muslim added, "and Yūnus, from al-Zuhri". He gives many variations, but this is not the right place to scrutinize them. The correct place is (my) work *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*. From God help is to be sought.

In the wording of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, he stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not that day asked about anything relating (to the sequence of the *ḥajj* rites) without him responding, "Do it; no matter."

Chapter.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then stopped at Minā where the mosque is today, so it is said. He positioned the *muhājirīn* to his right and the *anṣār* to his left, with the rest of the people thereafter around them.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him that 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Uqba al-Shaybānī of al-Kūfa (related to him) quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Zuhri, quoting 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, quoting Isrā'īl, from Ibrāhīm b. Muhājir, from Yūsuf b. Māhik, from Umm Musayka, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "Someone asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Should we not construct for you at Minā a building to shade you?' He replied, 'No; Minā was a residence of former people.'"

This line of transmission is not bad; however, it is not in *al-Musnad*, nor in the six canonical collections of traditions from this line.

Abū Da'ūd stated that Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhili related to him, quoting Yahyā, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Ḥarīz – or Abū Ḥarīz, the doubt stems from Yahyā – who stated that he heard 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Farrūkh ask Ibn 'Umar, "When we do business (during the *ḥijja*) with the people's goods and

one of us happens to be in Mecca, is he allowed to spend the night there (or should he return to Minā)?” He replied, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) overnighted at Minā and went on doing so.”

Abū Dā’ūd is alone in giving this.

Abū Dā’ūd went on to state that ‘Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Ibn Numayr and Abū Usāma, from ‘Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, “Al-‘Abbās asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to stay in Mecca for the nights (one is supposed to spend) at Minā because of (his role in) providing the water for the pilgrims; he gave him permission.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it similarly, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh b. Numayr. Al-Bukhārī added, “along with Abū Ḍamra Anas b. ‘Iyād”. Muslim added, “and Abū Usāma Ḥammād b. Usāma”.

Al-Bukhārī traced it from Abū Usāma and ‘Uqba b. Khālīd, all of them quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Umar.

At Minā the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would shorten (the daily prayers of four *raka‘āt*) to two *raka‘āt*, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ḥāritha b. Wahb, may God be pleased with them both.

This is why a number of scholars of the Mālikī school, maintain that the shortening (of the daily prayers, where applicable, to just two *raka‘āt*) was part of the rites of the *ḥajj*. They say, “Regarding those who state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used at Minā to say to the people of Mecca, ‘Complete (the prayer as normal); we (shorten our prayer because) we are a people who are travelling.’” But these people are mistaken; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only said this in the year of the conquest (of Mecca) while he was staying at al-Abṭāḥ, as we have stated hereabove. But God knows best.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to cast stones at the three pillars every day of those he spent at Minā, after the sun had declined, as Jābir related above. He would do so on foot, as Ibn ‘Umar stated heretofore, casting seven stones saying, “God is most Great!” with each one. He would, moreover, stop and pray at the first and the second and pray to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, but he would not stop at the third.

Abū Dā’ūd stated that ‘Alī b. Baḥr related to him, as did ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd al-Ma‘nī, who both stated that Abū Khālīd al-Aḥmar related to them, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ‘Ā’isha as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *ṭawāf al-ifāda* at the end of his day when he performed the *al-ḡuhr* prayer. He then returned to Minā and stayed there for the nights of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*, casting (stones) at the pillar when the sun began to decline, seven pebbles at each pillar, and saying ‘God is most Great!’ with each one. He stood and performed prayers at the first and the second, standing at both at length and making humble entreaties to God. At the third he cast (stones) without standing at it.”

Abū Dā’ūd is alone in giving it.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from more than one line, from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from Ibn 'Umar, that the latter would cast seven pebbles at the lower pillar, saying "God is most Great!" after each one. He then would go forwards and stand on level ground at length facing the *qibla*, praying and raising his hands. After that he would cast stones at the middle pillar, move to the north and then stand at length, on level ground, facing the *qibla*, praying with his hands raised. Thereafter, he would cast (stones) at the big pillar, from the middle of the *wādi*, but he would not stand at it. Then he would move away, saying, 'It was thus that I saw the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, do it.'

Wabra b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān stated, "Ibn 'Umar stopped at al-'Aqaba long enough to recite the *sūrat al-Baqara* (II)." Abū Mijlaz stated, "I estimated his stopping there to be long enough to recite *sūrat Yūsuf* (XII)."

Al-Bayhaqī gave both of these comments.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. 'Uyayna related to him, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from his father, from Abū al-Qadāḥ, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the shepherds that they cast (stones) on one day and graze their flocks for a day.

Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to him, and that Rawḥ informed him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from his father, from Abū al-Qaddāḥ b. 'Āṣim b. 'Adī, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the shepherds to act consecutively and to cast stones on the day of the sacrifice. They would then pray for a day and a night and cast stones on the following day.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān related to him, quoting Mālik, from 'Abd Allāh b. Bakr, from his father, from Abū al-Quddāḥ b. 'Āṣim b. 'Adī, from his father (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the camel herdsmen to overnight at Minā until they (could) cast stones on the day of the sacrifice. After having done this, they would also cast stones on the next day, or on the day thereafter, for two days. And they would then cast stones on the *yawm al-naḥr*, "the day of the return from Minā".

He narrated it similarly from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Mālik. The scholars of the *al-sunan* texts narrate it from the *ḥadīth* of Mālik, and from that of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "The account of Mālik is more authentic; it is a *ḥadīth* that is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*."

Chapter: Aḥādīth showing that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address to the people on the second, the middle that is, day of the ayyām al-tashriq.

Abū Dā'ūd gave a section entitled, *Chapter regarding which day it was that he made an address to the people.*

He went on to state that Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' related to him, quoting Ibn al-Mubārak, from Ibrāhīm b. Nāfi', from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from his father, from

two men of Banū Bakr, both of whom stated, "We saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) make an address around the middle of the days of the *ayyām al-tashriq*; we were close by his camel. This was the address he made at Minā."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this.

Abū Dā'ūd then stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Abū 'Aṣim, quoting Rabi'a b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥuṣayn, quoting his grandmother Sarra', daughter of Nabhān, who had headed a household before the coming of Islām. She said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) made an address to us on the *yawm al-rū'ūs*, 'the day of the heads'. He (Rabi'a) asked, 'And what day is that?' We stated, 'God and His Messenger know best!' He asked, 'Is that not the middle day of the *ayyām al-tashriq*?'"

Abū Dā'ūd was alone in giving this.

Abū Dā'ūd went on, "The uncle of Abū Ḥurraṭ al-Raqāshī stated that he made the address on the middle day of the *ayyām al-tashriq*."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this *ḥadīth* with a fully connected line of transmission and at length. He stated that 'Uthmān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting 'Alī b. Zayd, from Abū Ḥurraṭ al-Raqāshī, from his uncle, who said, "I was holding the reins of the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS), in the middle of the days of the *ayyām al-tashriq*, keeping the people away from him. He said, 'O people, do you know on which day of which month and in which land you are?' They replied, 'On a sacrosanct day, of a sacrosanct month, in a sacrosanct land.' He went on, 'Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct for you, as is this your day, in this your month, in this your land, on until you meet Him.' "He went on, 'Listen to me and live. Do not do wrong! Do not do wrong! Do not do wrong! The property of a Muslim is not permitted to you, except by his wish. All blood, money and deeds done in the *jāhiliyya* are (crushed) beneath these feet of mine until Judgement Day. The first blood debt abolished is that of Ibn Rabi'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib – he was fostered among Banū Sa'd, and Hudhayl killed him. All the usury charges of the *jāhiliyya* are abolished. God has decreed that the first usury charges to be abolished are those of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Your capital is your own; do not do wrong and you will not be wronged.'

"Time has revolved as was its fashion the day God created the heavens and the earth.' He then recited, 'The number of the months with God is twelve months in God's ordinance since the day He created the heavens and the earth. Of these four are sacrosanct. That is the correct reckoning. Therefore do not harm yourselves regarding them' (*sūrat al-Tawba* (al-Barā'a); IX, v.36). 'Do not revert after me into unbelievers, striking the necks of one another. Satan has despaired that those who pray will worship him. However, he is present in the dissension between yourselves.

"Fear God in (your relationships) with women. They are (as) captives with you. They own nothing but themselves. They have rights over you, and you have rights over them – that they not allow anyone other than yourselves to set foot

in your furnishings, and that they not give permission (to anyone you dislike) to enter your homes. If you fear those of them who are fractious, then admonish them and leave them in the beds and strike them, but not viciously. They have rights to their provisions and their clothing, in kindness. It was only by God's covenant that you took them; and it is by God's word that you are permitted access to their sexual organs. And whoever has a covenant should discharge it to whomever entrusted it to him.'

"He then spread out his hands and said, 'Have I delivered the message? Have I delivered the message?' He went on, 'Let those witnessing inform those absent. Many of those who are informed are happier than those who hear.'"

Ḥumayd stated that when these words reached al-Ḥasan he commented, "They have indeed delivered the message to peoples who were happier by it."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated an account in the *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ* chapter of his work *al-Sunan*, from Mūsā b. Ismā'īl, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Alī b. Zayd b. Jad'an, from Abū Ḥurraṭ al-Raqqāshī – his given name being Ḥanīfa – from his uncle, that makes some reference to the "women who are fractious" (in the above *ḥadīth*).

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "It is said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address on the *yawm al-rū'ūs*, that being the second day, following the day of the sacrifice, as the Meccans do not dispute. It is said also that this is the *awsaṭ*, 'the middle', of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*. It is likely that the word *awsaṭ* is being used here in the sense of *ashraf*, "most noble", as in the words of God Almighty, "And likewise we have made of you a nation that is *awsaṭ*, 'most noble'" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.143).

This view adopted by Ibn Ḥazm is implausible. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that al-Walid b. 'Amr b. Miskīn related to him, quoting Abū Hammām Muḥammad b. al-Zabraqān, quoting Mūsā b. 'Ubayda, from 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār and Ṣadaqa b. Yasār from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who said, "This *sūrat* was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Minā during the *awsaṭ* of the *ayyām al-tashrīq*, on the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*: 'When God's help and the victory came' (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1). He knew that it was the farewell, and he ordered that his camel al-Qaṣwā' be brought. It was saddled for him and he mounted it and stood for the people at al-'Aqaba. There assembled around him as many of the Muslims as God wished. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God and then he said, 'To proceed: O people! All blood debts of the *jāhiliyya* are made null and void; the first blood debt so rendered is that of Ibn Rabi'a b. al-Ḥārith – who was suckled among the Banū Layth and killed by Hudhayl. All usury of the *jāhiliyya* is abolished. The first such usury abolished is that of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

"O people! Time has revolved as is its fashion (since) the day God created the skies and the earth. The number of the months with God is twelve, of which four are sacrosanct. (These are) Rajab of (Banū) Muḍar that is between Jumādā and Sha'bān, Dhū al-Qa'da, Dhū al-Ḥijja and al-Muḥarram. "That is the correct

faith; do not wrong yourselves in them" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.36). And "*al-nasf*, 'intercalation', is an excess of disbelief; by it those who disbelieve are led astray. One year they make it permissible and another year they make it prohibited, in order to conform (outwardly) with the number that God made sacred" (*sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.37). One year they would make Ṣafar *ḥalāl* and another year they would make al-Muḥarram *ḥarām*. One year they would make Ṣafar *ḥarām* and another they would make al-Muḥarram *ḥalāl*. That is *al-nasf*, 'intercalation'."

"O people, those having deposits should award them to those who entrusted them with them. O people, Satan has despaired that he will be worshipped in your land till the end of time. Yet he may be pleased with you, by (your) despicable acts. Beware of him (harming) your religion by despicable acts. O people! Women are (as) captives with you. You took them with God's covenant and you are permitted access to their sexual organs by God's word. You have rights over them and they have rights over you. One of your rights you have over them is that they not allow others than yourselves to set foot upon your furnishings. And they should not disobey you in (your) permissible requests. If they so obey, then you have no right to (chastise them). They are due their food and their clothing in kindness. If you strike (them), then do so without viciousness. No man should have access to his brother's funds, unless with his goodwill. O people! I have left among you that with which, if you adopt it, you will not go astray, the Book of God; behave by it.

"O People! What day is this?' They replied, 'A sacrosanct day.' He said, 'What land is this?' They replied, 'A sacrosanct land.' He asked, 'What month is this?' They replied, 'A sacrosanct month.' He said, 'God has made sacrosanct your blood, your possessions and your honour, just as this day in this land and this month are sacrosanct. Let those of you who witness inform those of you who are absent. There will be no prophet after me, and no nation after you.' He then raised his hands and said, 'O God, bear witness!'"

REFERENCES TO A ḤADITH IN WHICH IT IS STATED THAT THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) WOULD VISIT THE KA'BA EVERY NIGHT OF THOSE AT MINĀ.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "It is recounted from Abū Ḥassān from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the *ka'ba* during the days at Minā."

He related it thus, with a comment that it was a weak tradition.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting al-'Umari, quoting Ibn 'Ar'ara, who said, "Mu'adh b. Hishām presented us a document, saying, 'I heard it from my father; he did not read it.' He went on, 'In it it states, "from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the *ka'ba* every night for so long as he was at Minā." He commented, 'I never saw anyone agree with him over this.'""

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Thawrī narrated in the book *al-Jāmi'*, from Ibn Ṭāwūs, from Ṭāwūs, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said) "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would perform the circumambulation (of the *ka'ba*) every night" – those at Minā, that is. This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*.

Chapter.

The sixth day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, according to some, is said to have been known as the *yawm al-zina*, "the day for decoration", because on it the sacrificial camels would be adorned with garlands and other things.

The seventh day is known as the *yawm al-tarwīyya*, "the day for the provisioning with water", because on it they refresh themselves with the water and carry away what they need of it for the *al-wuqūf*, "the stationing" (at 'Arafāt), and thereafter.

The eighth day is known as *yawm Minā*, "the day at Minā", because pilgrims proceed then from al-Abṭaḥ to Minā.

The ninth day is known as *yawm 'Arafāt*, "the day at Mt. 'Arafāt", because they stand upon it that day.

The tenth day is known as *yawm al-nahr*, "the day of the sacrifice", and *yawm al-adḥā*, "the day of the immolation", and as *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbaru*, "day of the greater *ḥajj*".

The day following that is known as *yawm al-qarr*, "the day of rest", since on that day pilgrims rest. It is also known as *yawm al-ru'ūs*, "the day of the heads", because on that day they eat the heads of the animals sacrificed. It is the first of the *ayyām al-tashriq*.

The second day of the *ayyām al-tashriq* is known as the *yawm al-nafr al-awwal*, "the first day of the departure", because it is permissible to leave on it. It is also said to refer to the day known as the *yawm al-ru'ūs*.

The third day of the *ayyām al-tashriq* is known as the *yawm al-nafr al-ākhir*, "the other day of the departure". God Almighty stated, "Those who hasten away in two days shall not be considered sinful; and those who remain behind are not considered sinful" (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.203).

On the *yawm al-nafr*, the third day of the *ayyām al-tashriq*, that being a Tuesday, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims with him got upon their mounts. He departed with them from Minā and stopped at al-Muḥaṣṣab, a *wādī* between Mecca and Minā. There he performed the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to him, quoting Ishāq b. Yūsuf, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rufay', who said, "I asked Anas b. Mālik, 'Tell me about something you heard related about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Where did he perform the *al-zuhr* prayer on the *yawm al-tarwīyya*?' He replied, 'At Minā'. I asked, 'Where did he perform the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer on the *yawm al-nafr*?' 'At al-Abṭaḥ; do as your leaders do,' he replied."

It is also narrated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer on the *yawm al-nafr* at al-Abṭah; that is al-Muḥaṣṣab. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī (also) stated that ‘Abd al-Mutta‘ālī b. Ṭalīb related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said) that Qatāda related to him that Anas b. Mālīk related to him that, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr*, the *al-‘aṣr*, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-‘ishā* prayers and laid down to rest at al-Muḥaṣṣab, rode to the *ka‘ba* and circumambulated it.”

I note that he is referring to the *ṭawāf al-wadā‘*, the farewell circumambulation (after completion of the *ḥijja*).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb related to him, quoting Khālīd b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “‘Abd Allāh was asked about al-Muḥaṣṣab and so ‘Ubayd Allāh related to us, from Nāfi‘, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there, as did ‘Umar and Ibn ‘Umar.’”

And from Nāfi‘ (it is narrated that), “Ibn ‘Umar would pray there – meaning al-Muḥaṣṣab – for the *al-zuhr* and the *al-‘aṣr* prayers. I think he said, ‘and the *al-maghrib* prayer.’” Khālīd (b. al-Ḥārith) stated, “I have no doubt about the *al-‘ishā* prayer. He would then lie down and sleep; and he would narrate that about the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Nūḥ b. Maymūn related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allāh, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān stayed at al-Muḥaṣṣab.

I saw it thus in the *musnad* of Imām Aḥmad, from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umārī, from Nāfi‘.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this *ḥadīth* from Ishāq b. Maṣṣūr. Ibn Māja promulgated it from Muḥammad b. Yahyā, both quoting from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Umar, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān would stay at al-Abṭah.”

Al-Tirmidhī stated, “And on this subject (there are *ahādīth*) from ‘Ā’isha, Abū Rāfi‘ and Ibn ‘Abbās. The *ḥadīth* of Ibn ‘Umar is *ḥasan gharīb*. And we only know it from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Umar.”

Muslim narrated it from Muḥammad b. Mahrān al-Rāzi, from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma‘mar, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr and ‘Umar would stay at al-Abṭah.

Muslim also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ṣakhr b. Juwayriyya, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, (who said) that he would stay at al-Muḥaṣṣab, and that he would perform the *al-zuhr* prayer on the *yawm al-nafr* at al-Ḥasaba.

Nāfi‘ stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed at al-Muḥaṣṣab, and that the caliphs did so after him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting Ḥammād – meaning Ibn Salama – from Ayyūb and Ḥumayd, from Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Ibn ‘Umar, (who said) “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr*, the *al-‘aṣr*, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-‘ishā* prayers at al-Baṭḥā and he then slept. Thereafter he entered” – meaning Mecca – “and circumambulated the *ka‘ba*.”

Aḥmad also narrated it from 'Affān, from Ḥammād, from Ḥumayd, from Bakr, from Ibn 'Umar.

At the end of this *ḥadīth* he added, "Ibn 'Umar would do this."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it like this from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Ḥumaydī related to him, quoting al-Walīd, quoting al-Awzā'ī, quoting al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that as from tomorrow, the day for the sacrifice at Minā, (they would stay in the *khayf*): "Tomorrow we will stay at the *khayf*¹²⁷ of Banū Kināna, where they pledged disbelief to one another." By this he was referring to al-Muḥaṣṣab.

Muslim narrated it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from al-Walīd b. Muslim, from al-Awzā'ī. He related it the same.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Where will you stay tomorrow?' This was on his *ḥijja*. He replied, 'Has 'Aqil left us anywhere to stay?' He then said, 'Tomorrow, if God wills it, we will stay at the *khayf* of Banū Kināna' – meaning al-Muḥaṣṣab – 'where they made a pact of unbelief with Quraysh.'"

This referred to how Banū Kināna made a pact with Quraysh regarding Banū Hāshim – that they would not intermarry, nor ally with them, nor accommodate them – until the latter had delivered over to them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that is.

He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) went on to say, "Muslims shall not inherit from unbelievers, nor unbelievers from Muslims."

Al-Zuhri stated that the word *al-khayf* meant *al-wādī*, "the dry river bed".

They (the authors of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) both gave it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Razzāq.

These two *aḥādīth* provide evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) planned to stay at al-Muḥaṣṣab to spite them for the agreement the Quraysh unbelievers had made when they signed the pact to boycott Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib until they delivered over to them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we have explained above in the appropriate place.

He similarly stayed there in the year of the conquest (of Mecca). His having stayed there therefore constitutes a *sunna* to be emulated. This is one of the two comments made by the scholars.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) only stayed there since it would be more convenient for his departure." This reference was to al-Abṭaḥ.

127. Al-Zuhri is quoted hereafter as interpreting this obscure word to mean *wādī*, "dry river bed".

Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Hāshim. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only stayed at al-Muḥaṣṣab so that it would be more convenient for his departure. It is not a *sunna*. Staying there is a matter of personal preference."

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, who said, "Amr stated, quoting 'Aṭā' from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'Al-Taḥṣīb is nothing (of importance); it is just somewhere the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed."

Muslim narrated it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, and others from Sufyān, the latter being Ibn 'Uyayna.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba al-Ma'īnī and Musaddad stated that Sufyān related to them, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, who said, "Abū Rāfi' stated, 'He' – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – 'did not order me to stay there. However, his pavilion was pitched and so he did stay there.'"

Abū Dā'ūd quoted Musaddad as stating, "He was in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS)." Abū Dā'ūd also quoted 'Uthmān as stating that this (place) reference was to al-Abṭāḥ.

Muslim narrated it from Qutayba, Abū Bakr and Zuhayr b. Ḥarb from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna.

The outcome of the above is that all of these are agreed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did stay at al-Muḥaṣṣab when he left from Minā. However, they do differ somewhat. Some (scholars) maintain that he had not actually planned to stay there but had done so by chance and for the convenience of his departure. Others interpret his words to imply his having stayed there intentionally. This is more likely.

That is because the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered people that they spend their last time there at the *ka'ba*; before that they would leave from all parts, as Ibn 'Abbās stated. And so he ordered people that their last time there should be at the *ka'ba* – this reference being to the *ṭawāf al-wadā'* "the farewell circumambulation". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted himself and those Muslims there with him to perform the *ṭawāf al-wadā'*. He had departed from Minā at around noon and had not been able to come to the *ka'ba* for the rest of that day, to circumambulate it and travel on into the outskirts of Mecca on the Medina side, since that would have been impossible for so numerous a throng. And so he needed to spend the night near Mecca.

There was no place more appropriate for him to stay than al-Muḥaṣṣab, where Quraysh had made a pact against Banū Hāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib. But God did not fulfil anything for Quraysh, but crushed and defeated them instead, making His religion dominant, aiding His Prophet and enhancing his influence. God fulfilled for him the true religion and through him made clear the straight path.

And so he went on pilgrimage with the people and made clear to them God's rites and regulations. He had made his departure after having completed the rituals and then stayed in that place where Quraysh had sworn a pact for evil, aggression and boycott. There he performed the prayers for the *al-zuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿiṣhāʾ* and then he went to sleep.

He had dispatched ʿĀʾisha, "mother of the Believers", along with her brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, to perform the *al-ʿumra* from al-Tanʿīm and to come to him after finishing. When she had completed her *ʿumra* and returned, he gave permission to the Muslims to proceed to the ancient *kaʿba*.

As Abū Daʿūd stated, "Wahb b. Baqiyya related to me, quoting Khalid, from Aflah, from al-Qāsim, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, 'I declared myself in a state of *iḥrām* for the *ʿumra* from al-Tanʿīm, entered Mecca and performed it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) waited for me at al-Abṭāḥ until I had finished and then ordered the people to set off. He went to the *kaʿba*, circumambulated it and left.'"

Both (authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) included it, from a *ḥadīth* of Aflah b. Ḥumayd.

Abū Daʿūd went on to state that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Abū Bakr – meaning al-Ḥanafī – quoting Aflah, from al-Qāsim, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "I went forth with him" – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) – "on the occasion of the final departure, and he stayed at al-Muḥaṣṣab."

Abū Daʿūd stated, "Ibn Bashshār mentioned her having been sent to al-Tanʿīm. She said, 'I then came (back shortly) before daybreak. He gave his Companions permission to depart and did so himself. He passed by the *kaʿba* before the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer. When he left, he circumambulated it and proceeded off to Medina."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Bashshār.

I observe that it is clear that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with his Companions that day at the *kaʿba*. In that prayer of his, he recited, "By Mt. al-Ṭūr and a book inscribed on a stretched leather! By the inhabited house and the raised roof! And by the swelling sea" (*sūrat al-Ṭūr*; LII, v.1–6).

This (conclusion) stems from what al-Bukhārī narrated. He stated that Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Mālik, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from Zaynab, daughter of Abū Salama, from Umm Salama, the wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "I complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him I was in pain. He replied, 'Circumambulate at the rear of the people, while mounted.' I did so while he was praying that day beside the *kaʿba* and reciting, 'By Mt. al-Ṭūr and a book inscribed . . .'"

The rest of the scholars of the *aḥādīth*, except for al-Tirmidhī, gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, with a similar line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Zaynab, from Umm Salama, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

was at Mecca and wished to leave; however, Umm Salama had not yet circumambulated but wanted to leave. He then told her, "When the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer is being performed, circumambulate on your camel while the people are praying." He then gave the rest of the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad narrated that Abū Muʿāwiya related to him, quoting Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Zaynab, daughter of Abū Salama, from Umm Salama, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), "ordered her to circumambulate at Mecca with him at the time of the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer on the day of the sacrifice".

This obviously has a line of transmission that meets the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. However, no one (else) gave it with this terminology from this line. Perhaps this is because of the words "the day of the sacrifice" – an error from the narrator or from the copyist. In fact it was the *yawm al-nafr*, "the day of the departure". This is substantiated by the account we have given above from al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

The outcome of this is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, he performed seven circumambulations of the *kaʿba* and stood at the *al-multazam*¹²⁸ that is between the corner bearing the "black stone" and the door of the *kaʿba*. He said a prayer to God, the Almighty and Glorious, and pressed his body close to the *kaʿba*.

Al-Thawri stated, from al-Muthannā b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, who quoted his grandfather as saying, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) press his face and his chest to the *al-multazam*."

Al-Muthannā is a weak source.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made his departure from the lower part of Mecca. As ʿĀʾisha stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca from its upper part and left from its lower part." Both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections include this.

Ibn ʿUmar stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered from the upper pass at al-Baṭḥāʾ, and left by the lower pass."

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated this.

In one version the wording is, "He entered from Kadāʾ and left from Kudāʾ."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl related to him, quoting Ajlaḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed from Mecca at sunset. He did not pray until he reached Sarif, which is nine miles from Mecca."

This is very strange. There are differing views about Ajlaḥ. Perhaps this related to some occasion other than the *ḥijjat al-wadaʿ*. As we have stated above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated the *kaʿba* after the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer. What could have delayed him until sunset? This is very strange.

128. The word means here, "the place against which the faithful press while supplicating God".

Unless, that is, the claim made by Ibn Ḥazm is true. Namely, that he returned to al-Muḥaṣṣab from Mecca after his having made the *ṭawāf al-wadā'* circumambulation. The only evidence he gave for this was the statement of 'Ā'isha when she returned after having made her *ʿumra* from al-Tanʿīm, meeting the Prophet (ṢAAS), at Saʿda, whether while he was going down to the people of Mecca or while she was descending and he ascending.

Ibn Ḥazm stated, "One thing beyond doubt is that she was going up from Mecca and that he was descending. This is because she had come in for the *ʿumra* and he was waiting until she came. He then arose to make the *ṭawāf al-wadā'* and met her on his way out to al-Muḥaṣṣab from Mecca."

Al-Bukhārī gave a section entitled, *Chapter on those who stayed at Dhū Ṭuwān when he returned from Mecca.*

Al-Bukhārī went on to quote Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā as stating that Ḥammād b. Zayd related to him, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, to the effect that when Ibn ʿUmar came (on the pilgrimage to Mecca) he spent the night at Dhū Ṭuwān and went in (to Mecca) next morning. When he departed (from Mecca) he would pass by Dhū Ṭuwān where he would pass the night till next morning. He would relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did this.

He related this thus, with a fully connected line of transmission, and in certainty. He, along with Muslim, substantiated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd; however, there is no mention in it of staying at Dhū Ṭuwān on his return. God knows best.

An invaluable addendum that gives the information that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took away some of the water of zamzam with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī stated that Abū Kurayb related to him, quoting Khallād b. Yazid al-Juʿfī, quoting Zuhayr b. Muʾāwiya, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, (who said) that she would carry water from *zamzam* and she reported that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would carry it.

He (al-Tirmidhī) then stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*; we know of it only from this line."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh – he being Ibn al-Mubārak – quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim and Nāfiʿ, from 'Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition or from the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra*, he would thrice proclaim, 'God is most Great!'. Then he would say, 'There is no god but God alone! He has no associate! Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything. We return, repenting, worshipping, prostrating to our Lord, praising. God has fulfilled His promise, given aid to His servant, and defeated the factions (by Himself) alone.'"

The accounts stating this are numerous. And to God all praise and reliance are due.

Chapter: On the narration of the ḥadīth showing that the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave an address in a place between Mecca and Medina on his way back from the ḥijjat al-wadāʿ, near al-Juhfa, a place called Ghadīr Khumm.

At this place he made clear the virtue of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb and how his honour was untainted by the charges made against him by some of those who had been with him in Yemen on account of the awards he had issued then that some thought to be unjust, inadequate and miserly. However, he was in the right in this.

When, therefore, the Prophet (ṢAAS) had finished explaining the pilgrimage rituals and returned to Medina, on the way he clarified that issue, making a major address on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijja that year. It was a Sunday; it was delivered beneath a tree at Ghadīr Khumm and in it he clarified a variety of concerns. He emphasized ʿAlī's virtues, his trustworthiness and his closeness to himself, all of which erased the doubts that many people had about him.

We will, through God's power and help, present the most significant of the accounts relating to this, making clear what in them is authentic and what is questionable.

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, author of the Qurʾān exegesis and the history, greatly concerned himself with this ḥadīth. He collected two volumes of material relating to it, giving its variations in lines of transmission and terminology. He distinguished between the authentic and inauthentic reports (contrary) to the practice of many of the early authorities on the ḥadīth literature, who presented in this section all that came to them without discriminating between those of doubtful quality from others of clear authenticity. The same may be said of the great ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAsākir, who gave many *aḥādīth* relating to this address.

We will give the major relevant accounts with notice that none of it (contains material) from the Shīʿa community; what we will present and explain will provide them neither support nor evidence.

To proceed – and God's help is sought – Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated in his text on the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū ʿAmra, from Yazīd b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukāna, who said, "When ʿAlī arrived from Yemen to meet the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca, he hurried ahead leaving behind one of his men in command of his troops. The latter proceeded to dress each of his men in a special robe made from the cloth that ʿAlī had.

"When the army approached, he (ʿAlī) went out to meet them and was surprised to see them dressed in robes. 'What is all this?' he asked. He (his deputy commander) replied, 'I dressed up the men so that they would look well when they arrive among the people.' 'Confound you!' ʿAlī exclaimed. 'Take them off before you get to the Messenger of God.' His deputy proceeded to remove their robes and replaced them in the store of cloth. The army expressed complaints at how he (ʿAlī) had treated them."

Ibn Ishāq went on to state that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ma'mar b. Ḥazm related to him, from Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ka'b b. 'Ujra, from his aunt Zaynab, daughter of Ka'b, who was married to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, who quoted Abū Sa'īd as saying, "People complained about 'Alī and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose among us to make an address. I heard him say, 'People! Don't complain about 'Alī! I swear by God, he is too rigorous regarding God and His cause than for him to be the object of complaint.'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting him as stating, "He is very rigorous regarding God and His cause."

Imām Aḥmad also stated that al-Faḍl b. Dukayn related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Ghaniyya, from al-Ḥakam, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, from Burayda, who said, "I went on the expedition to Yemen with 'Alī and considered his behaviour harsh. When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I referred to 'Alī with criticism. I saw the expression on the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) change and he said, 'Burayda, do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves?' 'Yes indeed, Messenger of God,' I replied. He said, 'Whoever has myself as his lord, so is 'Alī his lord.'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it thus from Abū Da'ūd al-Harrānī, from Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Ghaniyya; his line of transmission is similar. This line is excellent and firm; all the men quoted are considered trustworthy.

Al-Nasā'ī narrated in his *al-sunan* from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yahyā b. Ḥammād, from Abū Mu'āwiya, from al-A'mash, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who quoted Zayd b. Arqam as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the *ḥijjat al-wada'* and stayed at Ghadir Khumm, he ordered that the area under the large trees be swept. He then said, 'It is as if I have received an invitation and have accepted. I have left among you the two treasures: the Book of God and my family, my household. Watch how you succeed me in both these. They will never split apart until they come to me at *al-hawḍ*.'"¹²⁹

"He then said, 'God is my Lord, and I am the guardian of every believer.' He then took 'Alī by the hand and said, 'Whoever has myself as his lord, so is this (man) his guardian. O God, protect all who protect him, and oppose all who oppose him.'"

"I (Abū al-Ṭufayl) asked Zayd, 'You actually heard this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' He replied, 'There was no one in the tents who did not see him with his own eyes and hear him with his own ears.'"

Al-Nasā'ī is alone in giving this from this line.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Dhahabī said that this was an authentic *ḥadīth*.

129. The pool or basin near which on Judgement Day the Prophet (ṢAAS) is to meet his community.

Ibn Māja stated that ‘Alī b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū al-Ḥusayn, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān, from ‘Adī b. Thābit, from al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib, who said, “We came (to Mecca) with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadā‘* that he attended. He made a halt on the way and gave orders that there be a general prayer. He took ‘Alī by the hand and said, ‘Do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves?’ They replied, ‘Yes, indeed!’ He then asked, ‘Do I not have a higher claim on each Muslim than he has on himself?’ ‘Yes, indeed,’ they replied. He then said, ‘This (man) is the lord of all those whose lord I am. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose all who oppose him.’”

‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated it thus, from Ma‘mar, from ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān, from ‘Adī, from al-Barā’.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawṣilī and al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān stated that Hudba related to them, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ‘Alī b. Zayd and Abū Hārūn, from ‘Adī b. Thābit, from al-Barā’, who said, “We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-wadā‘*. When we came to Ghadīr Khumm, the ground beneath two trees was swept for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). A call was made for a general prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned ‘Alī, took him by the hand and placed him to his right. He then asked, ‘Do I not have a higher claim on each man than he has on himself?’ They replied, ‘Yes, indeed.’ He then said, ‘This man is lord of all those whose lord I am. O God, protect all who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.’

“‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb met him and he said, ‘Good for you! Morning, noon and night you’re to be lord of every believing man and woman!’”

Ibn Jarīr narrated it from Abū Zur‘a, from Mūsā b. Ismā‘īl, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from ‘Alī b. Zayd and Abū Hārūn al-‘Abdī – both of whom are weak sources – from ‘Adī b. Thābit, from al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib.

Ibn Jarīr narrated this *ḥadīth* from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ‘Uthmān al-Ḥaḍramī – a very weak source – from Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī, from al-Barā’ and Zayd b. Arqam. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Malik, from Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Kindī, from Zādhān Abū ‘Umar, who said, “I heard ‘Alī at al-Raḥba while he was addressing the people saying, ‘Who witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the day at Ghadīr Khumm when he spoke as he did?’”

Zādhān went on, “Twelve men arose and bore witness that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘Those whose lord I have been have ‘Alī as their lord.’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; the “Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥīm” quoted is not known.

‘Abd Allāh, son of al-Imām Aḥmad, stated in his father’s *musnad ḥadīth* collection, “A *ḥadīth* of ‘Alī b. Ḥakīm al-‘Azdi quoted Sharīk, from Abū Ishāq, from Sa‘īd b. Wahb, and from Zayd b. Yuthay‘, who said, “‘Alī addressed those

at al-Raḥba, asking, "Anyone who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speak on the day at Ghadīr Khumm should rise."

"Six men arose on behalf of Sa'īd, while six men arose on behalf of Zayd. They testified that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say to 'Alī on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, "Is not God more solicitous of the Muslims than (they are) of themselves?" "Yes indeed," they replied. He then asked, "O God, those whose lord I have been have 'Alī as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him."'"

'Abd Allāh went on to state that 'Alī b. Ḥakīm related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Abū Ishāq, from 'Amr Dhū Amr, a *ḥadīth* similar to that of Abū Ishāq, from Sa'īd and Zayd, that is. He added to it the words, "Aid those who aid him and forsake those whom he forsakes."

'Abd Allāh stated that 'Alī related to him, quoting Sharīk, from al-A'mash, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Zayd b. Arqam, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as above.

Al-Nasā'ī stated in the book *Khaṣṣa'is 'Alī* that al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, from al-A'mash, from Abū Ishāq, from Sa'īd b. Wahb, who said, "'Alī said at al-Raḥba, 'I adjure by God any man who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that day at Ghadīr Khumm say, "God is the lord of the Believers and those whose lord I have been have this (man) as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him, oppose those who oppose him and aid those who aid him" (to rise and so testify)'"¹³⁰

Shu'ba narrated it thus from Abū Ishāq. And this is an excellent line of transmission.

Al-Nasā'ī also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from 'Amr Dhū Amr, (who said) "'Alī adjured the people at al-Raḥba and some men got up and bore witness that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, 'Those whose lord I have been (now have) 'Alī as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him, oppose those who oppose him, and favour those who favour him; hate those who hate him and aid those who aid him.'"

Ibn Jarir narrated it from Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr, from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from Zayd b. Wahb and 'Abd Khayr, from 'Alī.

Ibn Jarir also narrated it from Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, who is a Shī'ī considered a trustworthy source, from Maṭar b. Khalifa, from Abū Ishāq, from Zayd b. Wahb, Zayd b. Yuthay', and 'Amr Dhū Amr (who said) that 'Alī adjured the people at al-Kūfa. He then gave the *ḥadīth* as above.

'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad stated that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Qawāriri related to him, quoting Yūnus b. Arqam, quoting Yazid b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā (who said) "I witnessed 'Alī at al-Raḥba adjuring the people. He said, 'I adjure by God anyone who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the

130. This phrase, necessary for the sense of the text, seems to have been omitted in error from this one narration.

day at Ghadir Khumm, say, "Anyone whose guardian I have been, has 'Alī as his guardian" to get up and so testify."

'Abd al-Raḥmān went on, "So twelve men arose; it is as though I am at this moment looking at one of them. They said, 'We testify that we heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadir Khumm, 'Do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves? And are not my wives like their own mothers?' 'Yes indeed, Messenger of God,' we replied. He went on, 'Those whose lord I have been have 'Alī as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.'"

This line of transmission is *ḍa'if gharīb*, "weak and anomalous".

'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad stated that Aḥmad b. Numayr al-Wakī'ī stated, quoting Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, quoting al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Ḍirār al-Qaysī, quoting Simāk, from 'Ubayd b. al-Walīd al-Qaysī, who said, "I went in to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā and he related to me that he witnessed 'Alī at al-Raḥba. He said, 'He adjured any man who had heard and witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day at Ghadir Khumm to rise; only those who had actually seen him should arise. Twelve men got up and said, 'We saw and heard him when he took him, ('Alī) by the hand, saying, "O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him. Aid whoever aids him and forsake any who forsake him." (All) except three (who had heard him) stood up; these three did not. He then cursed them (the three) and his curse was effective.'"

It was also narrated from 'Abd al-A'ālā b. 'Āmir al-Tha'labī and others, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr related to him, quoting Abū 'Āmir al-'Aqdī and Ibn Abū 'Āṣim narrated, from Sulaymān al-Ghallabī, from Abū 'Āmir al-'Aqdī, quoting Kathīr b. Zayd, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī, from his father, from 'Alī (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was present near a tree at Khumm. He went on to relate the *ḥadīth* which contained the words, "Whose lord I have been, has 'Alī as his lord".

Some authorities narrated it from Abū 'Āmir, from Kathīr, from Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī, from 'Alī, with a line of transmission that is *munqaṭi'*.

Ismā'īl b. 'Amr al-Bajalī – he being a weak source – stated, from Miṣ'ar, from Ṭalḥa b. Muṣṣarif, from 'Umayra b. Sa'd (who said) that he witnessed 'Alī on the *minbar* adjuring the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had heard the latter on the day at Ghadir Khumm (to stand up). Twelve men did stand; these included Abū Hurayra, Abū Sa'īd and Anas b. Mālik. They testified that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Anyone whose lord I have been has 'Alī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him."

'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā narrated it from Hānī' b. Ayyūb – he being considered a trustworthy source – from Ṭalḥa b. Muṣṣarif.

'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad stated that Ḥajjāj b. al-Shā'ir related to him, quoting Shabāba, quoting Nu'aym b. Ḥakīm, quoting Abū Maryam and a man who was

a close companion of 'Alī, who quoted 'Alī as saying that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the day at Ghadir Khumm, 'Anyone whose lord I have been, has 'Alī as his lord.' He went on to say that, 'Some people add to that the words, "protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him".'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated with this line of transmission the *ḥadīth* of al-Mukhdij.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad and Abū Nu'aym al-Ma'īni both stated that Qaṭn quoted Abū al-Ṭufayl as having said, "'Alī assembled the people at al-Raḥba – meaning the courtyard of the mosque at al-Kūfa – and said, 'God calls upon all who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speak at Ghadir Khumm to stand (and say) what they heard.' Many people did stand and testified to his having taken 'Alī by the hand and having asked the people, 'Do you know that I have a higher claim on the people than they have on themselves?' They replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God.' He continued, 'Anyone whose lord I have been has 'Alī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.'"

"I then left, feeling somewhat disturbed, and met Zayd b. Arqam. I told him what I had heard 'Alī say. He asked, 'What is it you are disputing? I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say that to him.'"

Imām Aḥmad related it thus in the *musnad* ascribed to Zayd b. Arqam, may God be pleased with him.

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-A'mash, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Zayd b. Arqam. This is given above.

Al-Tirmidhī gave it from Bandār, from Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from Salama b. Kuhayl, who said, "I heard Abū al-Ṭufayl relate from Abū Sariḥa" – or Zayd b. Arqam, Shu'ba was unsure – "that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Anyone whose lord I have been has 'Alī as his lord.'"

Ibn Jarīr narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim, from Abū Nu'aym, from Kāmil Abū al-'Alā', from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Yahyā b. Ja'da, from Zayd b. Arqam.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Abū 'Awāna, from al-Mughīra, from Abū 'Ubayd, from Maymūn Abū 'Abd Allāh, who said, "Zayd b. Arqam said, while I listened, 'We made a halt at a place called Wādī Khumm. He ordered prayers and performed it at midday.

"'He made an address to us. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was protected from the sun by a cloth placed over a tree. He said, "Do you not know" – or "do you not bear witness" – "that I have a higher claim on any believer than he has on himself?" "Yes indeed," they replied. He went on, "Anyone whose lord I have been has 'Alī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.'"

Aḥmad proceeded to narrate it from Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from Maymūn Abū 'Abd Allāh, from Zayd b. Arqam, up to the words, "Anyone whose lord I have been has 'Alī as his lord". Maymūn then stated, "Some authorities quote Zayd as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also said, 'O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.'"

This line of transmission is excellent. Its sources are men considered trustworthy according to the criteria of the *sunan*. Al-Tirmidhī categorized as *ṣaḥīḥ* a tradition with this line of transmission dealing with *al-rayth*, “tardiness”.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥya b. Ādam related to him, quoting Ḥanash b. al-Ḥārith b. Laqīṭ al-Ashjaʿī, from Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “A group of men came to ‘Alī at al-Raḥba and said, ‘Peace be upon you, lord of ours!’ He replied, ‘How can I be your “lord” when you are Arabs?’ They responded, ‘We heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, “Anyone whose lord I have been has this man as his lord.”’”

Rabbāḥ went on, “When they left, I went in after them and asked, ‘Who were those?’ They replied, ‘A group of *anṣār*; Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī was one of them.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥanash related to us, from Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “I saw a group of *anṣār* go in to see ‘Alī at al-Raḥba. He asked, ‘Who are these people?’ They replied, ‘Your *mawālī*, “subjects”, Commander of the Believers.’” And he completed the *ḥadīth* similarly.

This is his phraseology; the *ḥadīth* is one of those that only he gives.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān Abū al-Jawzā’ related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. ‘Athama, quoting Mūsā b. Ya‘qūb al-Zam‘ī – he being entirely trustworthy – quoting Muhājir b. Mismār, from ‘Ā’isha, daughter of Sa‘d, who quoted her father as saying, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speak on the day at al-Juḥfa. He took ‘Alī by the hand and made an address. Then he said, ‘People, I am your guardian.’ ‘You are right,’ the people responded. He then raised ‘Alī’s hand and said, ‘This is my *walī*, “my deputy”,¹³¹ and *mu‘addī*, “the one deputized by me”. God is the protector of those who protect him and the opponent of those who oppose him.”

Our teacher al-Dhahabī stated, “This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan gharīb*, “good yet anomalous”.

Ibn Jarīr then narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ya‘qūb b. Ja‘far b. Abū Bakr, from Muhājir b. Mismār. His version tells of the Prophet (ṢAAS) stopping until those behind him caught up and of his ordering back those who had advanced. He then addressed them as in the *aḥādīth* above.

Abū Ja‘far b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī stated in the first part of his book *Ghadīr Khumm*, that his teacher Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Dhahabī stated that he found the following in a manuscript quoting Ibn Jarīr as stating that Muḥmūd b. ‘Awf al-Ṭā’ī related, quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting Ismā‘īl b. Kashīr, from Jamīl b. ‘Ammāra, from Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar – Ibn Jarīr stated, “I think he added, ‘from ‘Umar’, but that is not in my notes” – who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, as he held the hand of ‘Alī, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been has

131. The term could well have been used to imply “appointed successor”. However, other meanings are also possible for this word that normally gains specificity from some succeeding term, absent here, to which it is paired.

this man as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him, and oppose those who oppose him.”

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb*; indeed, it is *munkar*, “objectionable”, and its line of transmission is *ḍa‘īf*. Al-Bukhārī stated that Jamil b. ‘Ammāra is a questionable source.

Al-Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād stated, quoting from ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl, who heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “We were at the dry-well at Ghadīr Khumm when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to us and said, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Alī as his lord.’”

Our teacher, al-Dhahabī, stated, “This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*, ‘good’.” Ibn Lahī‘a narrated it from Bakr b. Sawāda and others, from Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from Jābir similarly.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā b. Ādam and Ibn Abū Bukayr related to him, that Isrā‘īl related to them both, from Abū Ishāq, from Ḥabashī b. Janāda – who had, Yahyā b. Ādam stated, been present on the *ḥijjat al-wadā‘* – and stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Alī is of me, and I am of him; and only I or ‘Alī direct from me.’”

Ibn Abū Bukayr said (that the words spoken were), “No one settles debts on my behalf except myself or ‘Alī.”

Aḥmad also narrated it thus from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, from Isrā‘īl.

Imām Aḥmad stated that al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting Shurayk, from Abū Ishāq, from Ḥabashī b. Janāda in similar terms, “I”, (Shurayk) “asked Abū Ishāq, ‘Where did you hear him say this?’ He replied, ‘He stood over us on a mare at our *majlis*, “assembly”, at the al-Sabī‘ cemetery.’”

Aḥmad narrated it similarly, from Aswad b. ‘Āmir, as did Yahyā b. Ādam, from Shurayk. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Ismā‘īl b. Mūsā, from Shurayk. Ibn Māja did so from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, as also did Suwayd b. Sa‘īd and Ismā‘īl b. Mūsā, all three of these quoting it from Shurayk. Al-Nasā‘ī narrated it from Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, from Yahyā b. Ādam, from Isrā‘īl. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*.

Sulaymān b. Qarm – whose traditions are rejected – narrated it from Abū Ishāq, from Ḥabashī b. Janāda, who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, “Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Alī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.” He went on to narrate the *ḥadīth*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawṣilī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Shurayk, from Abū Yazīd al-Azdī, from his father, who said, “Abū Hurayra came in to the mosque and the people gathered about him. One young man went up to him and said, ‘I adjure you by God to tell whether you heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, “Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Alī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.” “Yes,” he replied.’”

Ibn Jarīr narrated it from Abū Kurayb, from Shādhān, from Shurayk. Idrīs al-Azdī concurred with him, quoting it from his brother Abū Yazīd, whose name was Dā'ūd b. Yazīd. Ibn Jarīr also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Idrīs and Dā'ūd, from their father, from Abū Hurayra.

Also there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by Ḍamra from Ibn Shawdhab, from Maṭar al-Warrāq, from Shahr b. Hawshab, from Abū Hurayra, which states, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took 'Alī by the hand, he said, 'Anyone whose lord I have been has 'Alī as his lord.' And so God the Almighty and Glorious revealed, 'Today I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favours upon you'" (*sūrat al-Mā'idā*; V, v.3).

Abū Hurayra went on, "This was the day at Ghadir Khumm; whoever fasts the 18th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja has credited for him a fast of 60 months."

This is a highly objectionable *ḥadīth*; indeed it is mendacious! Because contradictory material is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from the Commander of the Believers, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to the effect that this verse was revealed on the Friday, the day at 'Arafāt, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was standing there. We have given this above.

Similarly, his statement, "whoever fasts the 18th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja has credited for him a fast of 60 months" is untrue. For what is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections is that fasting the month of Ramaḍān brings credit of 10 months. And so how could it be that fasting one day would be counted as 60 months? This is nonsense.

After relating this *ḥadīth*, our teacher, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dhahabī commented, "This *ḥadīth* is extremely objectionable."

Habshūn al-Khallāl and Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nirī, both highly trustworthy sources, narrated it from 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Ramālī, from Ḍamra, who said, "This *ḥadīth* is narrated from those (traced to) Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Mālīk b. al-Ḥuwayrith, Anas b. Mālīk, Abū Sa'īd and others, with weak lines of transmission."

Ḍamra went on, "The beginning part of the *ḥadīth* is successively given, with high certainty that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke it. Regarding the words, 'O God, protect those who protect him', it is an addition that has strong lines of transmission. This reference to fasting, however, is inauthentic. And, by God, this verse quoted was definitely revealed on Mt. 'Arafāt, some days before that at Ghadir Khumm. But God, Almighty is He, knows best."

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that 'Alī b. Ishāq, al-Wazīr al-Isbahānī, related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Muqaddimī, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Muqaddimī, quoting 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Shabbān b. Mālīk b. Masma', quoting Sahl b. Ḥanīf b. Sahl b. Mālīk, the brother of Ka'b b. Mālīk, from his father who quoted his grandfather as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina from the *ḥijjat al-wada'*, he mounted the

minbar, gave praise and thanks to God and said, 'People, Abū Bakr never did me harm; give him credit for that. People, I am well pleased with Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and the initial *muhājirīn*. Give them all credit for that. People, preserve me in my Companions, my relatives and my friends. God does not seek for you to harm any one of them. People, keep your tongues off the Muslims, and if one of them should die, then say good of him.'"

THE YEAR 11 AH.

This year commenced after the return of the noble Prophet (ṢAAS), to that city of prophecy, Medina, "the purified", following his completion of the *ḥijjat al-wada'*.

Momentous events took place that year, among the most shocking being the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, he was in fact transported by Almighty God from this transient abode away into eternal ease in an elevated place on high, the most exalted and most splendid level of paradise. As the Almighty stated, "The afterlife is better for you than the former; your Lord will give to you, and you will be pleased" (*sūrat al-Duḥā*; XCIII, v.4).

That was after he had completed carrying out the mission that God Almighty had ordered him to announce. He had given advice to his nation and had directed them to the very best that he knew for them. He had warned them and restrained them from what would have harmed them here on earth and in their afterlife.

We have given above the *ḥadīth* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb narrated by both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, to the effect that the words of the Almighty: "Today I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favours upon you, and willed that Islam be your religion" (*sūrat al-Mā'idā*; V, v.3) were revealed on Friday, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was standing on 'Arafāt.

We have narrated, from a fine line of transmission, that when this *sūrat* was revealed, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wept. He was asked, "What makes you weep?" He replied, "After perfection there can only be loss." It was as though he had sensed the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

The latter pointed to this in what was narrated by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that, "the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the pillar at al-'Aqaba and said to us, 'Take from me your rituals, for I may perhaps not make the pilgrimage after this year.'"

We have given above what the two *ḥuffāz* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār and al-Bayhaqī narrated from the *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. 'Ubayda al-Rabadhī, from Ṣadaqa b. Yasār, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "This *sūrat*: '(Remember) when God's help and the victory came' (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.1) was revealed in the middle days of *al-tashrīq*, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew that it meant the farewell.

He therefore ordered that his camel al-Qaṣwā' be brought, and it was saddled." He went on to refer to the address the Prophet (ṢAAS) made that day, as is told above.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with him, spoke similarly to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb when he asked him about the interpretation of this *sūrat* in the presence of many of the Companions, to show them the virtue of Ibn ʿAbbās, his superiority and knowledge. This related to his having been brought forwards and seated (in a prominent position) with the elders who had participated in the battle of Badr. He (ʿUmar) said, "You know from where he came." He proceeded, in the presence of Ibn ʿAbbās, to question them on the interpretation of this *sūrat*: "(Remember) when God's help and the victory came and you saw the people entering God's religion in droves. Give joyful praise to your lord, and seek His forgiveness. He is Forgiving" (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX v.1-3). They replied, "We were ordered, after having been given (God's) help, to speak His name, to praise Him and to seek His forgiveness."

"He (ʿUmar) asked, 'What do you say, Ibn ʿUmar?' He replied, 'It (referred to) the impending death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was being notified of it.' ʿUmar commented, 'I know of it only what you know.'"

We have referred, in our exegesis of this *sūrat*, to the various sources substantiating Ibn ʿAbbās's statement, even though that does not contradict interpretations offered by the Companions.

What is narrated by Imām Aḥmad is similar. (He stated) that Wakī' related to him, from Ibn Abū Dhīb, from Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of al-Taw'ama, from Abū Hurayra, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage accompanied by his wives, he said, "There will only be this *ḥijja*, and then they will remain in confinement."

Aḥmad is alone in giving it from this line. Abū Dā'ūd narrated it in his work *al-sunan*, from another excellent line.

What is implied here is that this year the people sensed the (impending) death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

We will refer to all that and present the accounts and evidences relating thereto. And God's help is to be sought.

In way of preface to that, we will refer to what the *imām* Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yaṣār, Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr and Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī narrated prior to his death, in their enumerations of his pilgrimages, military expeditions and raids, documents and messages to rulers. Our references will be concise and abridged, and we will follow this material with the death.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is stated in a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī, from Zayd b. Arqam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on nineteen military expeditions and, following his *hijra*, performed the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* but made no pilgrimage thereafter.

Abū Ishāq stated that there was one other at Mecca.

Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī stated the same. Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb stated, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made three pilgrimages – two before his Hijra and one thereafter, along with which he also performed an *ʿumra*. To the latter he brought thirty-six camels for sacrifice and 'Alī brought the complement thereto from Yemen.

We have presented information above given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from more than one of the Companions, including Anas b. Malīk, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the *ʿumra* four times, that at al-Ḥudaybiyya, the *ʿumrat al-qadā'*, the *ʿumra* from al-Jī'rāna, and the *ʿumra* that accompanied his *ḥijjat al-wadā'*.

Regarding the military expedition, al-Bukhārī narrated, from Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl, from Yazīd b. Abū 'Ubayd, from Salama b. al-Akwa', who said, "I participated in seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and in nine with Zayd b. Ḥāritha, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had appointed in command of us."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections a *ḥadīth* is given from Qutayba, from Ḥatīm b. Ismā'īl, from Zayd, from Salama who said, "I went on seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and on nine others he dispatched (without himself participating). On one Abū Bakr was in command of us, and on another it was Usāma b. Zayd."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, there is a *ḥadīth* from Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on fifteen military expeditions."

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated in a *ḥadīth* from Shu'ba, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā', that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made nineteen expeditions, in seventeen of which he participated. The first of these was that to "al-'Ushayr" or "al-'Usayr".

Muslim narrated from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Mu'tamir, from Kahmas b. al-Ḥasan, from Ibn Burayda, who quoted his father as saying that he participated along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in sixteen military expeditions.

There is also an account of Muslim, through al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda, who quoted his father as saying that he participated in nineteen military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in eight of which he engaged in combat.

In another account from him with this line of transmission, it is said that he dispatched twenty-four military expeditions, and that he engaged in the battles of Badr, Uhud, al-Aḥzāb, al-Muraysī', Khaybar, Mecca and Hunayn.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Zubayr, Jābir is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) engaged in twenty-one military expeditions. I took part with him in nineteen, and did not fight at Badr or Uhud because my father prevented me. When the latter was killed at Uhud, I never missed any military expedition he sent out."

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated that Ma‘mar related to him, from al-Zuhri, who said, “I heard Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized eighteen military expeditions.’ And once I heard him say that they totalled twenty-four. But I don’t know whether I imagined that or heard it thereafter.”

Qatāda stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized nineteen military expeditions in eight of which he himself engaged in combat. He also sent out twenty-four missions. His expeditions and raids together totalled forty-three.”

‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, al-Zuhri, Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār and other scholars expert in this subject state that the Prophet (ṢAAS) fought at Badr in Ramaḍān in 2 AH, then at Uḥud in Shawwāl of 3 AH, at al-khandaq and against Banū Qurayza, also in Shawwāl, of 4 AH – for which date 5 AH is also given – against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq at al-Muraysi‘ in Sha‘bān of 5 AH, and at Khaybar in Ṣafar of 7 AH, dated by some as 6 AH. What is correct is that it occurred at the beginning of 7 AH and the end of 6 AH. Then he fought against the Meccans in Ramaḍān of 8 AH, and against (Banū) Hawāzin, then besieged the inhabitants of al-Ṭā‘if in Shawwāl and part of Dhū al-Ḥijja in 8 AH, as is told above in detail. In 8 AH ‘Attāb b. Usayd, the Governor of Mecca, made the pilgrimage with the people and then in 9 AH, Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, did so. Thereafter, in 10 AH the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the pilgrimage with the Muslims.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “The number of military expeditions which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized totalled twenty-seven. These were, in order, Waddān, also known as al-Abwā’; Buwāt, over towards Raḍwa; al-‘Ushayra, in the Yanbu‘ valley; the first Badr battle, in pursuit of Kurz b. Jābir; ‘the great battle of Badr’, in which God slew the Quraysh chiefs; Banū Sulaym, proceeding as far as al-Kudr; al-Sawīq, in pursuit of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; Ghatafān, also known as Dhū Amarr; Baḥrān, a mine in Ḥijāz; Uḥud; Ḥamrā’ al-Asad; Banū al-Naḍir; Dhāt al-Riqā‘ of Nakhl; the ‘other’ battle of Badr; Dūmat al-Jandal; al-khandaq; Banū Qurayza; Banū Lihyān of Hudhayl; Dhū Qarad; Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuḏā‘a; al-Ḥudaybiyya, where he did not intend to do battle and was blocked by the polytheists; Khaybar; the *‘umrat al-qaḍā* pilgrimage; al-Fath; Ḥunayn; al-Ṭā‘if; and Tabūk.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “He actually engaged in combat in nine expeditions – Badr; Uḥud; al-khandaq; Qurayza; al-Muṣṭaliq; Khaybar; al-Fath; Ḥunayn; and al-Ṭā‘if.”

I note that all this is narrated in detail above in the appropriate places and with reference to various witnesses and evidence. And to God praise is due.

Ibn Ishāq went on to state that the missions and raids he dispatched totalled thirty-eight. And he proceeded to present details of these.

All or most of this material we have presented above in the proper place. And to God goes all praise and credit.

Let us, then summarize what Ibn Ishāq referred to here: the dispatch of 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith to below Thaniyat Dhū al-Marwa; the dispatch of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to the coast, over towards al-ʿIṣ; some predate this to the dispatch of 'Ubayda, as mentioned hereabove. God knows best.

The dispatch of: Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ to al-Kharrār; 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh to Nakhla; Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Qarada; Muḥammad b. Maslama to Ka'b b. al-Ashraf; Marthad b. Abū Marthad to al-Rajī'; al-Mundhir b. 'Amr to Bīr Ma'ūna; Abū 'Ubayda to Dhū al-Qaṣṣa; 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Turba in Banū 'Āmir territory; 'Alī to Yemen.

(The dispatch of) Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kalbī to al-Kadīd, where he fought Banū al-Mulawwah. He attacked them by night, killed a number of them and took away their livestock. Some of them pursued to retrieve the livestock and when they drew near a *wādī*, a flood intervened. On their way the Muslims captured al-Ḥārith b. Mālīk b. al-Barṣā'.

Ibn Ishāq gave account of this here, as we have dealt with it above.

(Ibn Ishāq went on), "The dispatch of: 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib to the territory of Fadak; Abū al-Awja' al-Sulamī to Banū Sulaym, both he and his men being killed; 'Ukāsha to al-Ghamra; Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad to Qaṭan, a well in Najd belonging to Banū Asad; Muḥammad b. Maslama to al-Qartā' of Hawāzin; Bashīr b. Sa'd to Banū Murra at Fadak; also Bashīr b. Sa'd out towards Ḥunayn; Zayd b. Ḥāritha to al-Jumūm, territory of Banū Sulaym."¹³²

Regarding the expedition of Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha to Judhām, territory of Banū Khushayn. Ibn Hishām commented that this was part of the territory of Ḥashmī. The reason for this, as told by Ibn Ishāq and others, was that when Dihya b. Khalifa returned from his trip to the Byzantine emperor, having taken to him the document from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), inviting him to God and having received treasures and gifts, he arrived in a valley in Banū Judhām territory called Shanār. At that time al-Hunayd b. 'Uṣ and his son 'Uṣ b. al-Hunayd, men of (Banū) al-Dulay', a clan of Judhām, attacked him. They took all he had with him. One group of them, who had accepted Islam, fled from them, retrieving for Dihya what had been seized from him.

(Ibn Ishāq went on), "When Dihya returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he told him what had happened and asked his permission to take the blood of al-Hunayd and his son 'Uṣ. Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Zayd b. Ḥāritha with a force of men against them. They approached from near al-Awlāj, attacking Māqīṣ from the direction of the lava field. They captured the men and property they could find and killed al-Hunayd, his son, two men of Banū al-Aḥnaf and one of Banū Khaṣīb.

"After Zayd had captured their livestock and families, a group of them met with Rifā'a b. Zayd, who had received a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

132. At this point Ibn Kathīr abbreviates and edits the account given by Ibn Ishāq. See Guillaume, *op. cit.* page 662 *et seq.*

inviting them to Islam. Rifā'a read it out to them and a group responded. Zayd b. Hāritha did not, however, know this.

"After three days riding they reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina. They gave him the letter and he ordered that it be read out in public. He then asked aloud, three times, 'What should I do about those slain?' One of their men, named Abū Zayd b. 'Amr, replied, 'Release those who are alive, Messenger of God. Those dead are already beneath these feet of mine.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib to accompany them. 'Alī responded, 'Zayd will not obey me.' And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave him his own sword as a sign. 'Alī then left with them, riding one of their camels. At Fayfā' al-Faḥlatayn they met up with Zayd, and 'Alī gave back to them all that had been taken from them; they lost nothing at all.

"He also dispatched Zayd b. Hāritha to Banū Fazāra at Wādī al-Qurā, where a number of his men were killed. He was wounded, along with those killed. When he returned home, he swore that no water would touch his head after a *janāba*¹³³ until he had attacked them again. When he had recovered from his wound, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent him off once more in command of a force. He fought them at Wādī al-Qurā, taking prisoner Umm Qirfa, Fāṭima, daughter of Rabī'a b. Badr, the wife of Mālik b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr, who was accompanied by a daughter of hers. Zayd b. Hāritha gave orders to Qays b. al-Musahḥar al-Ya'muri and he killed Umm Qirfa, allowing her daughter to live. Umm Qirfa had been held in very high honour, maxims being in common use referring to her nobility. Salama b. al-Akwa took charge of her daughter and he petitioned the Messenger of God (SAAS), to award her to him, which he did. Thereafter the Messenger of God¹³⁴ (SAAS) presented her to his (Salama's) uncle, Ḥazn b. Abū Wahb, to whom she bore his son 'Abd al-Rahmān.

"He twice sent 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to Khaybar. On one expedition he killed al-Yusayr b. Rizām who had been assembling Ghatafan to attack the Messenger of God (SAAS). The latter therefore dispatched 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa with a force of men that included 'Abd Allāh b. Unays. When they approached al-Yusayr b. Rizām, they wished to conduct him back to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He did proceed with them, but when they were at al-Qarqara, some six miles from Khaybar, al-Yusayr regretted having come. His son, 'Abd Allāh, attacked him while he was drawing his sword and used his own to strike him, cutting off his father's leg. Al-Yusayr struck him back on the head with a staff of *shawḥaṭ* wood. Each Muslim then attacked and killed his Jewish companion. One of them, however, escaped on foot.

"When 'Abd Allāh b. Unays arrived, the Messenger of God (SAAS) spat upon his head and his wound did not suppurate or cause him pain."

133. The word in Islamic practice means a "major ritual impurity". That is, he would abstain from sexual relations until he had again fought Banū Fazāra.

134. In the version of Ibn Ishāq translated by Guillaume, it was Salama who presented the woman to his uncle. *Op. cit.* page 665.

I note that I think the other expedition to Khaybar to have been when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to the date-palms at Khaybar. But God knows best.

(Ibn Ishāq continued) "He dispatched 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk and his men to Khaybar and they killed Abū Rāfi', the Jew. He dispatched 'Abd Allāh b. Unays to Khālīd b. Sufyān b. Nubayḥ, whom he killed at 'Urana."

Ibn Ishāq narrated here his story at length. Reference is made to him in the account of events of 5 AH. But God knows best.

He sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Ja'far and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa to Muṭa in Syria, where they were killed as was related above.

He sent Ka'b b. 'Umayr (and a force) to Dhāt Aṭlāḥ, in Syria, and they too were killed.

He sent 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr to Banū al-'Anbar of Tamīm, whom he attacked. He killed a number of their men and then a delegation from them accompanied the prisoners to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He set some of them free and accepted ransom for others.

He also sent Ghālib b. 'Abd Allāh to Syria where Mirdās b. Nahik, their ally from al-Ḥurqa of (Banū) Juhayna was struck down. He was killed by Usāma b. Zayd and one of the *anṣār* who overtook him. When they drew their swords upon him, he uttered the words, "There is no god but God" (but they still killed him). When the two men returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) criticized them severely. They excused themselves by maintaining that he had only spoken these words to avoid being killed. He asked Usāma, "And so did you tear up his heart (to learn whether he was feigning belief)?" He began saying to Usāma, "And what will happen to you on Judgement Day, when confronted by the statement 'There is no god but God'?" Usāma said, "And he went on repeating this until I wished I had myself not become a Muslim before that (incident)." We have discussed this above.

He sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to Dhāt al-Salāsil in Banū 'Udhra territory to encourage the Arabs to attack Syria. This was because the mother of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il was from Balī; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore sent 'Amr to enlist them, believing he would be received most favourably by them.

When he reached a well of theirs called al-Salsal, he grew fearful of them. He therefore sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for help. The latter dispatched to him a force that included Abū Bakr and 'Umar and was commanded by Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. When they reached him, 'Amr took command over them all, saying, "You have only been dispatched as reinforcements for myself." Abū 'Ubayda, an easy-going man who cared little for prestige, accepted submissively. 'Amr would lead the prayer with all of them. Upon his return, therefore, he asked, "Messenger of God, who is your favourite person?" "'Ā'isha," he replied. "And of the men?" 'Amr asked. "Her father," he responded.

He dispatched 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad to the Iḍam valley. That was prior to the conquest of Mecca. The story of Muḥallim b. Haththātha, given above with reference to 7 AH, is narrated at length above.

He also dispatched Ibn Abū Ḥadrad to al-Ghāba.

THE DISPATCH OF ‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ‘AWF TO DŪMAT AL-JĀNDAL.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that someone above suspicion quoted ‘Aṭā’ b. Abū Rabāḥ as having said, “I heard a man from Baṣra ask ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about a man’s allowing his turban, if wearing one, to fly freely behind him.” ‘Abd Allāh stated, “I will tell you about that, if God so wills it. You should know that I was the tenth in a group of Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), in his mosque. The others were Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī. I was there with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a young *anṣārī* came in, greeted him and sat down. He then asked, ‘Messenger of God, which of the Believers is the best?’ ‘The most virtuous,’ he replied. He then asked, ‘And which of the Believers is the most intelligent?’ ‘The one who is the most aware of death and best prepared for it before it comes; those like that are the most intelligent.’ The young man became silent.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then came over to us and said, ‘*Muhājirs*, there are five faults that I pray to God will never befall you. If immorality ever settles upon and overcomes a people, plague and disease will appear among them such as never did among their forefathers. If they give short measure and weight, they will be overwhelmed by famine and the ruler’s tyranny. If they ever refuse to give the *zakāt* from their wealth, they will be deprived of moisture from the sky; for were it not for the animals, no rain would fall on them. If ever they break the pact with God or His Messenger, an enemy will overpower them and take some of what they had. If their *imāms* should ever rule without God’s book and what God revealed, then He will bring calamity among them.’

“He then ordered ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf to make preparations for an expedition on which he was sending him. Next morning he wore a turban made of black cotton. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him to approach, and untied and then rearranged the turban so that four or so fingers’ length were lying behind him. He said, ‘That’s the way, Ibn ‘Awf. Put your turban on thus – that is better and more usual.’

“He then told Bilāl to present him with the banner, and he did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praised God, spoke a prayer for himself and said, ‘Take it, Ibn ‘Awf. Combat all in God’s cause and do battle against those who disbelieve in Him. Do not defraud or use deceit, mutilate, or kill children. This is God’s covenant and the way of your Prophet among you.’

“And so ‘Abd al-Raḥmān took the banner.” Ibn Hishām added, “He proceeded out to Dūmat al-Jandal.”

He also despatched Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. They were some 300 riders who travelled to the coast. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) provisioned him with a stock of dates. The story of the *‘anbar*, “the great whale”, cast ashore from the

sea, relates to this expedition. It provided food for them all for close to a month. It restored them to health and they cut it up into steaks to provision themselves for their return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They gave him some of it and he ate it. This story is narrated above.

Ibn Hishām stated, "There were other expeditions to which Ibn Ishāq did not refer here." There was the dispatch of 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to fight Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb, after the killing of Khubayb b. 'Adī and his companions. We have related above what became of him.

With 'Amr b. Umayya there was Jabbār b. Ṣakhr. It did not so happen that they killed Abū Sufyān; in fact, they killed a different man and brought down Khubayb's body from his stake.

He sent Sālim b. 'Umayr, one of the *bukā'ina*, "the weepers", to Abū 'Afak, of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. He had made his hypocrisy apparent when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) killed al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, as was told above. He mourned him with the following verses, criticizing – may God damn him – his acceptance of the faith:

"I have lived for an age and I have never seen a house
nor a group

More true, when called upon, to promises, nor more
trustworthy to those who have compacted with them

Than the sons of Qayla¹³⁵ in their assembly, making
mountains shake and never submitting.

A rider who came to them split them apart (by saying)
'Permissible!' 'Forbidden!' to various things.

If you had believed in glory or kingship, you would
have followed Tubba'."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, "Who will take care of this foul fellow for me?" And so this man Sālim b. 'Umayr volunteered and killed him.

Umāma al-Murīdiyya spoke the following verses on this subject:

"You deny the veracity of God's religion and the man
Aḥmad! By the life of him who bore you, evil is he who did
so!

A *ḥanīf* presented you with a thrust in the night,
(saying) 'Take that, Abū 'Afak, despite your age!'"

He dispatched 'Umayr b. 'Adī al-Khaṭmī to kill al-'Asmā', daughter of Marwān, of Banū Umayya b. Zayd. She had been satirizing Islam and those practising it. When Abū 'Afak, mentioned above, was killed, she made her hypocrisy plain, speaking the verses:

"Confound Banū Mālik, al-Nabīṭ, 'Awf and Banū al-Khazraj!

135. A reference to the supposed ancestry of the *anṣār* of Medina.

You have obeyed a stranger not of yourselves, not a man
of (Banū) Murād or (Banū) Madhḥij.

You have hopes of him, after his having killed the
chiefs, as you might hope for blossoms after fruit
ripens!

Is there no proud man to ambush him and so
destroy the hope of the pretender?"

Ḥassān b. Thābit answered her with the verses:

"Banū Wā'il, Banū Wāqif and Khaṭma are beneath Banū al-Khazraj.

Having asked for folly, may woe be upon her in her
lamenting; and death will come.

She upset a hero of fine ancestry, a man noble both in
his entering and in his exit.

He smeared her with blood shortly after the daytime and
he has no regrets."

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had heard her words, he had said, "Will no one rid me of Marwān's daughter?" 'Umayr heard this and the evening of that night he attacked and killed her. Next morning, he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, "Messenger of God, I have killed her!" He responded, "'Umayr, you have given help both to God and to His Messenger." 'Umayr asked, "Messenger of God, will I be held accountable for what happened to her?" He replied, "Not even two goats will clash about her!"

'Umayr returned to his people who were in disagreement about her death; she had five sons. 'Umayr said, "It was I who killed her! Come at me, all of you; don't wait!" That was the first day that Islam gained strength among Banū Khaṭma. A large number of them became Muslims when they recognized the power of Islam.

Ibn Ishāq went on to refer to those who captured Thumāma b. Uthāl al-Ḥanafi and the circumstances relating to his acceptance of Islam. We have referred to this above in relating authentic *aḥādīth*.

Ibn Hishām stated that it was in relation to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "The Believer eats with one stomach, the unbeliever with seven!" This was because of the little food Thumāma ate after his acceptance of Islam. He related how, having left Medina, he entered Mecca to make the *ʿumra*, reciting the *talbiyya*. The Meccans forbade him from doing this, but he disobeyed them, threatening to cut off their supply of grain from Yamāma. When he returned home there, he did deny them grain until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to him and he restored it to them. A man of Banū Ḥanīfa said, "Among us is he who recited the *talbiyya* in Mecca, though forbidden, in spite of Abū Sufyān, in the sacrosanct months."

He sent 'Alqama b. Mujazziz al-Mudliji to take vengeance for his brother Waqqāṣ b. Mujazziz the day he was killed at Dhū Qarad. He asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to follow their tracks; he gave it and

appointed him commander of a force of men. When they were on their way, he ordered a group of them to come to him, and he appointed 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa to be their leader. He liked to joke. He lit a fire and ordered the men to enter it. When some were about to do so, he said, "I was only joking!" When this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he commented, "Do not obey someone who orders you to disobey God."

The *ḥadīth* on this subject was related by Ibn Hishām from al-Darāwardī, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqama, from 'Amr b. al-Ḥakam b. Thawbān, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī.

He sent Kurz b. Jābir to fight those men who had come to Medina. They were of Qays of (Banū) Bajila. They found Medina unhealthy and became sick and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them to go out to his camels and to drink their urine and their milk. When they recovered, they butchered Yasār, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was the camels' herdsman and stuck thorns into his eyes. They then took away all the milch-camels. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent after them Kurz b. Jābir with a force of his men and they brought them back from Bajila following the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the expedition to Dhū Qarad. He gave his order and their hands and feet were cut off and their eyes were gouged out.

It may well be that these are the men referred to in the well-accepted *ḥadīth* of Anas – a group of eight men of 'Ukl or 'Urayna who came to Medina with the same consequences. It seems obvious that these were they; we have narrated their story at length above. Should they have been different men, we have given here the major information given by Ibn Hishām. God knows best.

Ibn Hishām went on to relate the expedition (to Yemen) made twice by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. Ibn Hishām quotes Abū 'Amr al-Madani as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched 'Alī to Yemen and Khālīd with a different force. He had stated that if the two forces were to combine, then 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib was to be their commander.

He (Ibn Hishām) went on, "Ibn Ishāq made reference to the dispatch of Khālīd, but did not include it in the total of expeditions and raids dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The number of these he should have given would be 39."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha to Syria. He ordered him to have the cavalry patrol the al-Balqā' and al-Dārūm regions of Syria. The men equipped themselves and it was the initial *muhājirūn* who accompanied Usāma."

Ibn Hishām added, "This was the last expedition dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismā'īl related to him, quoting Mālik, from 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out a force under the command of Usāma b. Zayd, but that the people criticized his appointment. The Prophet (ṢAAS) therefore arose and said, "Your criticism

of his leadership is similar to your earlier criticism of his father's appointment to command. The former was, by God, qualified for command and one of those most beloved by me. And this man is also of those most loved by me."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. He categorized it as a *ḥadīth* that was *ṣaḥīḥ ḥasan*.

A large number of the senior initial *muhājirīn* and *anṣār* took part in this army. The most important of these was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Those who say that Abū Bakr was among them are in error. The illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was increasing in severity while the force was encamped at al-Jurf. The Prophet (ṢAAS) at that time appointed Abū Bakr to lead the prayer, as will be recounted. How, then, could he have been in the army while being the *imām* for the Muslim community, by permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the lord of the worlds? Even if it be supposed that he had proceeded out with them, the law-giver (the Prophet) selected him out from among them by appointing him to leadership of the prayer, one of the most important of the pillars of Islam. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, Abū Bakr sought ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's exclusion (from the expedition) from Usāma, so the latter allowed ʿUmar to remain at the side of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr, "the trusting", then led Usāma's force (for a short distance to the outskirts of Medina).

THE VERSES IN THE QUR'ĀN AND AḤADĪTH FOREWARNING OF THE DEATH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND HOW THE ILLNESS FROM WHICH HE DIED COMMENCED.

God Almighty stated, "You (will be) dead and they shall be dead. Then, on resurrection day, you will be contending with one another before your Lord" (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.30-31). And, "We ordained no immortality for any person before you; and if you die, shall they be immortal?" (*sūrat al-Anbiyyā*; XXI, v.34). And, "Every soul will taste death, and you shall only be fully paid your wages on the day of resurrection. Those drawn away from the fire and brought into paradise will be those who succeed. Life on earth is nothing but the baggage of vanity" (*sūrat Al-ʿImrān*; III, v.285).

The Almighty also stated, "Muḥammad is nothing but a messenger; messengers have passed away before him. If he dies or is killed, you might turn away on your heels. Whoever runs away on his heels will cause no harm to God. And God will reward the grateful" (*sūrat Al-ʿImrān*; III, v.144). It was this verse that Abū Bakr, "the trusting", recited on the day of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When the people heard it, it was as though they had not done so previously.

The Almighty also stated, "(Remember) when God's help and the victory came and you saw the people entering God's religion in droves. Give joyful praise to your Lord, and seek His forgiveness. He is forgiving" (*sūrat al-Naṣr*; CX, v.13).

Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibn 'Abbās stated, "This was (referring to) the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which he was being informed" Ibn 'Umar stated, "This was revealed in the middle part of Tishrīn, during the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*, 'the farewell pilgrimage'. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew it meant farewell and he delivered to the people an address in which he gave them instruction and prohibition." This famous address was as given above.

Jābir stated, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), casting at the pillars. He stopped and said, 'You should take your rites and ceremonies from me. I might perhaps not perform the pilgrimage after this year.'"

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the following to his daughter Fāṭima, "Gabriel would review the Qur'ān with me once each year; he did so twice this year. I can only think that this means the approach of my death."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, it is narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, from Abū Ḥusayn, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, that Abū Hurayra stated, "Each month of Ramaḍān the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would practise *i'tirāf*, withdraw into seclusion (in the mosque) for ten days. The year he died he so withdrew for twenty days. The Qur'ān was reviewed to him each Ramaḍān; the year he died, it was reviewed to him twice."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned in Dhū al-Ḥijja for the *ḥijjat al-wadā'* and stayed in Medina for the remainder of that month, and for al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar. He dispatched Usāma b. Zayd (on an expedition).

"While the people were engaged in that, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began to suffer from that illness in the course of which God took him away to that mercy and honour He wished for him. This occurred shortly before the end of Ṣafar or early in Rabi' al-Awwal.

"When the first symptoms appeared from which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suffered, so I have been informed, he went out to Baqī' al-Gharqad¹³⁶ in the middle of the night and prayed for forgiveness for them (the dead), then returned home to his family. Next morning and from that day on he began suffering pain.

"Abd Allāh b. Ja'far related to me, from 'Ubayd b. Jubayr, the freed-man of al-Ḥakam, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, from Abū Muwayhiba, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me out in the middle of the night, saying, "Abū Muwayhiba, I have been ordered to ask for forgiveness for those in this Baqī'. So come with me."

"I left with him and when he halted among them, he said, "Peace be upon you, you people in the graves! May you be content that you do not experience the same as people here. Troubles come like dark portions of the night, following one another in succession, the last being worse than the first."

136. The cemetery outside Medina.

“He then came over to me and said, “Abū Muwayhiba, I have been given the keys to the treasuries of the world, remaining here a long time and the (going to) paradise. I have been given the choice between this and meeting my Lord and (going to) paradise (soon).”

“I said, “By my parents’ lives, choose the keys of the world’s treasuries, long life here, and then paradise.” He replied, “No, Abū Muwayhiba, I have, by God, chosen to meet my Lord and paradise.”

“He then proceeded to pray for forgiveness for the dead of al-Baqī‘, then left. And so began the illness in which God took him.”

None of the authors of the books (of traditions) gave this. However, Aḥmad did narrate it from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, who quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Fuḍayl, quoting Ya‘lā b. ‘Aṭā, from ‘Ubayd b. Jubayr, who quoted Abū Muwayhiba as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ordered to pray for the dead at al-Baqī‘. He prayed for them three times and after the third, he said, ‘Abū Muwayhiba, saddle up my mount.’

“He rode while I walked until we reached them. He then dismounted. I held the mount, while he stood” – or he said “he remained standing” – “over them. He then said, ‘May your present state make you more happy than the people are. Troubles come like dark portions of the night, following one another in succession, the last being worse than the first. So may your present state make you more happy than the people are.’

“He then came back and said, ‘Abū Muwayhiba, I have been awarded’ – or he said ‘asked to choose between’ – ‘the keys of what will be conquered by my nation after myself and then paradise, or meeting my Lord.’

“I said, ‘By my father and mother, choose us!’ He replied, ‘To reverse what God intended? I have chosen to meet my Lord!’

“And it was no more than seven or eight days thereafter that he died.”

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated, from Ma‘mar, from Ibn Ṭawūs, who quoted his father as saying, “I was given aid through terror and was awarded the treasuries. Then I was given the choice between remaining (alive) to see what would be conquered for my people and acceleration (of my death). I chose acceleration.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*; it does testify to the *ḥadīth* of Abū Muwayhiba.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ya‘qūb b. ‘Utba related to me, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utba, from Ibn Mas‘ūd, who quoted ‘Ā’isha as stating, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the cemetery and found me suffering from a pain in my head. I was complaining, ‘O my head!’ He commented, ‘I swear by God, ‘Ā’isha, I’m the one with the headache!’ He then asked, ‘Would you mind if you died before me, and I were to stand over you, put you in your shroud, pray over you and bury you?’ I replied, ‘I imagine that if you did

that you would return to my house and celebrate a wedding night there with one of your wives!

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled. The pain persisted in him while he visited in turn his wives. He was overcome by it in the home of Maymūna. He summoned his wives and asked their permission to be nursed in my home; this was agreed.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, being helped along by two men of his household, al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās and another man. He had his head bound and he was dragging his feet when he entered my house."

'Ubayd Allāh stated, "I related this to Ibn 'Abbās and he said, 'Do you know who the other man was? That was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib.'"

This *ḥadīth* has testimonials that will come shortly.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Ya'qūb b. 'Utba, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to me while suffering from a headache while I was complaining about my own head. I said, 'O my head!' He said, 'I swear by God, 'Ā'isha, I'm the one with headache!'

"He then said, 'Would you mind, if you were to die before myself, if I were to take care of you, prayed over you and buried you?' I replied, 'I swear by God, I believe that if that happened, you would closet yourself with one of your wives in my house as soon as the day was over!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed.

"His pain persisted and became severe while, visiting his wives in turn, he was at the house of Maymūna. His family assembled, and al-'Abbās said, 'We think the Messenger of God has pleurisy. Let's give him medicine through the corner of his mouth.' They did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to. 'Who did this?' he asked. 'It was your uncle al-'Abbās; he is afraid you have pleurisy.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'It is from Satan! God would never have inflicted me with it! You should not omit giving medicine to anyone in my house except for my uncle al-'Abbās!' And all the household were given medicine – even Maymūna, who was fasting. That was done in the sight of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Thereafter he asked permission of his wives to be nursed in my home; he received permission. So he left, between al-'Abbās and another man" – she did not name him – "his feet dragging on the ground."

'Ubayd Allāh said that Ibn 'Abbās stated, "The other man was 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sa'īd b. 'Ufayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, quoting 'Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, who quoted 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba as stating that 'Ā'isha, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became ill and his pain intensified, he asked permission from his wives to be nursed in my home. And he was given permission. He left

between two men, dragging his feet on the ground between ‘Abbās, Ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is, and another man.”

‘Ubayd Allāh said, “I told ‘Abd Allāh” – meaning Ibn ‘Abbās – “what ‘Ā’isha had said. He asked me, ‘Do you know who was the other man whom ‘Ā’isha did not name?’ I replied, ‘No.’ He said, ‘It was ‘Alī.’”

‘Ā’isha, wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), used to relate, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered my house and his pain was severe, he said, ‘Pour over me from seven water-skins the tops of which have not been untied so that I will (be well enough to) give advice to people.’

“We seated him in a tub belonging to Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Then we set about pouring over him water from those skins until he gestured to us with his hand saying, ‘You have done it now.’

“He then went outside to the people, spoke a prayer for them and made them an address.”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it in other places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim gave it with various lines of transmission from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismā‘īl related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, quoting Hishām b. ‘Urwa, quoting his father, who quoted ‘Ā’isha as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would ask during the illness in which he died, “Where will I be tomorrow? Where will I be tomorrow?” He was referring to ‘Ā’isha’s day (for his visit to her). His wives permitted him to be wherever he wished, so he was in ‘Ā’isha’s house until he died there.

(The account narrates that) “‘Ā’isha, may God be pleased with her, stated, ‘He died on the day he would come to visit me in my house. God took him while his head lay between my breasts and my throat. His saliva mixed with mine.’”

She went on, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr came in carrying a tooth-pick with which he was cleaning his teeth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked over at him and I asked ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Give me the tooth-pick, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.’ He gave it to me, and I chewed and softened it and gave it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He cleansed his teeth with it while he rested against my chest.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf informed him, quoting al-Layth, quoting Ibn al-Hād, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ‘Ā’isha as saying, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) died while between my breast and my chin. And I no longer abhor the death throes of anyone after (those of) the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ḥibbān related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allāh, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, “‘Urwa informed me that ‘Ā’isha narrated to him that whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in pain, he would breathe over himself, recite the *al-mu‘awwidhāt*¹³⁷ and wipe his hands over his body. And so when he was in pain during the illness from which he died, I set about reciting

137. The final two *sūrats* of the Qur’ān.

the *al-mu'awwidhāt* over him, breathing over him as he had, and using the hand of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to wipe over him."

Muslim narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Ayḷī, from al-Zuhri. Al-Fallās and Muslim gave it from Muḥammad b. Ḥātim and all of them.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Abū 'Awāna, from Firās, from al-Sha'bi, from Masrūq, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having stated, "The wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) all assembled around him; none of them was left out. Fāṭima came in, her footsteps not missing the style of his own walk. He said, 'Welcome indeed to my daughter!' He sat her down at his right, or his left. He then spoke something confidentially to her, and she wept. He then spoke to her quietly again, and she laughed. I commented to her, 'The Messenger of God speaks secrets to you alone, and yet you cry!'

"When she arose, I asked her, 'Tell me what he spoke to you.' She replied, 'I could not disclose a secret of the Messenger of God.' After he had died, I asked her, 'I ask you, by my rights over you, to tell me.' She replied, 'Now I can do so. The first comment he made in confidence to me was, "Gabriel would review the Qur'ān with me once each year. This year he has done so twice. I can see this only as meaning the approach of my death. Fear God and be patient; I am a worthy predecessor to you." And so I wept. He then whispered to me again, saying, "Will it not please you to be mistress of the women of the Believers, or mistress of (all) the women of this nation?" I laughed."

This *ḥadīth* has various lines of transmission from 'Ā'isha.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh and al-Fallās, as did Muslim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, all of them quoting from Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān, from Sufyān al-Thawri, from Mūsā b. Abū 'Ā'isha, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "We poured medicine into the corner of the mouth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during his illness and he began gesturing to us not to do so. We said, 'It's just the dislike of a sick person for his medicine.' When he recovered somewhat, he asked, 'Did I not forbid you to put medicine in my mouth?' We replied, '(We thought it) dislike of a sick person for his medicine.' He then said, 'Let all in the house have medicine poured into their mouths while I look on – except for al-'Abbās who did not witness what you did.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ibn Abū al-Zinād narrated it from Hishām, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Yūnus stated that al-Zuhri quoted 'Urwa as saying, "'Ā'isha stated, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) would say during the illness in which he died, "'Ā'isha, I still suffer pain from the food I ate at Khaybar. At this time I sense my aorta being severed by that poison.'"

Al-Bukhārī gave this as being *mu'allaq*.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave it from al-Ḥākim, from Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Ashqar, from Yūsuf b. Mūsā, from Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, from 'Anbasa, from Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Ayḷī, from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Abū Muḥāwiya, from al-A‘mash, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Murra, from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, who said, “I would prefer to swear nine times over that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was murdered than to do so once that he was not killed! That is because God assigned him to be a prophet and a martyr as well.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ishāq related to him, quoting Bishr b. Shu‘ayb b. Abū Ḥamza, quoting his father, from al-Zuhri, who said, “‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b b. Mālīk al-Anṣārī – Ka‘b b. Mālīk having been one of the three men who had received forgiveness¹³⁸ – informed me that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās told him when ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib came out after having been with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during the illness in which he died, people asked him, ‘Abū al-Ḥasan! How is the Messenger of God, doing this morning?’ He replied, ‘Thanks be to God, he is recovered.’

“‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Malik took ‘Alī by the hand and said, ‘Three days from now, I swear by God, you will be ‘slave of the staff.’¹³⁹ I swear, I can see that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will die from this illness. I well know how members of the ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib family look when near death. Let us go to the Messenger of God, and ask him to whom rule will go. If to us, then we will know it; if to someone other than us, we can tell him and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) can tell him to care for us.’

“‘Alī stated, ‘I swear by God, if we asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for it (the rule) and he refused it, then the people would never give it to us after him. So I swear, I’ll not ask the Messenger of God for it.’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Sulaymān al-Aḥwal, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, who said, “Ibn ‘Abbās stated, ‘What a terrible Thursday that was! The illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worsened. Then he asked, ‘Bring me writing materials with which I can write you a document after which you will never go astray.’ People disputed over this – and there should never be disputation in the presence of a prophet. Some said, ‘What is wrong with him; is he delirious? Question him.’” So they went to him to ask him. He told them, “Leave me alone; my present condition is better than that to which you invite me.” He then advised them to do three things. He said, “Remove the unbelievers from the Arabian peninsula. Treat with dignity delegations as you saw me treat them.” And he either did not speak the third request, or he spoke it but I have forgotten it.”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it elsewhere; Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna.

Al-Bukhārī then stated that ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh,

138. A reference to the three Muslims who had held back from participation in the attack on Tabūk ordered by the Prophet (ṢAAS). See above, Vol. IV, pages 29–33.

139. Under a new ruler, that is.

from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When death was close for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and there were men present in his home, he said, 'Come close; I will write a document for you after which you will never go astray.' Some of them then said, '(But) the Messenger of God is overcome by illness, and you have the Qur'ān. God's Book is enough for us.'

"The household differed among themselves and disputed. Some said, 'Go over near him and let him write something after which you will never stray.' Others said the contrary. When their disputation increased, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Go away!'

"Ubayd Allāh said, 'Ibn 'Abbās stated, "It was truly disastrous that, due to their noise and disputation, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was prevented from writing that document for them.'"

Muslim narrated it from Muḥammad b. Rāfi', as did 'Abd b. Ḥumayd, both quoting from 'Abd al-Razzāq in the same way. Al-Bukhārī gave it in various places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from a *ḥadīth* of Ma'mar and Yūnus, from al-Zuhri.

This *ḥadīth* has served to feed the imaginations of certain foolish persons, who advocate improper innovative practices. These adherents of the *shī'a* and others, all claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to write in the document referred to above what they purpose in their own statements. This claim of theirs constitutes adherence to reasoning by allegory and disregard for what is fully established.¹⁴⁰

Orthodox scholars accept what is fully established and reject what might be viewed as allegorical. This is the methodology of those firmly rooted in knowledge, *al-rāsikhūna fi al-'ilm*, as God, the Almighty and Glorious characterized them in His Book (*sūrat Al 'Imrān*; III, v.7).

This area is one of those where the feet of many of the noisesome slip. Orthodox scholars, however, follow no 'school of thought' but pursue the truth alone, moving with it along whatever path it leads.

Whatever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished to write came previously in those *ahādīth* that lend themselves to clear and unambiguous interpretation.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mu'ammil related to him, quoting Nāfi', from Ibn 'Amr, quoting Ibn Abū Mulayka, from 'Ā'isha who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering from that illness from which he died, he said, 'Summon Abū Bakr and his son, so that no one will lust after, or aspire to, Abū Bakr's role.' He went on, 'God and the Believers reject that.' He said this twice."

'Ā'isha is quoted as then having said, "And God and the Believers did indeed reject that!"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Aḥmad stated that Abū Mu'āwiya related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Qurashī, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted 'Ā'isha, who said,

140. The Arabic terms are *mutashābih* and *muḥkam*.

“When the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worsened, he told ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū Bakr’s son, ‘Bring me a shoulder bone¹⁴¹ or a tablet so that I can write for Abū Bakr a document about which no one can dispute.’ When ‘Abd al-Raḥmān went to do this, he said, ‘God and the Believers reject there being any disagreement over you, Abū Bakr!’”

Aḥmad is also alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Yahyā b. Yahyā, from Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Yahyā b. Saʿīd, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I plan to send for Abū Bakr and his son to make a covenant, lest people argue or have ambitions.’ He went on, ‘Either God rejects or the Believers impel, or God impels and the Believers reject.’”

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī and in that of Muslim, there is a *ḥadīth* of Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Mutʿim, who quoted his father as saying, “A woman came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he told her to return to him again. She asked, ‘But supposing I came and did not find you?’ – she seemed to be implying his death. He replied, ‘If you do not find me, then go to Abū Bakr.’”

It seems obvious – though God knows best – that she only said that to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during the illness from which he died.

On the Thursday, five days before he died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had delivered an address in which he had asserted the superiority of Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, over the other Companions, as part of his direction that he (Abū Bakr) lead them (in prayer).

It may perhaps be that this address should be viewed as a substitution for what he intended to write in the document.

He had washed himself prior to making that noble address. They had sprinkled over him water from seven water-skins, the openings of which had not been untied. This is referred to (in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections) in the chapter, *Seeking a cure by seven (washings)*; *aḥādīth* referring to this are also given elsewhere than in this section.

The point here is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) washed, went out and performed prayer with the people, and then made an address to them. This is shown above in the *ḥadīth* quoting ʿĀʾisha, may God be pleased with her.

THE AḤĀDITH MAKING REFERENCE TO THAT.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from Ayyūb b. Bashīr, who stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said during his illness, ‘Pour water over me from seven water-skins from seven different wells so that I can go out and make a covenant with the people.’

141. Paper not yet having been invented, sources tell us that Arabs wrote on large bones and pieces of leather, etc.

"They did so and he went out and sat upon the *minbar*. The first thing he did, after praising and thanking God, was to refer to his Companions who had attended the battle of Uḥud; he asked God's forgiveness for them and said a prayer for them. He then said, '*Muhājirūn*, you have become very numerous while the *anṣār* have remained as they were and have not increased in number. They are my saviours, those with whom I sought refuge. Honour them for their exploits and disregard their shortcomings.'

"He went on, 'People, one servant of God has been given by God to choose between what is upon earth and what is with God. And he has chosen what is with God.'

"Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was one among the people there who understood this and he wept, saying, 'We would redeem you with ourselves, our children and our possessions!' But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Take it easy, Abū Bakr! Look at these doors leading in to the mosque and close them all off, except for the one from Abū Bakr's house. I know of no one whom I consider a finer Companion than him.'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, incomplete in its line; there are many testimonies to it. Al-Wāqidi stated that Farwa b. Zabīd b. Ṭaws related to him, from 'Ā'isha, daughter of Sa'd, from Umm Dharr, who quoted Umm Salama, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went outside wearing a piece of cloth around his head. When he sat down on the *minbar* people stared hard at the *minbar* and flocked around him. He said, 'By Him in whose hand is my soul, I am at this hour standing at the *ḥawḍ*, "the pool".' He then spoke the *shahāda*. When he had finished this, the first words he spoke were to ask forgiveness for the martyrs killed at Uḥud. He then said, 'One servant of God has been asked to choose between this world and that with God; and this servant has chosen that with God.'

"Abū Bakr wept; we were surprised at his weeping. He said, 'By my father and my mother! We would redeem you with our fathers, our mothers, ourselves and our possessions!' It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had been given the choice, and Abū Bakr was the most aware of us what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had meant. The latter then said to him, 'Take it easy, Abū Bakr!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū 'Āmir related to him, quoting Fulayḥ, from Sālim Abū al-Naḍr, from Bishr b. Sa'īd, who quoted Abū Sa'īd as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the people and said, 'God had a worshipper make a choice between this world and that with him. That worshipper chose that with God.'

"Abū Bakr wept. We were surprised at his weeping at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having made a reference to a 'worshipper'. For it was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who had been given the choice and Abū Bakr was the most aware of us what he meant. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The person most faithful to myself in his friendship and his wealth is Abū Bakr. If I were to take any other than God as my Companion, I would so take Abū Bakr. However,

(what I do have with him) is the companionship of Islam and his love. Every door in the mosque has been shut except that of Abū Bakr.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Abū ‘Āmir al-‘Aqadī.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Yūnus, from Fulayḥ, from Ṣalīm b. Abū al-Naḍr, from ‘Ubayd b. Ḥunayn and Bishr b. Sa‘īd, from Abū Sa‘īd.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it similarly, as did Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Fulayḥ; Ṣalīm b. Anas gave it from Ṣalīm, from Bishr b. Sa‘īd and ‘Ubayd b. Ḥunayn, both of whom quoted from Abū Sa‘īd in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Hishām, quoting Abū ‘Awāna, from ‘Abd al-Malik, from Ibn Abū al-Mu‘allā, from his father (who said) “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) one day made an address and said, ‘A man has been given by his Lord to choose between living on earth so long as he wishes and eating on earth whatever he wishes, and between meeting his Lord. And he has chosen to meet with his Lord.’

“Abū Bakr wept. The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked one another, ‘Aren’t you surprised at this sheikh and the Messenger of God, referring to a fine man to whom God has given the choice of remaining on earth or meeting his Lord and him choosing to meet his Lord?’ For it was Abū Bakr who was most aware of what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had meant. And Abū Bakr responded, ‘No, we will redeem you with our possessions and our children!’ And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘No person is more faithful to us in his friendship and generosity than (Abū Bakr) Ibn Abū Quḥāfa. And were I to take someone as my Companion, that person would be Ibn Abū Quḥāfa. However, there (is between us) love, brotherly feelings and faith. Your friend is the companion of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. The correct name in the above line of transmission is “Ibn Sa‘īd b. al-Mu‘allā”. However, God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm – he being Ibn Rāhawayḥ – who quoted Zakariyyā’ b. ‘Adī, quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Amr al-Raqqī, from Zayd b. Abū Anīsa, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, who quoted Jundab as having said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saying, five days before his death, “From (all of) you I have had brothers and friends. I release each companion from his companionship. If I were to take from my nation one companion, then that would be Abū Bakr. My Lord has taken me as His companion, as He did Abraham. A people who came prior to yourselves treated the graves of their prophets and holy men as mosques. Do not treat graves as mosques; I prohibit you from doing that.”

Muslim narrated this in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Ishāq b. Rahawayḥ in similar terms.

This day that preceded his death by five days was that Thursday referred to above by Ibn ‘Abbās.

We have given this address from Ibn ‘Abbās. The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muqrī informed him, quoting al-Ḥasan b.

Muḥamad b. Ishāq, quoting Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb – he being Ibn 'Awāna al-Isfarāyīnī – who said, “Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, quoting his father, who said, ‘I heard Ya'fā b. Ḥakīm relate from 'Ikrima, who quoted Ibn 'Abbās as saying, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) went outside during the illness from which he died with his head bandaged by a piece of cloth. He mounted the *minbar*, gave praise and thanks to God, then said, ‘Not one of the people has been more faithful to me with both himself and his possessions than Abū Bakr. If I were taking any one of the people as a companion, that person would be Abū Bakr. However, (what I have with him) is the companionship of Islam, which is best. Close off from me every entry-way into the mosque except that of Abū Bakr.’””

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ju'fī, from Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, from his father. In the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), “Close off from me every *khamja*, ‘entry-way’” – by which he meant the small doors – ‘into the mosque except that of Abū Bakr’, he was making a reference to the caliphate. That is, so that he (Abū Bakr) could pass through it to lead the prayer with the Muslims.

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it from the *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Ḥanzala b. al-Ghasīl, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās. He stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out in the illness from which he died with his head wrapped in a blackish cloth, with a mantle over his shoulders and sat upon the *minbar*. Ibn 'Abbās went on to quote the address, including his counsel to the *anṣār*, and concluded with the words, “It was the last meeting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attended until he died.” By this he meant that this was the last address made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

This *ḥadīth* is also recorded (as follows) from an anomalous and different line of transmission from Ibn 'Abbās; its wording is also *gharīb*, “anomalous”.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ibn Abū Qammāsh – he being Muḥammad b. 'Īsā – quoting Mūsā b. Ismā'īl Abū 'Imrān al-Jubbūlī, quoting Ma'ān b. 'Īsā al-Qazzāz, from al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allāh b. Unays al-Laythī, from al-Qāsim b. Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Qasīṭ, from his father, from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, from al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to me while severely ill and having bandaged his head. He said, ‘Faḍl, take my hand.’ I did so until he had mounted the *minbar*. He then said, ‘Summon the people, Faḍl.’ I cried out, ‘General assembly for prayer!’

“People assembled and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to address them. He said, ‘To proceed, my absence from among you is near at hand. You will not longer see me among you in this place. I have been thinking that there was no one who could dispense with my affairs unless I do it among you (personally). If there is anyone whose back I have whipped, then here is my own back; let that person retaliate. Anyone whose money I took: here is mine from which he may take. Anyone against whose honour I have cursed should retaliate against mine.

Let no man say, 'I fear rancour from the Messenger of God.' Indeed not; rancour is not my nature or my character. Those of you I like best are those who will either take their due if I am in their debt or release me therefrom, that I meet Almighty God, without any injustice on anyone because of me.'

"One of the men arose and said, 'Messenger of God, you have three *dirhams* of mine.' He replied, 'I will not give the lie to anyone, nor will I ask him to swear an oath. Why do I have your money?' The man answered, 'Don't you remember how once a beggar passed you and you gave me orders, so I awarded him three *dirhams*?' He said, 'Give it to him, Faḍl!' And he told the man to sit.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to his original address and said, 'Anyone of you who still has anything resulting from deception should return it.' A man got up and said, 'Messenger of God, I have three *dirhams* I took by deceit.' 'Why did you do so?' he asked. 'I needed it,' he replied. 'Take it from him, Faḍl,' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said.

"He again reverted to his original address, then said, 'People, if any of you are troubled, stand and I will say a prayer for you.'

"One man arose and said, 'Messenger of God, I am a hypocrite, a liar and I sleep to excess.' Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb interjected, 'Confound you, fellow! God would have covered for you (your shortcomings) if only you had done so for yourself!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Quiet, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! Scandal on earth is easier to bear than scandal in the afterlife! O God, favour him with veracity and faith and take away his sleep, if he so wishes that.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, 'Umar is with me, and I with Umar. And the truth after me is with Umar.'"

In both the line of transmission and the text of this *ḥadīth* there is much that is anomalous.

An Account of the order by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to Abū Bakr, 'The Trusting', to lead the prayer with all the Companions, in the presence of them all. And how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out and prayed behind him, emulating him in some of the prayers, as we shall relate, and how the latter acted as imām for the former and for those of the Companions after him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, quoting Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, quoting 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Hishām, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Zam'ā b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, who said, "When the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grew more intense, I was there with him, along with a group of his Companions. Bilāl made the call to prayer and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, 'Tell someone to lead the people in prayer.'

"So I went off and found 'Umar among the people, Abū Bakr being absent. I said, 'Umar, get up and lead people in prayer.' When 'Umar made the declaration that 'God is most Great!' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard his voice – he was a man with a loud voice – and asked, 'Where is Abū Bakr? God refuses that, as do the Muslims! God refuses that, as do the Muslims!'"

"He then sent for Abū Bakr and he came after 'Umar had led that prayer. And then Abū Bakr prayed with the people."

'Abd Allāh b. Zam'a went on, "'Umar said to me, 'Confound you! What have you done, Ibn Zam'a! By God, I only thought that it was the Messenger of God who told me to do it. Otherwise, I would not have led the prayer.' I replied, 'I swear that was not what the Messenger of God ordered. However, when I did not see Abū Bakr, I thought you the most deserving man present at the prayer.'"

That is also how Abū Dā'ūd narrated it, from the *ḥadith* of Ibn Ishāq quoting al-Zuhri. Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated it from Ibn Ishāq, quoting Ya'qūb b. 'Utba, from Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from 'Abd Allāh b. Zam'a, as above.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, quoting Mūsā b. Ya'qūb, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, (who said) that 'Abd Allāh b. Zam'a related to him the following account, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard 'Umar's voice, he came out, so that his head could be seen looking out from his room. Then he exclaimed, 'No! No! Only Ibn Abū Quḥāfa shall lead the people in prayer!' He spoke this in anger."

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Umar b. Ḥaḥṣ related to him, quoting his father, quoting al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm (who stated that) al-Aswad said, "We were with 'Ā'isha at her home and made reference to the assiduity (of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), to prayer and to her. She said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering from the illness from which he died, and the time for the prayer arrived and Bilāl made the call to it, he said, "Tell Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer." He was told, "Abū Bakr is a grievously sad man; if he were to stand up in your place, he would not be able to proceed with the prayer." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated what he had said and the same response was given him. He said it a third time, then went on, "You women are like Joseph's companions. Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer with the people!"

"Abū Bakr went out (to perform the prayer). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) felt somewhat better and went out, being helped forward between two men; I seem to see now his two feet dragging in pain. Abū Bakr wanted to stay back, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured to him to remain in his place. He was then brought and seated at his side."

(Al-Bukhārī's account continues) "Someone asked al-A'mash, 'Was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praying and Abū Bakr praying as he did, with the people then following the prayer of Abū Bakr?' Using his head, al-A'mash answered in the affirmative."

Al-Bukhārī went on, "Abū Dā'ūd narrated this in part from Shu'ba. Abū Mu'āwiya added the following to the account given by al-A'mash, 'He sat at the right side of Abū Bakr; Abū Bakr was standing as he prayed.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated this in several places in his work. Muslim, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it along various lines of transmission from al-A'mash. In one of these al-Bukhārī gave it from Qutayba; Muslim gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Abū Mu'āwiya.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, to the effect that she stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said during his illness, 'Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, 'I opposed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in this; the only thing making me oppose him was my concern that the people would perceive Abū Bakr's praying as an evil portent, though I knew that would be the case no matter who took his place. What I wanted was to have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) deflect this away from Abū Bakr to someone else.'"

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, it is stated in a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, who said, "Ḥamza b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar informed me that 'Ā'isha stated, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came into my house, he said, 'Tell Abū Bakr to lead the people in the prayer.' I said, 'Messenger of God, Abū Bakr is a sensitive man; if he recites the Qur'ān, he will not be able to restrain his tears. What if you were to tell someone else?'"

"Ā'isha went on, 'I swear by God, I only did this out of my dislike that the people would blame the first man who prayed in place of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as an evil portent. I reiterated this two or three times, but he said, 'Let Abū Bakr lead the prayer for the people. You women are like Joseph's companions.'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who quoted his father as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ill and said, 'Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people.'

"Ā'isha said, 'Messenger of God, Abū Bakr is a sensitive man; when he stands up in your place, he won't be able to pray with the people.' He said, 'Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people. You women are like Joseph's companions.' And so Abū Bakr did lead the prayer throughout the (remainder of) the life of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Zā'ida, from Mūsā b. Abū 'Ā'isha, from Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "I went in to 'Ā'isha and asked, 'Would you tell me about the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' She replied, 'Certainly. When he became very ill, he asked, 'Have the people prayed?' We replied, 'No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God.' He then said, 'Pour some water into the wash basin for me.' We did so. He then washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted.

When he recovered, he asked, "Have the people prayed?" We replied, 'No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God.' "Pour some water into the wash basin for me," he asked. We did so and he washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted. When he recovered, he asked, "Have the people prayed?" We replied, "No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God." He said, "Pour some water into the wash basin for me," he asked. We did so and he washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted. When he recovered, he asked, "Have the people prayed?" We replied, "No; they are waiting for you."'"

ʿĀ'isha went on, "The people were still in the mosque, waiting for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for the *al-ʿishā'* prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent a message to Abū Bakr saying that he should lead the people in prayer. Abū Bakr was a sensitive man and he asked, 'Umar, you lead the people in prayer.' He replied, 'No; you are more worthy of that.' But he did lead them in prayer for those days.

"Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recovered somewhat and went out, being led between two men, one of them al-ʿAbbās, to perform the *al-ḡuhr* prayer. When Abū Bakr saw him, he went to move to the back, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gestured to him not to do so and ordered the two men to seat him beside Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr began praying, standing while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed while seated."

ʿUbayd Allāh went on, "I then went in to Ibn ʿAbbās and said, 'Should I tell you what ʿĀ'isha told me about the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' 'Let's hear it,' he replied. So I did tell him, and he contradicted nothing. He did ask, 'Did she name to you the man who was with al-ʿAbbās?' I replied, 'No.' 'That was ʿAlī,' he said."

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated it from Aḥmad b. Yūnus, from Zāʿida. In one account, the text states, "Abū Bakr began praying with the prayer of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while standing; the people repeated the prayer delivered by Abū Bakr, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained seated."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "In this it is stated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) led that prayer and that Abū Bakr joined his prayer to it."

He went on, "Al-Aswad and ʿUrwa related it thus, from ʿĀ'isha. Al-Arḡam b. Shuraḥbīl narrated it thus from Ibn ʿAbbās."

By this he is referring to the *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Aḥmad, who stated that Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zāʿida related to him, quoting his father, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Arḡam b. Shuraḥbīl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) became sick, he ordered Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer. He then recovered and went out. When Abū Bakr became aware of him, he wanted to withdraw, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured to him and he sat down next to Abū Bakr, on his left. He commenced with the verse at which Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, had finished."

He then narrated it again from Wakīʿ, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Ishāq, from Arḡam, from Ibn ʿAbbās at greater length.

Wakī' stated one time, "Abū Bakr would follow the Prophet (ṢAAS) (in that prayer) and the people, Abū Bakr."

Ibn Māja narrated it from 'Alī b. Muḥammad, from Wakī', from Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from Arqam b. Shuraḥbīl, from Ibn 'Abbās.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Shabāba b. Sawwār related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from Nu'aym b. Abū Hind, from Abū Wā'il, from Masrūq, who quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, "During the illness from which he died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while seated, prayed behind Abū Bakr."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī narrated this from the *ḥadīth* of Shu'ba and al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Aḥmad stated that Bakr b. 'Isā related to him that he heard Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj quote from Nu'aym b. Abū Hind, from Abū Wā'il, from Masrūq, who quoted 'Ā'isha as stating, "Abū Bakr led the people in prayer while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in the row (of worshippers)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl al-Qaṭṭān informed him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, quoting Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, quoting Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Shu'ba, from Sulaymān al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from 'Ā'isha, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed behind Abū Bakr.

The line of transmission for this is excellent; they (the major compilers) did not give it.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Ḥumayd narrated it thus, from Anas b. Mālik, as did Yūnus, from al-Ḥasan as being *mursal*. He then gave this from the line of Hushaym, quoting Yūnus from al-Ḥasan."

Hushaym stated that Ḥumayd informed him, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said) that, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out while Abū Bakr was leading the people in prayer and sat down by his side. He was wearing a cloak, the ends of which he crossed over. Abū Bakr prayed, as did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting 'Ubayd b. Shurayk, quoting Ibn Abū Maryam, quoting Muḥammad b. Ja'far, quoting Ḥumayd, who said that he heard Anas say, "For the last prayer performed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with the people, he was wearing one piece of clothing wrapped around himself, and he was positioned behind Abū Bakr."

I note that this line of transmission is excellent and conforms with the criteria of the (compilers of) the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; they did not include it.

This addendum is excellent – that it was the final prayer that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed with the people.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Sulaymān b. Bilāl and Yahyā b. Ayyūb, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) prayed while behind Abū Bakr, wearing one garment the ends of which were crossed over. When he wished to get up, he said, "Call Usāma b. Zayd for me." He came and the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS), rested his back against Usāma's chest. This was the last prayer he performed.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "In this there is evidence that this prayer was that of the morning of Monday, the day on which his death occurred, because that was the last prayer he performed and because it is established that he died in the forenoon of Monday."

What al-Bayhaqī stated here he had taken intact from the work on the military expeditions by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, for he related it thus. Abū al-Aswad narrated it similarly, from 'Urwa.

That conclusion is weak. This was indeed the last prayer he performed with the people, as is in accord with his addendum given above in the other account. Because (both) are one (in meaning) it is necessary to understand the general *muṭlaq* tradition in light of the specific *muqayyad* tradition.

Moreover, it is not possible that this be the prayer of the early morning of the Monday that was the day he died. Because he did not perform it with the community, but in his home; this was due to his weak condition.

Proof of this is what al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shu'ayb, from al-Zuhri, quoting Anas b. Mālik, who had followed the Prophet (ṢAAS), and been his servant and companion. He stated, "Abū Bakr would pray before them during the illness from which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died. This was until the Monday. They (the Muslims) were in lines for the prayer when the Prophet (ṢAAS) withdrew the curtain across his chamber and looked out at us. He was standing, and his face was like that of a sheet from a *mushaf*.¹⁴² He smiled and laughed. We were becoming overwhelmed with delight at sight of the Prophet (ṢAAS), when Abū Bakr turned around to straighten the line. He thought that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was coming out for the prayer. But the latter gestured to us to complete the prayer. He then drew down the curtain. That was the same day he died."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, Ṣabīh b. Kaysān and Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī then stated that Abū Ma'mar related, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not come out for three days. Then the prayer was held. Abū Bakr went to advance and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Take the screen.' He raised it. And when the face of the Prophet (ṢAAS) became visible, we felt as though we had never seen any more wonderful sight than it. The Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured to Abū Bakr to go forward. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then released the screen. He remained incapacitated (thereafter) until he died."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith, from his father.

142. The word means a book or manuscript and is commonly applied to the Qur'ān. A footnote in the Arabic printed text states that the phrase suggests the beauty of the face and the clarity and luminosity of his skin.

This provides very clear evidence that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not perform the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer with the people on the Monday, and that he had withdrawn from them, not having gone out to them for three days.

We note that therefore the last prayer he performed with them was that of *al-ẓuhr*, as is clearly stated in the *ḥadīth* given above from ʿĀʾisha. That would have been on the Thursday, not the Saturday, nor the Sunday, as al-Bayhaqī told it from the work on the military campaigns by Mūsā b. ʿUqba. That *ḥadīth* is weak, especially in light of the address he made following it, and of his having been absent from them on the Friday, Saturday and Sunday, these being those full days.

Al-Zuhri stated, quoting Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra, that Abū Bakr led them in prayer 17 times. Others give that number as 20. God knows best.

Then his noble visage appeared before them early in the morning of the Monday, and he bade them farewell with a gaze that almost overwhelmed them with delight. That was the last occasion on which he gathered with them. One who might have spoken for them would have agreed with the poet, who said:

“I looked on as though death were only an hour away;
how would it be if the time remaining were to end with
Judgement Day!”

It is strange that the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī would give this *ḥadīth* from these two lines and then say, in effect, “Perhaps the Prophet (ṢAAS) remained secluded from them for the first *rakaʿa* then emerged for the second *rakaʿa* and performed the prayer behind Abū Bakr, as ʿUrwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, that fact not being apparent to Anas b. Mālik. Or perhaps he gave part of the information, but remained silent about the rest of it.”

This statement of his is all the more improbable because Anas said, “He remained incapacitated (thereafter) until he died.” In one account he stated, “That was his last contact with them.” Precedence is to be accorded to the statements of the *al-ṣaḥābī*, “a Companion”, over that of the *al-tābiʿī*, “an authority of the following generation”.

But God knows best.

The outcome is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did select Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, as *imām* for all the Companions in the prayer assembly, what is in actuality the most important of the pillars of Islam.

Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī stated, “This selection (of Abū Bakr) is a fact about the religion of Islam necessarily to be recognized.”

He went on, “The selection of him by the Prophet (ṢAAS) is proof that Abū Bakr was the Companion who was the most learned and the best reciter (of the Qurʾān). This is established in that statement of the Prophet (ṢAAS), accepted as authentic by the scholars, in which he said, ‘The person to act as the people’s

imām is to be the one who best recites the Book of God. Should several be equal in this, then the *imām* should be the one most knowledgeable in the *sunna*. If equal in this too, then the oldest of them. If equal in this, then the one of them who first accepted Islam."

I note that these words of al-Ash'arī, may God have mercy upon him, ought to be inscribed in gold! All these qualities, moreover, were combined in Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

The fact that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself prayed behind Abū Bakr at some of the prayers, as we have narrated above in authentic accounts, does not (of course) negate the statements recorded in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection to the effect that Abū Bakr in fact followed him (in prayer). This is because those occasions were at different prayer assemblies, as al-Shāfi'ī and other *imāms*, may God the Almighty and Glorious have mercy upon them all, state.

In addition, Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī and a group of scholars including al-Bukhārī drew evidence from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performing the prayer seated, as Abū Bakr imitated him while standing, the people meanwhile imitating Abū Bakr. This, they maintain, renders invalid the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reported in the *ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth*, which tells of when, while seated, he performed prayer with some of his Companions. He had fallen from a horse and his side had been injured. They then prayed while standing behind him. He gestured to them to sit. When he had completed (the prayer), he said, "Thus should you pray. By Him who bears my soul in His hand, would you behave like the practice in Persia and Byzantium? It is they who stand over their elite who sit!" He also said, "The *imām* is made solely to be imitated; if he says *Allāhu Akbar!* 'God is most Great!', then you say it. If he performs a *rak'a*, then you do so. If he gets up, you get up. If he prostrates, you prostrate too. If he prays seated, then you all pray seated."

They stated, "Then while he was ill, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated while acting as their *imām* and they remained standing."

This indicates the abrogation of what is stated above. But God knows best.

The scholarly community has responded in many and various ways to this evidence. The proper place to deal with it is in my large work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*, if God so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.

In summary, there are those who claim that the Companions sat in accord with his previous order while Abū Bakr only remained standing to report to them from him.

Others maintain that Abū Bakr was actually and essentially acting as the *imām*, as some of the narrators affirm, as was told above. And that Abū Bakr, due to extreme politeness with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), would not act prior to him but imitated him. Thus it was as though the Prophet (ṢAAS) acted as the *imām* of the *imām*. This is why they did not sit – because of their imitating Abū Bakr while he stood. And Abū Bakr did not sit because he was an *imām* and

because he was reporting to them the times of movement, being stationary and the transitions in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaging. But God knows best.

Yet others maintain that there is a difference between a situation when the prayer begins behind the *imām* when he is standing and continues to do so, even if he might happen to sit during the prayer, as was the case here, and a situation when the prayer begins behind the *imām* when he is seated. In such a latter case it would be necessary to sit, because of the *ḥadīth* narrated above. But God's knows best.

THE MANNER OF HIS DYING, AND HIS ACTUAL DEATH.

ʿImām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʿāwīya related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd, from ʿAbd Allāh, he being Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "I went in to the Prophet (ṢAAS), when he was ill and I touched him. I told him, 'Messenger of God, you are seriously ill.' 'Yes,' he replied. 'I am ill enough for two!' I commented, 'You shall be doubly rewarded.' 'Yes,' he agreed, 'by Him in whose hand is my soul, every single Muslim who suffers illness shall have God cast away his sins, just as a tree drops its leaves.'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it through various lines from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿqūb al-Mawṣilī stated in his *musnad* collection that Ishāq b. Abū Isrāʾīl related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from Zayd b. Aslam, from "a man", from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (who said) that he placed his hand upon the Prophet (ṢAAS), and told him, "By God, I can't bear to place my hand upon you, your fever is so severe!" The Prophet (ṢAAS) replied, "For us prophets affliction is doubled, just as our rewards are doubled. If one is a true prophet one might be afflicted unto death by lice. A man might be so afflicted by nakedness as to take his *ʿabāʾa* and make a *jubba* out of it."¹⁴³ People should rejoice in deprivation as they do in prosperity."

The line of transmission for this *ḥadīth* contains reference to "a man", who is utterly unidentified. God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī and Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj, to whom Muslim added Jarīr. All three quote from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Wāʾil, the brother of Ibn Salama, from Masrūq, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, "I never saw the pain of any person more intense than that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. al-Hādd, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, ʿĀʾisha is quoted as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died (while resting) his head between my breast and my chin. And I no longer abhor the death throes of anyone after (those of) the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

143. That is, turn a lightweight wrap into a long, wide-sleeved outer garment.

There is another *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Bukhārī in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that states, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Those persons most suffering affliction are the prophets. Then come the pure, and then so on down. A man is afflicted to the degree of his faith; if firm in his faith, he will be severely afflicted.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb related to him, quoting his father, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbāq from Muḥammad b. Usāma b. Zayd, from his father Usāma b. Zayd, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became severely ill, I came down, along with others, to Medina. I went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and found him totally silent, not speaking at all. He began raising his hands towards the sky, then dropped them down on to me. I know that he was praying for me."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this from Abū Kurayb, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq. He categorized it as *ḥasan gharīb*.

In his work *al-Muwatta'* Imām Mālik quoted Ismā'īl b. Abū Ḥakīm as saying that he heard 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz say, "The last of the statements made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, 'May God destroy the Jews and the Christians! They have adopted the graves of their prophets as mosques. Two religions shall not remain on the land of the Arabs!'"

He narrated it thus in the *mursal* mode from the Commander of the Believers 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, may God have mercy upon him.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba, from 'Ā'isha and Ibn 'Abbās, both of whom stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received revelation, he would immediately throw a *khamīṣa*¹⁴⁴ over his face. If he felt depressed, he would take it off his face. While thus, he once said, 'May God damn the Jews and the Christians! They have adopted the graves of their prophets as mosques!' He was cautioning against what they did."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Rajā' al-Adīb informed him, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, from al-A'mash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say three times before his death, 'Think well of God!'"

In one *ḥadīth* it is narrated by Muslim from al-A'mash, from Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥa b. Nāfi', who quoted Jābir as stating, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Let none of you die without thinking well of God, Almighty is He.'"

In another *ḥadīth* narrated by Muslim, God Almighty is quoted as having stated, "I am as My worshippers regard Me; let them therefore think well of Me."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥakīm informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṣaghānī, quoting Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, quoting Jarīr, from Sulaymān al-Taymī, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "The general testamentary statement spoken by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

144. A black-bordered cloak.

when his death approached was, '(Uphold) prayer; and (care for) what your right hands possess'. (He was saying this) until he began to gurgle over it and his tongue could not pronounce it clearly."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated this from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh, from Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd; Ibn Māja gave it from Abū al-Ash'ath, from Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān, who quoted it from his father.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Asbāt b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting al-Taymī, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The general testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when his death approached was, '(Uphold) prayer; and (care for) what your right hands possess', until his chest began to gurgle as he spoke, and his tongue could scarcely express it."

Al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān, he being al-Taymī, from Qatāda, from Anas.

It is also given by al-Nasā'ī from Qatāda, from a companion of his, from Anas.

Aḥmad stated that Bakr b. 'Isā al-Rāsibī related to him, quoting 'Umar b. al-Faḍl, from Nu'aym b. Yazīd, from 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to take him a thin bone on which he could write what would prevent his nation from going astray after him. I was afraid that his spirit would slip away before (my return). I told him, 'I will memorize and be alert.' He said, 'I charge you (to attend to) the prayer, the *zakāt* and what your right hands possess.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving it from this line.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated that Abū al-Nu'mān Muḥammad b. al-Fuḍayl related to him, quoting Abū 'Awāna, from Qatāda, from Safīna, from Umm Salama, who said, "The general testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at his death was, 'prayer and what your right hands possess' until he was gurgling with it in his chest and his tongue was not producing it."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it thus from Ḥamīd b. Maṣ'ada, from Yazīd b. Zuray', from Sa'īd b. Abū 'Urūba, from Qatāda, from Safīna, from Umm Salama.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "What is true is what 'Affān narrated, from Hammām, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Safīna, from Umm Salama."

Al-Nasā'ī also narrated it thus, as did Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Hammām, from Qatāda, from Ṣāliḥ Abū al-Khalīl, from Safīna, from Umm Salama.

Al-Nasā'ī also narrated it from Qutayba, from Abū 'Awāna, from Qatāda, from Safīna, from the Prophet (ṢAAS). He then narrated it from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, who said, "He narrated it from Safīna who gave it similarly."

Aḥmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Zayd b. al-Hādd, from Mūsā b. Sarjis, from al-Qāsim, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "I watched the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was dying. With him there was a vessel containing water. He would put his hand into the vessel then wipe his face with the water. Then he would say, 'O God, spare me the pangs of death.'"

Al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth. Al-Tirmidhi categorized it as *gharīb*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakī' related to him, from Ismā'īl, from Muṣ'ab b. Ishāq b. Talḥa, from 'Ā'isha, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as saying, "It eases me that I have seen the whiteness of 'Ā'isha's palm in paradise."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is not bad.

This gives evidence of the intensity of the love of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for 'Ā'isha, may God be pleased with her.

People have made many comments relating to the magnitude of love, but none of them has reached this extent. They, moreover, exaggerate in their words that have no truth to them. These words are truth, definitely and unquestionably.

Ḥammād b. Zayd stated, from Ayyūb, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who said, "Ā'isha stated, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in my house. And he died between my chest and my throat. Gabriel would protect him by saying a prayer when he was sick; I started to ask God to protect him, and he raised his sight to the sky. And he said, "With the Highest Companion! With the Highest Companion!"

"Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr came in carrying a fresh date-palm leaf. He looked at it, and I thought he needed it. So I took it and chewed on it and gave it to him. He cleaned his teeth with it with more care than he ever did. He then went to give it to me, but it fell from his hand. And so God mixed my saliva with his on his last day on earth, (which was) also his first day in the Hereafter."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥafīz informed him, quoting Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Sahl, the jurist at Bukhārā, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḥafīz of Baghdād, quoting Dā'ūd, from 'Amr b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, quoting 'Īsā b. Yūnus, from 'Umar b. Sa'īd b. Abū Ḥusayn, quoting Ibn Abū Mulayka (who said) that Abū 'Amr Dhakwān, the freed-man of 'Ā'isha informed him that 'Ā'isha used to say, "It is one of God's blessings to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on the day of my turn, in my house, between my chest and my neck, and that he mixed my saliva with his at his death."

She went on, "My brother came in carrying a palm-wood toothpick. I was resting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on my chest and saw him looking at the toothpick. I knew that he was accustomed to and enjoyed using them. I asked him, 'Shall I get it for you?' He nodded in assent. I softened it for him and he used it in his mouth. Between his hands he was holding a pot or a tin containing water. He began putting his hand in the water and wiping his face with it. After that he raised his hands and said, 'There is no god but God! Death has its pangs.' Then he lifted his left (fore-finger) and began saying, 'With the Highest Companion! With the Highest Companion!' until he died and his hand slipped into the water."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this from Muḥammad (b. 'Ubayd), from 'Īsā b. Yūnus.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Shu'ba related to him, from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, who said that he heard 'Urwa quote 'Ā'isha as having said, "We used to tell one another that a prophet would not die until given to choose between this world and the hereafter. And during the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from which he died, I offered him a seed and heard him say, 'With those prophets, holy men, martyrs and men of purity – they would be fine Companions.' And we thought that he had been given to choose."

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this from Shu'ba.

Al-Zuhri stated that Sa'd b. al-Musayyab and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr were among various scholars who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say – while healthy – that no prophet would be taken by death until he had seen his resting place in heaven and had been asked to make a choice. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put his head down upon my thigh, he lost consciousness for a period. Then he came to and fixed his gaze upon the ceiling. He said, 'O God, the Highest Companion!' I know it related to what we had been talking about when he was healthy, that a prophet would not be taken in death before he had seen his resting place in heaven and had been offered a choice. So I commented, 'Then he is not choosing (to remain with) us.' And those words, 'the Highest Companion' were the final words uttered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave them on more than one line of transmission from al-Zuhri. Sufyān – Sufyān al-Thawri, that is – quoted from Ismā'il b. Abū Khālid, from Abū Burda, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lost consciousness while he was in my lap. I set about wiping his face and praying for a cure for him. He said, 'No; I ask God, the Most Gracious, the Highest Companion, with Gabriel, Mikā'il and Isrāfil.'"

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawri.

Al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and others informed them that Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm related to them, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, quoting Anas b. 'Iyād, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that 'Ā'isha narrated to him that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and listened to him before he died while resting on her chest, saying, "O God, forgive and have mercy on me; and let me join the Highest Companion!"

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. 'Urwa.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, quoting Ibn 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from his father 'Abbād, who quoted 'Ā'isha as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died between my chest and my neck and in my domain. And I did not do harm to anyone therein. And it is because of my comfort and my youth that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was taken while in my lap. Then I placed his head upon a pillow and arose to slap myself and strike my face along with the women."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, quoted Kathīr b. Zayd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Allāh, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'Every single prophet has his spirit taken, and he sees the reward and thereafter it is returned to him; and he is made to choose between having it returned to him or joining (God).' I had learned that from him. As I rested him against my chest, I looked at him as he turned his neck and I said, 'He has decided.' I knew what he had said. I was looking right at him when he raised himself up and stared. I said, 'Then, by God, he is not choosing us!' He said, 'With the Highest Companion, in paradise with those prophets, men of trust, martyrs and men of purity . . . fine, those men, as companions.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. They (the other major compilers of the traditions) did not include it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Hammām, quoting Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while his head was between my breast and my neck. And when his soul came forth, I had never experienced a finer scent than it."

This line of transmission is *ṣaḥīḥ*, according to the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; not one of the compilers of the six (canonical) books of traditions gave it.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥanbal b. Ishāq, from 'Affān. Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus, from Abū Ma'shar, from Muḥammad b. Qays, from Abū 'Urwa, from Umm Salama, who said, "I placed my hand upon the chest of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the day he died, and a mouthful passed on to me. And (even though) I perform the ablutions the scent of musk never leaves my hand."

Aḥmad stated that both 'Affān and Bahz stated to him, "Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra related to us, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Abū Burda, who said, 'I went in to visit 'Ā'isha and she brought out to us a coarse wrap like those made in Yemen and one of those garments they call *al-mulabbada*, "closely woven". She said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while wearing these.'"

All the scholarly community narrated this, except for al-Nasā'ī, from several lines, back to Ḥumayd b. Hilāl. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī, from Yazīd b. Bābanūs, who said, "I and a companion went to 'Ā'isha and asked if we could visit with her. She set down a cushion for us and threw a veil over herself. My companion asked, 'Mother of the Believers, what do you have to say about the *al-ṣirāk*, "the death agony"? She replied, 'What do you imply with that word, *al-ṣirāk*? I knocked against my companion's shoulder and she commented, 'Careful! You hurt your brother!' She went on, 'By *al-ṣirāk* do you mean *al-mahīd*, "menstruation"? Speak what

God, Almighty and Glorious is He, said about menstruation! Well, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would put a cloak over me and touch my head. There would be a blanket between myself and him when I was menstruating.

“Whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by my door, he would speak words with which God would help me. One day he went by without saying anything. Then he passed by again twice or thrice without speaking. I told my servant girl, “Put out a cushion for me at the door.” I then bandaged up my head. He passed by and asked, “What is wrong with you, ‘Ā’isha?” “My head hurts,” I replied. He commented, “And mine too!”

“Soon after that he was brought back, being borne in a cloth. He entered my quarters and sent a message to the (other) wives saying, “I am ill and unable to make my round to you. Permit me to remain with ‘Ā’isha.” I would nurse him, though I had never nursed anyone before. One day, while he was resting on my shoulder, he turned his head towards mine. I thought he wanted something from my head, but a cold discharge came from inside his mouth and fell at the opening of my neck. My skin shivered at it, and I thought he had fainted. So I covered him with a blanket.

“Umar and al-Mughīra arrived and asked to come in; I invited them in, drawing the veil over myself. Umar then looked at him and exclaimed, “What a faint! The Messenger of God is totally unconscious!” They both arose, and when they drew near the door, al-Mughīra said, “Umar, the Messenger of God has died.” I exclaimed, “You’re lying! You must be planning some mischief! The Messenger of God would not die before God had wiped out the hypocrites!”

“Abū Bakr came. I drew aside the veil and he looked at him. Then he said, “To God we belong, and to Him we return! The Messenger of God has died!” He then moved towards his head, lowered his own mouth and kissed his forehead. He then said, “Alas for a prophet!” He raised his head, lowered his mouth and kissed his forehead, saying, “Alas for a man of purity!” Again he raised his head, lowered his mouth and kissed his forehead, saying, “Alas for a bosom friend. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is dead.”

“He left for the mosque while Umar was making an address to the people in which he was saying, “The Messenger of God would not die before God wiped out the hypocrites.”

“Abū Bakr then spoke, praising and thanking God and went on to say, “God states, ‘You (will be) dead and they (will be) dead’” (*sūrat al-Zumar*, XXXIX, v.30), reciting the verse to its conclusion. He went on to recite, “Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him. If he were to die or be killed, would you turn on your heels? And those who turn on their heels” . . . (*sūrat Āl ‘Imrān*; III, v.143).

“He continued, “To those of you who have been worshipping God, (I say) God is alive and will not die. To those of you who have been worshipping Muḥammad, (I say) Muḥammad is dead.”

"Umar asked, "And is that in God's Book? I never was aware that that was in God's Book!" He went on, "People, this is Abū Bakr. He is the most prominent of all the Muslims. Pledge allegiance to him!" And they did pledge allegiance to him."

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī narrated it in *al-Shamā'il*, from a *ḥadīth* of Marḥum b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Aṭṭār, from Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī, who gave it in part.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū Bakr b. Ishāq, quoting Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Malḥān, quoting Yaḥyā b. Bukayr, quoting al-Layth, from 'Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, quoting Abū Salama, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who stated that 'Ā'isha told him that Abū Bakr rode in on his horse from his house in al-Sunḥ.¹⁴⁵ He dismounted and entered the mosque, but did not speak to the people before he went in to see 'Ā'isha. He went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was shrouded in a striped cloak. He uncovered his face, bent over him, kissed him and wept. He then said, "How I wish I could ransom you with my father and mother! I swear by God, God will not ever lay upon you two deaths, and you have now suffered the death decreed for you."

Al-Zuhri stated that Abū Salama related to him, from Ibn 'Abbās, that Abū Bakr came out while 'Umar was speaking with the people. He said, "Sit down, 'Umar." But 'Umar declined to sit. Again he said, "Sit down, 'Umar!" but again 'Umar declined to sit. Abū Bakr made the invocation, "I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God" and the people assembled around him. He then said, "To proceed, to those of you who have been worshipping Muḥammad, Muḥammad has died. To those of you who have been worshipping God, God will not die. God, Almighty is he, recited, 'Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him. If he were to die or be killed, would you turn on your heels?'" (*sūrat Āl 'Imrān*; III, v.143).

Ibn 'Abbās went on, "And I swear by God, it was as though the people did not know that God had revealed this verse until Abū Bakr recited it. The people all learned it from him and that was all you could hear, people reciting it."

Al-Zuhri stated, "Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab informed me that 'Umar said, 'I swear by God, no sooner did I hear Abū Bakr reciting it than I knew that it was the truth and I was so awe-struck that my legs would not bear me, and I fell to the ground. And I knew, when I heard him recite it, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Yaḥyā b. Bukayr.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Ibn Lahī'a, quoting Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr concerning the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as follows, "Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then got up to address the people, threatening anyone who might say that he died by violence. He was saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would be under a covering if there had been any violence.' 'Amr b. Qays b. Zā'ida b. al-Aṣamm b. Umm Maktūm was at the back of the mosque,

145. A suburb of Upper Medina.

reciting, 'Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him' while the people there in the mosque were weeping in confusion, not listening.

"Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib then went out to the people and said, 'People, does any one of you have any agreement from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), relating to his death about which he should tell us?' 'No,' they replied. He then asked, 'Umar, do you have (any such) knowledge?' 'No,' he replied.

"Al-'Abbās went on, 'Bear witness, people, that no one is testifying that they have any claim against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), due upon his death. I swear by the God than whom there is no other, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has tasted death.'

"Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then arrived on his camel from al-Sunḥ and dismounted at the door of the mosque. He came in looking grief-stricken and depressed. He asked permission to enter the apartment of his daughter 'Ā'isha and she invited him in. He entered. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died on the mattress, and the women were all around him. They veiled their faces, concealing themselves from Abū Bakr, except in the case of 'Ā'isha. He uncovered the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and bent over him, kissing him and weeping, saying, 'Whatever Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb says is nothing; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is dead, by Him who holds my life in His hands! May God have mercy upon you, Messenger of God! How fine you are, alive or dead!' He then covered him with the cloth.

"Thereafter he hurried into the mosque, passing through the throng of people, and reached the *minbar*. 'Umar sat down when he saw Abū Bakr approaching. Abū Bakr stood beside the *minbar* and called out to the people, who sat down and listened. He reiterated the *shahāda* several times, then said, 'God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has announced to His Prophet his own death. Yet He is alive among you and is making announcement to you too, of death. Eventually none of you will remain – (all will die) except God, Almighty and Glorious is He. The Almighty stated, "Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him."'

"'Umar asked, 'And this verse is in the Qur'ān? By God, I never knew before today that this verse had been revealed! God Almighty did say to Muḥammad, "You (will be) dead and they (will be) dead" (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.30). And He did say, "Every thing perishes except for His face. Judgement is His, and to Him you shall be returned" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.88). And He said, "Every one upon it will pass away; and the face of Your Lord, Possessor of glory and honour, shall endure" (*sūrat al-Raḥmān*; LV, v.26, 7). And he also said, "Every soul shall taste death and you will only receive your rewards in full on Judgement Day" (*sūrat Āl-Imrān*; III, v.184).

"He (Abū Bakr) went on, 'God gave life to Muḥammad (ṢAAS), and kept him alive until he had established God's religion, made God's orders plain, delivered His message and fought in His cause. Thereafter God took him to Himself and

left you upon the path. And none shall perish except after clear signs and pain. Those whose Lord is God (shall know) that God is alive and will not die. For those who worshipped Muḥammad and treated him as a god (should know) that their god has expired. Fear God, people! Hold fast to your religion and put your trust in your Lord. God's religion is established. God's word is complete. God will help those who support Him and who revere His religion. God's Book is among us. It is both the light and the cure. By it God led Muḥammad (ṢAAS). In it it states what God considers *ḥallāl*, "permissible", and what *ḥarām*, "prohibited". And, by God, we will not care who of God's creation descend upon us. God's swords are still unsheathed; we have not yet put them down. We will fight vigorously against those who oppose us, just as we fought with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Let no one depend upon other than himself."

The *muhājirūn* then left with him for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The *ḥadīth* proceeds to relate his being washed, and placed in a shroud, how prayers were spoken over him and he was buried.

I note that we will relate all this in full detail and all evidence hereafter, if God Almighty so wills it.

Al-Wāqidi narrated from his sheikhs. They stated, "When there was doubt about the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), some people said, 'He is dead!' Others said, 'He is not dead.' Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, then placed her hand between the shoulders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is dead. And the "seal" has been removed from between his shoulders!' It was by this that his death was known."

The *ḥafīẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave it thus in his work the *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, through al-Wāqidi. The tradition is considered *ḍa'if*, "weak". The sheikhs whom he quotes are unidentified and the *ḥadīth* is *munqaṭi'*, "truncated", in any case, and it contradicts what is true. It contains what is exceedingly strange – the removal of the "seal". But God knows what is correct.

Al-Wāqidi and others have given many reports about the death that are very strange and objectionable. We have omitted most of these, due to the weakness of their lines of transmission or the objectionable nature of their content, especially material given by many of the tellers of narratives, and others; much of that is definitely invented.

In the authentic and good *aḥādīth* related in the famous works, material containing untruths and of unknown lines of transmission are avoided. And God knows best.

Section: An account of important events that occurred after the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and before his burial.

One of the most important and significant of these in consequence for Islam and its followers was the pledging of allegiance to Abū Bakr, "the trusting", may God be pleased with him.

What happened was that on the day of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr had performed the *al-subḥ* prayer with the people. At that time the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had briefly recovered from the throes of the illness from which he was suffering; he had drawn aside the curtain to his apartment and had looked out at the Muslims lined up in prayer behind Abū Bakr. This sight delighted him and he smiled at the Muslims, who, in their pleasure at seeing him, were almost distracted from the prayer in which they were engaged. And Abū Bakr had been about to return to the line of worshippers, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) signalled to them to remain where they were and let down the curtain. This was their last experience of him.

When Abū Bakr had completed the prayer, he came in to him and said to ʿĀʾisha, "I see that the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is somewhat alleviated. This is the day assigned to Bint Khārija." He was referring to one of his two wives, who resided in al-Sunḥ, over towards the east side of Medina. He then mounted a horse he owned and went to his house there.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in the late morning of that day; some say after the sun had passed the zenith. But God knows best.

Upon his death, the Companions fell into disagreement. Some said he had died, some that he had not. Ṣalīm b. ʿUbayd went after Abū Bakr in al-Sunḥ and told him of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter left his house when he received the news and went in to the apartment of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He drew back the covering from over his face, kissed him and established that he had died.

Then he went out to the people and, from the side of the *minbar* addressed them. He told them about the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we have related above, and put an end to their confusion and doubt. All the people came back around him, and a number of the Companions pledged their allegiance to him in the mosque.

Some of the *anṣār* had doubts and it occurred to certain of them that it would be acceptable to appoint one of the *anṣār* as *khalīfa*, "caliph", "successor". Others of them compromised and suggested that one leader be appointed for the *muhājirīn* and one for the *anṣār*. Eventually Abū Bakr made clear to them that the caliphate could only be from Quraysh. They therefore came back to him and resolved unanimously on him, as we will narrate and elucidate.

The Story of the hall of Banū Sāʿida.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ishāq b. ʿIsā al-Ṭabbāʿ related to him, quoting Mālik b. Anas, quoting Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUṭba b. Masʿūd, who said that Ibn ʿAbbās reported to him that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf returned to his baggage. Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "I had been teaching ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to recite and (on his return) he found me waiting for him; that was at Minā, during the last *ḥijja* performed by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf

said, 'A man came to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and said, "So-and-so is saying that if 'Umar were to have died, I would have pledged allegiance to so-and-so." At this 'Umar said, "I intend to stand up among the people this evening, if God so wills it, and I will warn them against that band who wish to seize power over them!"'"

"Abd al-Raḥmān went on, 'I told him, "Commander of the Believers, don't do that; the pilgrimage brings together all kinds of low-class riff-raff and they will be in the majority in your assembly should you rise to address the people. I am afraid you may say something they will report all over the place without understanding or placing in the right context. You should first arrive in Medina, the seat of the Hijra and the home of the *sunna*, and which only consists of scholars and the leading men. Say (in Medina) whatever you want in security. They will understand and properly interpret your words."'"

"'Umar replied, "If I reach Medina safely, I certainly will tell the people of it at the first assembly I hold."'"

"After reaching Medina, at the end of Dhū al-Hijja, when it was Friday, I hurried over in (a state of) *ṣakkaṭ al-a'mā*. [I, (Ishāq b. 'Isā al-Ṭabā') asked Mālik, "What did the narrator mean by *ṣakkaṭ al-a'mā*?" He replied, "It means approximately when one doesn't care what the time is or how hot or cold it may be."]

"Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf went on, 'I found Sa'īd b. Zayd at the right corner of the *minbar*, he having preceded me there. I sat down facing him, my knee touching his. 'Umar was there right away. When I saw him, I said, "This evening he is going to speak on this *minbar* what no one has ever expressed before."'"

"Sa'īd b. 'Umar disputed this, saying, 'What might he say that no one has said before?'"

"'Umar sat on the *minbar* and when the *muezzin* had finished making the call to prayer, he got up and gave appropriate praise to God. Then he said, "To proceed, I am about to speak what it was decreed for me to say. I do not know whether it will prove to be immediately before my death. Those who listen and understand it should talk about it wherever they may travel. Those who do not understand it I do not permit to tell lies about me.

"'"God sent Muḥammad with the truth and revealed the Book to him. One part of what He revealed to him was the verse relating to stoning. We recited it and fully appreciated and understood it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones, and we did so after him. I fear that eventually people may say, 'We don't find any verse referring to the stoning to be present in God's Book.' And so they will go astray by abandoning an ordinance revealed by God the Almighty and Glorious. The stoning in God's Book is a punishment upon married men and women who commit adultery when proof is present, or there is a pregnancy or a confession.'

"'"Moreover, we used to recite, 'Do not deny your own forebears, for it is unbelief for you to deny your forebears.' And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also said, 'Do not praise me to excess as people would do about Jesus, son of Mary. I am only a servant; say (he is), "The servant and Messenger of God."'"

““It has reached me that one of you is saying, ‘If ‘Umar had died, I would have pledged allegiance to so-and-so.’ Let no man deceive himself by saying, ‘The allegiance paid to Abū Bakr was accidental and then became established.’ Indeed, it was that way, except that God prevented it causing evil. There is none among you today who could command such allegiance as was the case for Abū Bakr. He was the best of us when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died.”

““‘Alī, al-Zubayr and their associates withdrew to the house of Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while all the *anṣār* went off in opposition to the hall of Banū Sa’ida. The *muhājirūn* assembled around Abū Bakr.

““‘I told him, ‘Abū Bakr, let us go and join our *anṣār* brothers.’ We set off to join them and were met by two fine men. They reported to us what the people were doing. They asked, ‘Where are you *muhājirūn* going?’ I replied, ‘We want to join our *anṣār* brothers.’ They replied, ‘No; you should not go near them. Make your own decision, you *muhājirūn*.’ I told them, ‘I swear by God, we will go to them!’

““‘We proceeded further and joined them in the hall of Banū Saqifa. They were assembled there and among them was one man heavily shrouded. I asked, ‘Who is that?’ They replied, ‘That is Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda.’ I asked, ‘What’s wrong with him?’ They replied, ‘He is ill.’

““‘When we sat down, their speaker arose, spoke appropriate praise for God, and went on, ‘To proceed, we are the *anṣār* of God, the “squadron of Islam” and you *muhājirūn* are the people of the Prophet (ṢAAS). But apparently a group of you wish to sever us from our origins and block us from gaining authority.’”

““‘Umar continued, “When he had finished, I wanted to speak, for I had readied a speech I much liked that I wanted to deliver before Abū Bakr and mitigate some of his tartness. But he was wiser and more dignified than myself, and, by God, when I remained silent he did not omit a word that I would have wished to utter, and he did so better.

““‘What he said was, ‘To proceed, you fully deserve every credit of which you spoke. However, the Arabs will recognize this authority only in this tribe of Quraysh, for they are the finest of the Arabs in descent and residence. I therefore recommend to you either of these two men you might prefer.’ He then took my hand and that of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. This was the only thing he had said that I disliked. I would rather have been taken off to be beheaded without having committed a sin, or when dying, to have had my soul succumb to temptation, than to be given command of those that included Abū Bakr!

““‘One of the *anṣār* then arose and said, ‘I am, as it were, my people’s rubbing post, and their fruitful, propped-up date-palm. One ruler should come from us, and another from you, Quraysh.’

““‘I asked Mālik, ‘What does he mean by “rubbing post” and “fruitful, propped up date-palm”?’ He replied, “He’s saying, ‘I am their most clever man’.”

““Voices rose in heated debate so that we feared a break-up. I then said, ‘Hold out your hand, Abū Bakr!’ He did so, and I pledged allegiance to him, as did all the *muhājirūn* and then the *anṣār* did so too. And we leaped upon Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda.¹⁴⁶ Someone shouted, ‘You have killed Sa’d!’ I responded, ‘(May) God kill Sa’d!’”

““Umar went on, “We felt we could not have been more successful than we had been, in having allegiance pledged to Abū Bakr. We had feared that if we had left them without there having been a pledge, one would have been made after we had left; either we would have had to accept their decision that we did not want, or we would have had to oppose them, which would have meant disaster. Allegiance made to a leader without consultation with the Muslim community is invalid for the person making it, as is that of someone who so pledges out of fear of being killed.””

Mālik stated, “Ibn Shihāb quoted ‘Urwa as having said, ‘The two men who met them were ‘Uwaym b. Sā‘ida and Ma‘n b. ‘Adī.”

Ibn Shihāb stated, “Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab reported to me that the ‘rubbing post’ was al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir.”

The scholarly community all gave this *ḥadīth* in their works, along various lines from Mālik and others, all of whom drew it from al-Zuhri.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mu‘āwiya related to him from ‘Amr, quoting Zā‘ida, quoting ‘Āṣim, and I have also been informed by Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, from Zā‘ida, from ‘Āṣim, from Zirr, from ‘Abd Allāh – he being Ibn Mas‘ūd – who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the *anṣār* said, ‘A leader from us and a leader from you.’ ‘Umar went to them and said, ‘*Anṣār*, do you not know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered Abū Bakr to act as the people’s *imām*? Who of you would feel at ease taking precedence over Abū Bakr?’

“The *anṣār* responded, ‘We seek refuge in God from ever taking precedence over Abū Bakr!’”

Al-Nasā‘i narrated it from Ishāq b. Rāḥawayh and Ḥannād b. al-Sarri, from Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Ju‘fi, from Zā‘ida.

‘Alī b. al-Madīnī narrated it from Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, who said, “It is *ṣaḥīḥ*. I know it only from a *ḥadīth* of Zā‘ida, from ‘Āṣim.”

Al-Nasā‘i also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Salama b. Nubayṭ, from Nu‘aym b. Abū Hind, from Nubayṭ b. Sharīṭ, from Sālim b. ‘Ubayd, from ‘Umar similarly. It is also narrated from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb similarly through another line of transmission.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq narrated it from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from ‘Umar, who stated, “I

146. The Arabic phrase given is *wa nazaʿnā ‘alā Sa’d*, that is, we “jumped upon”, “mounted” or “served” Sa’d. Sa’d had offered an *anṣārī* candidate for Caliph. The text suggests that the *muhājirūn* had thwarted Sa’d’s plans, rather than done violence to him. In any case, Sa’d, an important figure in the early history of Islam, went into retirement thereafter and died some two years after ‘Umar’s accession to the caliphate.

said, 'Muslims, the one most worthy of the authority of the Prophet of God should be the second of the two who were in the cave;¹⁴⁷ and Abū Bakr is the foremost and the senior (candidate).'

"I then went to take his hand but an *anṣārī* anticipated me and touched his hand before I did. I then took his hand and the (other) people followed."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd narrated it from 'Ārim b. al-Faḍl, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. His account is similar to the above; he gave the name of the man who preceded 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr as Bashīr b. Sa'd, the father of al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr.

An Account of the recognition by Sa'd b. 'Ubāda of the truth of what Abū Bakr stated that day at the hall.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Abū 'Awāna, from Da'ūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azdī, from Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was in his summer residence outside Medina.

"He arrived, uncovered his face and kissed him, saying, 'Would that my mother and my father could ransom you! There was none finer than you, alive or dead! Muḥammad has died, by the lord of the *ka'ba*.'"

He went on to narrate the *ḥadīth* as above and stated, "Abū Bakr and 'Umar hurried off and joined them. Abū Bakr spoke, omitting nothing that had been revealed about the *anṣār* or that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said about them. He stated, 'You well know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'If the people were to take a path along a valley while the *anṣār* followed a different one, I would take that of the *anṣār*.' You well know, Sa'd, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said – while you were seated – 'Quraysh are those entrusted with this authority. Those of the people who are righteous are but followers of the righteous (of Quraysh), while the sinners would do the same.' Sa'd said to him, 'You are right; we are the viziers, you the princes!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Alī b. 'Abbās related to him, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting Yazīd b. Sa'īd b. Dhū 'Aḍwān al-'Absī, from 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr al-Lakhmī, from Rāfi' al-Ṭā'ī, the companion of Abū Bakr, "the trusting", on the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsil, who said, "I asked him what had been said when allegiance was pledged to him. He replied, (while telling him what the *anṣār* had been discussing, what he had said to them and what 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had said to the *anṣār*) 'and he reminded them of my being appointed their *imām* by order of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during his illness. And they therefore pledged allegiance to me, and I accepted this from them. I was worried that (otherwise) there would be unrest after which would come secession.'"

147. A reference to *sūrat al-Tawba*; IX, v.40.

The line of transmission for this is excellent and strong.

The implication of this is that Abū Bakr only accepted the appointment as *imām* due to his concern that there would be unrest worse than if he had refused to accept it.

I note that this activity took place during the remainder of that Monday. On the morning of the following day, Tuesday, the people gathered in the mosque where the pledge of allegiance was made by the entire body of the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār*. This preceded the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hishām, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, who quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said that he heard the final address when 'Umar sat upon the *minbar*. That was the day following that of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Bakr was there, not speaking. 'Umar said, "What I wanted was for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to live on until he *dabbaranā*" – by this word¹⁴⁸ he meant until he was the last one of them alive – "however, even if he has died, God has placed among you a light by which you may be guided. God led Muḥammad (ṢAAS) aright; Abū Bakr, his Companion and 'the second of two' is the Muslim most fitted to have authority over you. Come forward and pledge allegiance to him."

A group had pledged allegiance to him before that, in the hall of Banū Sā'ida; the general pledge occurred at the *minbar*.

Al-Zuhri quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, "I heard 'Umar say that day to Abū Bakr, 'Mount the *minbar*.' And he kept on saying this until Abū Bakr did mount the *minbar* and there was a general pledge of allegiance made to him."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that al-Zuhri quoted to him Anas b. Mālik as having said, "When Abū Bakr received the pledge of allegiance in the hall, it being the day after (the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), Abū Bakr was seated on the *minbar*. 'Umar arose and spoke prior to Abū Bakr. He spoke appropriate words of praise and thanks to God, then he said, 'People, I made a new address to you yesterday, one I did not find in God's Book, and one that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not authorized me to deliver. However, I had thought that he would *dabbara* us' – he meant 'be the last of us'. 'God has preserved among you His Book by which He gave guidance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If you adhere to it, then God will lead you to that to which He led him. God has given responsibility for your affairs to the very best man among you, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the second of two when they were together in the cave; arise and pledge allegiance to him.'

"And the people did make a general pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr after the pledge made at the hall.

"Abū Bakr then spoke. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God, then said, 'To proceed: people, I have assumed authority over you, even though I am not the best of you. If I do well, then help me. If I err, then set me straight.

148. The word can also, more normally, mean "organize", "arrange".

Honesty is loyalty; dishonesty is perfidy. It is the weak among you who are powerful in my view until I can do away with their infirmity. It is the strong among you who are weak until I can draw forth from them the right, if God so wills it. No people abandons the fight for God's cause without God afflicting them with degradation. Depravity never spreads over a people without God making them experience calamity. Obey me for as long as I obey God and His Messenger. If I disobey God and His Messenger, then I should expect no obedience from you. Proceed with your prayer, and may God have mercy upon you!"

This has a line of transmission that is *ṣaḥīḥ*.

His statement, "I have assumed authority over you, even though I am not the best of you" stems from (a sense) of forbearance and modesty. They were united in belief that he was the most virtuous and best of them, may God be pleased with them all.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Isfarāyīnī related to him, quoting Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzayma and Ibrāhīm b. Abū Ṭālib, both of whom stated, "Bandar b. Bashshār related to us, quoting Abū Ḥāshim al-Makhzūmī, quoting Wuhayb, quoting Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, quoting Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa'd al-Khudrī who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the people gathered in the home of Sa'd b. Ubāda; they included Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

"The spokesman for the *anṣār* arose and said, "You should know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one of the *muhājirīn* and that his successor will be from the *muhājirīn*. We have been the *anṣār*, "the Helpers", of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and we will be the *anṣār* of his caliph, just as we were his *anṣār*."

"Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then arose and said, "Your speaker is correct. If you had said anything other than this, we would not have agreed with you." He then took the hand of Abū Bakr and said, "This is your leader; pledge allegiance to him." 'Umar pledged allegiance to him, as did the *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār*."

He went on, "Abū Bakr mounted the *minbar* and, looking out into their faces, he did not see al-Zubayr. And so he summoned al-Zubayr and said, 'I ask, would you, the nephew of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his disciple, wish to break asunder the staff of the Muslims?' He replied, 'Let there be no reproof, Caliph of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And he arose and made his pledge of allegiance to him.

"Abū Bakr then looked out into the faces of the people and did not see 'Alī. He then summoned 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, and he came. Abū Bakr said, 'I ask, would the nephew of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his son-in-law, wish to break asunder the staff of the Muslims?' He replied, 'Let there be no reproof, Caliph of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And he pledged to him his allegiance. This is approximately what was said."

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥafīẓ stated, "I heard Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzayma say, 'Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj came to me and asked me about this *ḥadīth*; I wrote it down for him on a scrap (of cloth) and read it aloud to him.'

"This *ḥadīth* is worth a camel offered in sacrifice."

I say it certainly is; indeed, it is worth a whole hoard of cash!

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated it from al-Ḥākim and Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥamid al-Maqburī, both of whom quoted from Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Aṣamm, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Shākir, from 'Affān b. Salam, from Wuhayb. However, he reported that it was Abū Bakr, not 'Umar, who responded to the *anṣār* spokesman. And in that account he stated that it was Zayd b. Thābit who took the hand of Abū Bakr and said, "This is your leader; pledge him allegiance." He stated that, "They then left, and when Abū Bakr mounted the *minbar*, he looked out into the faces of the people there and, not seeing 'Alī, asked after him. Some of the *anṣār* then got up and brought him." He proceeded thereafter to refer to the account relating to al-Zubayr. God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated it from trusted authorities from Wuhayb, in abbreviated form. 'Alī b. 'Āṣim narrated it from al-Jarīrī, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī. His account is similar to the above.

The line of transmission for this is *ṣaḥīḥ* and *mahfūẓ*, "authentic and appropriate", from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Naḍrat al-Mundhir b. Mālik b. Nat'a, from Abū Sa'īd Sa'd b. Mālik b. Sinān al-Khudrī.

This account has clear value; it refers to the pledge of allegiance made by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, either on the first day or the second following the death. This is true. For 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib never once, at any time, opposed Abū Bakr and never failed to be present behind him at any one of the prayers, as we will relate. He also went out with him to Dhū al-Qiṣṣa when Abū Bakr proceeded forth, his sword unsheathed, to do battle with those in secession from Islam.

However, when it so happened that Fātima, may God be pleased with her, criticized Abū Bakr because she fancied that she had rights to inherit from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), this was due to her not having known what Abū Bakr told her of the latter's statement, "What we leave shall not be inherited but will become a *ṣadaqa*, 'a charitable trust'". He therefore blocked her and others of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as well as his uncle from the inheritance, due to this clear statement as we will explain in its proper place. She then asked him that 'Alī look into the land at Khaybar and Fadak made into a *ṣadaqa*. Abū Bakr did not, however, respond favourably in this because he – that man who was truthful, pious, upright and virtuous – thought it his duty to administer all those matters entrusted to him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She, a very human woman with no aspirations for infallibility, felt resentful and angry and never again spoke to Abū Bakr before she died. 'Alī was obliged to respect her feelings somewhat. When she died, some six months following the death of her father (ṢAAS), 'Alī thought it best to renew his pledge of allegiance

to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, in addition to the pledge he had made earlier, prior to the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The authenticity of all this is further established by the statement made by Mūsā b. ʿUqba in his work on the military expeditions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). In it he quotes from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, quoting his father, to the effect that his father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, was with ʿUmar and that Muḥammad b. Maslama broke the sword of al-Zubayr.

(The *ḥadīth* states) “Abū Bakr then made an address in which he apologized to the people, saying, ‘I was never ambitious for power, not for a single day or night; I never asked for it, secretly or openly.’ And the *muhājirūn* accepted his statement.”

ʿAlī and al-Zubayr both stated, “The only thing that angered us is that we were too late for the *mashūra*, ‘the consultation activity’. We consider that Abū Bakr is the most deserving of the people for power. He is the ‘companion of the cave’ and we well know his nobility and goodness. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did, while alive, appoint him to lead the people in prayer.”

The line of transmission for this is excellent. And to God be all praise and credit.

DIVISION

Anyone contemplating what we have been reporting will clearly recognize that the precedence awarded by both the *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* to Abū Bakr was unanimous. They will see in this proof of the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that “God and the Believers would reject anyone but Abū Bakr”.

It will be apparent to them, nevertheless, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not assign the caliphate to any specific person, not to Abū Bakr, as one group of the orthodox maintain, nor to ʿAlī, as a group of the *al-rāfiḍa*,¹⁴⁹ “the rejectionists”, argue.

He did, however, make an indication (of preference) so strong that any person of perception and intelligence would recognize, for Abū Bakr, as we have shown above and will refer to hereafter. And to God be praise.

It is similarly established in both *ḥadīth* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, that when ʿUmar was stabbed, he was asked, “Will you not appoint a successor, Commander of the Believers?” He replied, “If I were to appoint a successor, someone better than myself did so” – meaning Abū Bakr – “and if I do not, someone else better than myself did not” – meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn ʿUmar went on, “I knew, when he mentioned the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he was not going to appoint a successor.”

149. From the verb *rāfiḍa*, “reject”, the term, sometimes used perjoratively, is applied to the Shiʿi community of Islam who “rejected” the legitimacy of the succession to the caliphate of *al-shaykhayn*, “the two elders”, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

Sufyān al-Thawrī stated that 'Amr b. Qays quoted 'Amr b. Sufyān as having said, "When 'Alī took command over the people, he said, 'People, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left us no instructions regarding power. We considered it appropriate to appoint Abū Bakr as his successor. And he took various action, and so it went until he passed away. Then Abū Bakr decided to appoint 'Umar as his successor. And he took various actions and so it went till he passed away' – or he said, 'until his authority was firmly established'. And so on."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Shurayk, from al-Aswad b. Qays, from 'Amr b. Sufyān, who said, "A man made an address at the battle of Basra at which 'Alī was victorious and 'Alī spoke, saying, "(Regarding) this uneven speaker, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came first, Abū Bakr came second and 'Umar came third. After them we were rocked by disorders in which God performed His will."

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zakī of Merv, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Rawḥ al-Madā'īnī, quoting Shabāba b. Sawwār, quoting Shu'ayb b. Maymūn, from Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from al-Sha'bi, from Abū Wā'il, who said, "'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib was asked, 'Will you not appoint a successor over us?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not appoint a successor, so should I appoint one? If God wishes the people well, He will unite them, after me, behind the best man among them, as He united them behind the best man among them after their prophet.'"

The line of transmission for this is excellent; the compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections did not give it.

We have quoted hereabove al-Bukhārī's account of the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, from Ibn 'Abbās, to the effect that when 'Abbās and 'Alī came away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a man asked them, "How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) this morning?" 'Alī responded, "Thanks be to God, he is recovered." Al-'Abbās then said, "Three days from now, I swear by God, you will be 'slave of the staff'. I well know how members of Banū Hāshim look when near death. And I see death in the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Let us go to him and ask him to whom rule will go. If to us, then we will know it; if to someone other than us, we can tell him and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) can tell him to care for us." 'Alī said, "I'll not ask him that, I swear by God. If he refused it to us, the people would never give it to us after him."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq gave this from al-Zuhri. That account, "They both went in to him the day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died", ends with the words "and he died when the heat grew intense of the late morning of that day".

I note that this was a Monday, the day on which he died; this is evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) died without leaving a testamentary statement concerning the leadership.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Ibn ‘Abbās is quoted as having stated, “It was truly disastrous that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was prevented from writing that document.”

We have narrated above how the Prophet (ṢAAS) sought to write a document for them after which they would not go astray, and how, when disputes and differences were expressed in his presence, he said, “Leave me alone; my present condition is better than that to which you invite me.”

We also quoted him above as having stated thereafter, “God and the Believers would reject anyone but Abū Bakr.”

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Awn, from Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, that al-Aswad is quoted as having said, “Someone told ‘Ā’isha that people were saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement appointing ‘Alī as his successor. She asked, ‘Regarding what? He did ask for a bowl in which to urinate while I was resting him against my chest, and he then turned aside and died, without my sensing it. How is it they say he made a testamentary statement appointing ‘Alī as his successor?’”

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections there is a *ḥadīth* of Mālik b. Mighwal which quotes Ṭalḥa b. Muṣṣrif as saying, “I asked ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā whether the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made a testamentary statement. He replied, ‘No.’ I asked, ‘So he made us no testamentary statement?’ He replied, ‘He commended to us the Book of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.’”

Ṭalḥa b. Muṣṣrif stated that Hudhayl b. Shurahbīl said, “Abū Bakr is behaving like a ruler on the basis of a testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! Abū Bakr wishes he had found some (written) testament from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died (without doing so).” Abū Bakr would have been delighted – if he had found a testament from the Prophet (ṢAAS) to have applied it diligently.

It is also stated in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of al-A‘mash, from Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, who quotes his father as having said, “‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, made an address to us in which he said, ‘Whoever claims that we have anything to read that is not in God’s Book and on this sheet’ – referring to a sheet suspended on his sword that contained some camel’s teeth and items taken from wounds – ‘is telling lies!’”

Concerning it (the sheet) he said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated (in it), ‘Medina is sacrosanct, from Mt. ‘Ayr to Mt. Thawr. Whoever commits a sin inside it or provides sanctuary for someone who has sinned shall have upon him the curses of God, the angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation. Anyone claiming descent from someone not his father or who claims connection to those not his protectors shall have upon him the curses of God, the angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation. Inviolability of Muslims, even those of the lowest ranks, is all one; any person who violates his pact with a Muslim shall be cursed by God, the

angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation.'”

This *ḥadīth* established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere from ‘Alī, may God be pleased with him, refutes the claim of the ‘rejectionist’ faction that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement appointing him to the succession. Were it to have been as they claim, none of the Companions would have rejected it. They were too obedient to God and to His Messenger, both during his life and after his death, to use their own judgement contrary to his and to give their preference to someone other than his choice, or to downgrade someone to whom he had given preference in his own test. Far from it, definitely, and why ever?

Whoever would think that of the Companions, may God be pleased with them, any would have ascribed to them sinfulness and collusion in resistance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and opposition to his decision and his document? Anyone who reaches this point has taken off the mantle of Islam and expressed disbelief in the concensus of the famous *imāms*. Spilling the blood of such persons would be more permissible than the spilling of wine!

Moreover, if ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, did in fact possess a document why did he not use it to argue against the Companions to establish his power over them and his role as their *imām*?

If he could not put into effect that document, then he was weak, and a weakling is not fit for power. If he were able and did not act, then he was a traitor; and such a sinful traitor should be denied and kept away from power. If he did not know of the existence of the document, then he was ignorant.

And then could others after him have known of it? This is impossible – a lie, foolishness and error.

This would only seem appropriate to persons of ignorance and depravity, human beings who are totally misled. Satan provides embellishment for them without evidence or proof but with mere use of imagination, irrationality, mendacity and false accusations.

Refuge is to be sought with God from the delirium, inadequacy, madness and disbelief they suffer, refuge with God by adherence to the *sunna*, the *Qur’ān*, fidelity to Islam and to faith, by reliance upon certainty, the weight of evidence, to escape the flames and to attain heaven. And God is Munificent, Benign, Merciful and Compassionate.

In this *ḥadīth* from ‘Alī, firmly based in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that we have given above, there is refutation of the claims made by those numerous ignorant cultists and storytellers who claim that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement awarding him power. Their statements asserting this are many and various, claiming that the Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, “‘Alī, do this!”, “‘Alī, do not do that”. “‘Alī, anyone doing this and that would be such-and-such.” They employ phraseology that is weak and express concepts that are largely absurd.

Many of their statements are on paper and are not worth the ink! But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī gave a *ḥadīth* through Ḥammād b. ‘Amr al-Naṣībī – he being one of those unmitigated liars – from al-Sarrī b. Khallād, from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from his grandfather, from ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, “‘Alī, I am entrusting a commandment to you; honour it and you will be well for as long as you keep to it. ‘Alī, the believer is distinguished by three characteristics – prayer, fasting and payment of the *zakāt*.”

Al-Bayhaqī went on, “He proceeded to give a lengthy *ḥadīth* concerning motivations and morals. The *ḥadīth* is fabricated. And I stipulated at the beginning of the book that I would not include any *ḥadīth* I know to be fabricated.”

He proceeded to relate through Ḥammād b. ‘Umar, this being from Zayd b. Rufay‘, from Maḥḥul al-Shāmī, who said, “This is what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated to ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib when he returned from the military expedition to Hunayn and *surat al-Naṣr* (CX) was revealed to him.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “He went on to relate a long *ḥadīth* concerning *al-fitna*, ‘civil disorder’; this too is an objectionable *ḥadīth* that is without proper foundation. Yet there are enough authentic *aḥādīth*; success is through God.”

Let us here offer comments made upon the life of Ḥammād b. ‘Amr b. Abū Ismā‘īl al-Naṣībī. It is narrated from al-A‘mash and others, as well as from Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, Muḥammad b. Mahrān, Mūsā b. Ayyūb and others.

Yahyā b. Ma‘īn stated, “He is one of those who lie and who fabricate *aḥādīth*.” ‘Amr b. ‘Alī al-Fallās and Abū Ḥātim stated, “His *aḥādīth* are objectionable; very weak.” Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb al-Jawzānī said, “He would lie.” Al-Bukhārī stated, “His *aḥādīth* are objectionable.” Abū Zur‘a said, “His *aḥādīth* are feeble.” Al-Naṣā‘ī stated, “To be ignored.” Ibn Hibbān said, “Completely fabricates *aḥādīth*.” Ibn ‘Adī stated, “His whole body of *aḥādīth* are such that none of the trustworthy authorities quote him.” Al-Dārquṭnī said, “Weak.” Al-Ḥākim Abū ‘Abd Allāh commented, “He narrates from the trustworthy authorities *aḥādīth* that are fabricated; he is simply notorious.”

And then there is the *ḥadīth* given by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī, who stated that Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related, quoting Ḥamza b. al-‘Abbās al-‘Aqabī of Baghdad, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawḥ al-Madā‘inī, quoting Sallām b. Sulaymān al-Madā‘inī, quoting Sallām b. Sulaym al-Ṭawīl, from ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from al-Ḥasan al-Maqburī, from al-Ash‘ath b. Ṭāliq, from Murra b. Sharāḥīl, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became seriously ill, we gathered in ‘Ā’isha’s home. As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked over at us, his eyes welled with tears. He then told us, ‘The time for the parting is near.’ And he went on to tell us of his impending death. He then said, ‘Welcome to you all; may God give you long life. May He give you guidance, help, benefit, success, instruction,

protection, support and acceptance. I commend you to fear of God; I commend you to God and ask Him to take charge of you. I am to you all a clear harbinger, warning you not to go against God by being haughty towards His worshippers and His land. God said to me and to you, "That abode, the Hereafter, We assign to those who do not seek self-aggrandisement on earth or iniquity; reward shall come to the pious" (*sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ*; XXVIII, v.83). He also stated, "Is there not in hell an abode for the conceited?" (*sūrat al-Zumar*; XXXIX, v.60).

"We asked him, 'When will your death come, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'It is near; as is the return to God, to the *al-sidrat al-muntahā*,¹⁵⁰ to the most bountiful cup and the highest furnishings.' We asked, 'Who is it will wash you (after death), Messenger of God?' He replied, 'The very closest menfolk of my household, along with many angels who see you from where you do not see them.' We asked, 'In what should we shroud you, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'In these clothes of mine, if you wish, or in a Yemeni cloth or a white one from Egypt.'

"We asked, 'Who will pray over you, Messenger of God?' He wept and we did so too. He said, 'Easy! May God forgive you and reward you well on behalf of your Prophet! When you have washed me, embalmed me, wound me in a shroud and placed me at the edge of my grave, then depart from me for a while. The first person to pray for me shall be my two Companions and friends, Gabriel and Mikā'il, then Isrā'īl, then the angel of death, along with troops of angels, upon whom be peace. Let the men of my own household begin prayers for me; then the women, then let others come in groups and as individuals. Do not harm me by weeping, lamenting or screaming. Give my greetings to those of my Companions who are absent. I ask you to bear witness that I send greetings to all who have entered into Islam and to those who have followed me in this faith of mine, from this day and on to the Day of Judgement.' We said, 'Who will place you in your grave, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'The very closest of the men of my household, along with many angels who see you from where you do not see them.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "Aḥmad b. Yūnus concurred with him, quoting from Sallām al-Ṭawīl. Sallām al-Ṭawīl is the only person who gave this."

I note that his refers to Sallām b. Salam, known as Ibn Salīm and also as Ibn Sulaymān. The first version is more correct – (in full) al-Tamīmī al-Sa'dī al-Ṭawīl. It is narrated from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl and Zayd al-ʿAmī and a group. From Sallām a group of persons quote, including Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus, Asad b. Mūsā, Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār, ʿAlī b. al-Ja'd and Qabiṣa b. ʿAqaba.

ʿAlī b. al-Madīni, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, al-Bukhārī, Abū Ḥatīm, Abū Zurʿa, al-Jawzajānī, al-Nasāʾī and others consider Sallām a weak source. Some of the *imāms* deny his veracity and others ignore him.

150. The reference is to a lote tree that grows to the right side of the throne of God.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār narrated this *ḥadīth* with this entire text from a line that does not include this Sallām. He stated that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Aḥmasī narrated it to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muḥārībī, from Ibn al-Iṣbahānī, who quoted it from Murra, from ʿAbd Allāh. He gives the *ḥadīth* in full.

Al-Bazzār then stated that this *ḥadīth* was narrated from Murra, from several closely similar lines, and that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Iṣbahānī did not hear this from Murra. However, it is given from those who related it from Murra. I know of no one who narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh quoting from Murra.

Section: Accounts of the time at which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, his age at the time of his death, how he was washed, placed in a shroud and buried, and the site of his grave.

There is no disagreement over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having died on a Monday.

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, “Your Prophet (ṢAAS) was born, became a prophet, left Mecca as a *muhājir*, entered Medina and died, all on Mondays.”

Imām Aḥmad and al-Bayhaqī both narrated this.

Sufyān al-Thawrī stated, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, “Abū Bakr asked me, ‘On what day did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) die?’ I answered, ‘On Monday.’ ‘I hope I die on that day,’ he commented. And he did so.”

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Thawrī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ʿĀmir narrated to him, quoting Huraym, quoting Ibn Ishāq, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday; he was buried on the night of the Wednesday.”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr stated in his work on the military campaigns, as did Mūsā b. ʿUqba from Ibn Shihāb (who said), “When the pain of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became severe, ʿĀʾisha sent a message to Abū Bakr, and she dispatched Ḥafṣa to ʿUmar and Fāṭima to ʿAlī. However, they did not gather together until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died, while resting on ʿĀʾisha’s chest and on the day scheduled for his visit to her. This was on Monday, as the sun passed its zenith, early in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal.”

Abū Yaʿlā stated that Abū Khaythama related to him, quoting Ibn ʿUyayna, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, “The last look I had at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the Monday. He withdrew the screen; there were people behind the screen and others behind Abū Bakr. His face appeared to me like a sheet of a document. The people wanted to move away, but he gestured to them to stay. He then drew the screen across. He died late in that day.”

This *ḥadīth* is in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; it provides evidence that the death occurred after the sun had passed the zenith. But God knows best.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān narrated, from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb, and from Ṣafwān, from 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, both of whom quoted from al-Awzā'ī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday before the middle of the daytime."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Kāmil, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Bazzār, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'ālā, quoting al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, he being Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī in his book on the military campaigns. He stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fell ill on Monday, it being the 20th of Ṣafar. His sickness began when he was present at the home of a girl he owned named Rayḥāna, one of the Jewish prisoners. The first day he fell ill was a Saturday. He died on Monday, two days of Rabi' al-Awwal having passed, at the close of ten years after his arrival in Medina."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Abū Ma'shar related to him, from Muḥammad b. Qays, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fell seriously sick on Wednesday, eleven days before the end of Ṣafar in 11 AH in the home of Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh. All his women gathered; he was ill for thirteen days and died on Monday, two days after the beginning of Rabi' al-Awwal, 11 AH."

Al-Wāqidī also stated, "They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first began to suffer on Wednesday, two days prior to the end of Ṣafar. He died on Monday, twelve days after the beginning of Rabi' al-Awwal."

This was the assertion made by Muḥammad b. Sa'd, his scribe. He added, "And he was buried on the Tuesday."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Abyaḍ related to him, from al-Maqburi, from 'Abd Allāh b. Rāfi', from Umm Salama, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first fell ill in the home of Maymūna.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated that Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Abū Ma'shar, from Muḥammad b. Qays, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ill for thirteen days. While the pain was light, he continued to perform the prayer; when it became severe, Abū Bakr performed it in his stead."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died twelve days following the beginning of Rabi' al-Awwal, on the day of the week on which he came to Medina as a *muhājir*. He completed ten full years after his Hijra."

Al-Wāqidī stated, "That is what is fully established among us. Muḥammad b. Sa'd, his scribe, asserted it."

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān quoted Yaḥyā b. Bukayr as having said that al-Layth stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, one day having passed of Rabi' al-Awwal. It had been at the commencement of ten years before that day that he had arrived in Medina."

Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhri stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, two days after the beginning of Rabi' al-Awwal, at the end of ten years after his arrival in Medina."

Ibn 'Asākir narrated this. Al-Wāqidi narrated it from Abū Ma'shar, from Muḥammad b. Qays, exactly as above. Khalifa b. Khayyāt also stated this.

Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday at the beginning of Rabi' al-Awwal in 11 AH, the year of his arrival in Medina. Ibn 'Asākir narrated it also.

It was narrated above from 'Urwa and Mūsā b. 'Uqba and al-Zuhri also, as we quoted from the works of the military expeditions. But God knows best.

What is most widely known is the statements made by Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi.

Al-Wāqidi narrated it from Ibn 'Abbās and 'Ā'isha, may God be pleased with them both. He stated that Ibrāhīm b. Yazid related to him, from Ibn Ṭawūs, from his father, from Ibn 'Abbās, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh related to him from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha. Both accounts stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, twelve days following the beginning of Rabi' al-Awwal.

Ibn Ishāq narrated it from 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, from his father in similar words; he added, "and he was buried on the night of Wednesday".

Sayf b. 'Umar narrated, from Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Arzamī, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed his 'farewell pilgrimage', he travelled back to Medina, where he remained for the rest of Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar. He died on a Monday, ten days after the beginning of Rabi' al-Awwal."

It is also narrated from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa. In a *ḥadith* of Fāṭima from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, the statement is similar, except that Ibn 'Abbās initially stated, "some days having passed since its beginning". And 'Ā'isha's wording given was, "after some days of it had passed".

Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī stated in his work *al-Rawaq* words to the effect that it is impossible to conceive of him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) having died on Monday, the 12th of Rabi' al-Awwal of 11 AH. That is because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was present at one of the stations on the *ḥijjat al-wada'* of 10 AH on a Friday. The first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja was a Thursday. On the basis of calculating the months thereafter either as full in length or shortened, or any combination of these, it is unimaginable that the 12th of Rabi' al-Awwal could have been a Monday.

This conclusion, made in these words, has become widely known.

A number of scholars have attempted to refute this. It can only, however, be refuted in one way, by there having been a difference in the moon's rising. This view required the people of Mecca to have seen the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijja on the night of the Thursday, while the people of Medina did not see it until the night of the Friday.

This is supported by the statement of 'Ā'isha, and others as well, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina on the *ḥijjat al-wada'* five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qa'da.

It is clearly established, as we noted above, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth (on the pilgrimage) on Saturday, not on Thursday as Ibn Ḥazm asserted, for he remained (away) for more than five days, without doubt. It is not possible that he left on the Friday, because Anas stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer of four *raka'āt* in Medina and the *al-'aṣr* prayer of two *raka'āt* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. It is well established that he left (there) on Saturday, five days before the end of that month."

In light of this, the people of Medina saw the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijja on the eve of Friday. If that was on the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, a Friday, with the people of Medina and the months thereafter are calculated in full, then the first day of Rabī' al-Awwal would be a Thursday, and the twelfth day would be a Monday. But God knows best.

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Rabī'a b. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was neither very tall, nor short. He was neither pure white nor deep brown. His hair was neither curly nor straight. God, the Almighty and Glorious, gave him His mission when he was forty years old. He resided in Mecca ten (more) years and then for ten years in Medina. God took him to Himself early in his sixtieth year. At that time he did not have twenty white hairs in his head and beard."

Ibn Wahb narrated it thus, from 'Urwa, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, and from Qurra b. Rabī'a, from Anas, similarly to the above.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir stated, "The *ḥadīth* of Qurra from al-Zuhri is *gharīb*. However, the account of Rabī'a from Anas is narrated thus by a group (of scholars)."

He then gave it with a line of transmission through Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and Rabī'a from Anas, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was sixty-three years old when he died.

He then gave it through Mālik; al-Awzā'i, Miṣ'ar, Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Sulaymān b. Bilāl, Anas b. Bilāl, Anas b. 'Ayād, al-Darāwardī and Muḥammad b. Qays al-Madanī all gave it from Rabī'a, from Anas, who stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty years of age."

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān reported to him, quoting Abū 'Amr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Ishāq, quoting Abū Ma'mar 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, quoting Abū Ghālib al-Bāhili, who said, "I asked Anas b. Mālik, 'How old was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he received his mission?' He replied, 'He was forty years of age.' 'What happened then?' I asked. He replied, 'He was in Mecca for ten years and then ten in Medina. He had reached sixty by the time he was taken by God, the Almighty and Glorious. He was the strongest, finest, most handsome and well-built of men.'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith, from his father.

Muslim narrated from Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-Rāzī, known as Rubayḥ, from Ḥakkām b. Salm, from ‘Uthmān b. Zā‘ida, from al-Zubayr b. ‘Adī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three; Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three, and ‘Umar similarly, when he too was sixty-three.”

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth b. Sa‘d, from ‘Aqīl, from al-Zuhri, who quoted ‘Ā’isha as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-three.”

Al-Zuhri stated that it was reported to him similarly by Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab. Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, ‘Uqayl, Yūnus b. Yazīd and Ibn Jurayj narrated it from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, from ‘Ā’isha. She said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three.” Al-Zuhri stated, “And Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab told it to me similarly.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nu‘aym narrated to him, quoting Shaybān, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from ‘Ā’isha, and Ibn ‘Abbās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca for ten years receiving revelation of the Qur’ān, and also ten years in Medina.

Muslim did not include it.

Abū Dā’ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated in his *musnad* collection that Shu‘ba related to him, from Abū Ishāq, from ‘Āmir b. Sa‘d, from Jarīr b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Mu‘āwiya b. Abū Sufyān, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three years old. Abū Bakr also died at age sixty-three, as did ‘Umar.”

Muslim narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ghundar, from Shu‘ba. It is one of the *aḥādīth* that he alone gives, one not included by al-Bukhārī. Some give its line of transmission from ‘Āmir b. Sa‘d, from Mu‘āwiya. The correct line is as we have given it, from ‘Āmir b. Sa‘d, from Jarīr, from Mu‘āwiya.

We also narrated it through ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥīl, from al-Sha‘bī, from Jarīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajalī, from Mu‘āwiya.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ‘Asākir gave it through al-Qāḍī Abū Yūsuf, from Yaḥyā b. Sa‘d al-Anṣārī, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-three. Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three, as did ‘Umar.”

Ibn Lahī‘a stated, from Abū al-Aswad, from ‘Urwa, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr made mention of their ages at my home. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was older than Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at the age of sixty-three; Abū Bakr died after him, also at the age of sixty-three.”

Al-Thawri stated that al-A‘mash quoted al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, died at the age of sixty-three.”

Ḥanbal stated that Imām Aḥmad related to him quoting Yaḥyā b. Sa‘d, from Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) (first) received revelation

at the age of forty-three. He stayed ten more years in Mecca and lived on in Medina for ten."

This (line of transmission) is *gharīb* from him, but *ṣaḥīḥ*, "authentic" up to him.

Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from al-Sha'bi, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a prophet at age forty; he stayed there for three years, then Gabriel was sent to him with his mission. Thereafter he remained there for ten years, then went into exile to Medina. He died at age sixty-three."

Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal stated, "What is clearly established in our view is (that he died) at age sixty-three."

I note that it was thus that Mujūhid narrated it, from al-Sha'bi; it was also narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated from a *ḥadīth* of Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda, from Zakariyyā' b. Ishāq, from 'Amr b. Dīnār, from Ibn 'Abbās (who stated) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca thirteen years and died when he was sixty-three years of age.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated, from a *ḥadīth* of Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda also, from Hishām, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission at the age of forty. He remained in Mecca for thirteen years and then was ordered to go into exile; he did so for ten years. Then he died at the age of sixty-three."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Rawḥ b. 'Ubāda, as did Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and Yazīd b. Hārūn, all of these quoting from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās.

Abū Ya'qā al-Mawṣilī narrated it from al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar b. Sufyān, from Ja'far b. Sulaymān, from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from Ibn 'Abbās, in similar words. He then gave it similarly through several lines from Ibn 'Abbās.

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Abū Jamra, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca receiving revelation for thirteen years. He lived on for ten years in Medina and died at age sixty-three.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir gave its line of transmission through Muslim b. Junāda, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Kurayb, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three." He gave this in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Naḍra from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, from Ibn 'Abbās.

This statement is the most widely accepted and promulgated.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismā'īl related to him, from Khālid al-Ḥadhā', quoting 'Ammār, the freed-man of Banū Hāshim, who said he heard Ibn 'Abbās say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-five years of age."

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Khālid al-Ḥadhā'.

Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ‘Amāra b. Abū ‘Ammār, from Ibn ‘Abbās (who said), “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Mecca for fifteen, eight or seven years, during which he saw the light or heard the sound and then eight or seven more receiving revelation. And he lived thereafter in Medina for ten years.”

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Aḥmad also stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Zuray‘, quoting Yūnus, from ‘Ammār, the freed-man of Banū Hāshim, who said, “I asked Ibn ‘Abbās how old the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the day he died. He replied, ‘I did not know there was anyone in your tribe unaware of this.’ I replied, ‘I have asked people but received different replies. I wanted to know what you would say about it.’ He asked, ‘Can you count?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Then take forty years at which point he received his mission. Then add fifteen he stayed on in Mecca feeling both secure and afraid, and ten more for his life in exile in Medina.’”

Muslim narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Zuray‘ and Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj, both of whom quoted Yūnus b. ‘Ubayd, from ‘Ammār, from Ibn ‘Abbās in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting al-‘Alā b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, who said that a man came to Ibn ‘Abbās, asking, “Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) receive revelation for ten years in Mecca and ten in Medina?” “Who says so?” he asked. “He received revelation for fifteen years in Mecca and ten in Medina; and (he died at) over sixty years of age.”

This is one of the *aḥādīth* unique to Aḥmad both in its line of transmission and in its content.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting ‘Alī b. Zayd, from Yūsuf b. Mahrān, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-five.”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated in his book *al-Shamā’il*, as did Abū Ya‘qā al-Mawṣilī and al-Bayhaqī, from a *ḥadīth* of Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, from Daghfal b. Ḥanzala al-Shaybānī al-Nasāba, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-five.

Al-Tirmidhī commented, “We do not know of any quotation Daghfal cited from the Prophet; he was a man during his time.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This accords with the account of ‘Ammār and those who quoted him, from Ibn ‘Abbās.”

The account of the group quoting from Ibn ‘Abbās that his age was sixty-three are more correct. They are more reliable and more numerous, their account according with the authentic statement given from ‘Urwa who quoted ‘Ā’isha. They agree with one of the accounts quoting from Anas and the authentic account from Mu‘āwiya. That is the statement of Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī and Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, may God be pleased with them all.”

I note that this also applies to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uqba, al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and others.

One of the strange statements given is that narrated by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, from Mu'adh b. Hishām, quoting his father, from Qatāda, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-two."

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān narrated it from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Mu'adh b. Hishām, from his father, from Qatāda, similarly. Zayd al-'Umā also narrated it, from Yazīd, from Anas.

Also similar is the account of Muḥammad b. 'Āmir, from al-Qāsim b. Ḥumayd, from al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir al-Ghassānī, from Makhūl, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-two and several months."

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān narrated it, from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb, from al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, from Makhūl, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-two and a half."

Even stranger than all the above is what is narrated by Imām Aḥmad from Rawḥ, from Sa'īd b. Abū 'Arūba, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, who said, "The Qur'ān was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), over a period of eight years in Mecca and ten after he went into exile."

Although this al-Ḥasan agrees with the majority who state that the Prophet (ṢAAS), received revelation at the age of forty, he held the view that he lived to the age of fifty-eight. This is very strange.

However, we have narrated through Musaddad, from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from al-Ḥasan, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty.

Khalifa b. Khayyāt stated that Abū 'Āṣim related to him, from Ash'ath, from al-Ḥasan, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission at age forty-five. He remained in Mecca for ten years and for eight in Medina. He died at age sixty-three."

This information, so stated, is very strange.

DESCRIPTIONS OF HOW THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) WAS WASHED (PRIOR TO HIS BURIAL).

We have stated above that the Companions, may God be pleased with them, were engaged in making their pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr for the remainder of the Monday and part of the Tuesday. Having gone through all the preliminary stages of this and brought it to completion, they began to prepare for the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), relying in all this upon Abū Bakr in what he directed them.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Abū Bakr had received the pledge of allegiance, the people began preparing, on the Tuesday, for the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

It has been narrated above, from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ishāq, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ‘Ā’isha, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Wednesday night.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated that Abū Mu’āwiya related to him, quoting Abū Burda, from ‘Alqama b. Yazīd, from Sulaymān b. Burayda, from his father, who said, “When they set about washing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a voice cried out to them from inside, saying, ‘Do not remove the shirt of the Messenger of God!’”

Ibn Māja narrated it from the *ḥadīth* of Abū Mu’āwiya, from Abū Burda – his full name being ‘Amr b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī Kūfī.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Yahyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father, who stated that he heard ‘Ā’isha say, “When they wished to wash the Prophet (ṢAAS), they said, ‘We don’t know whether we should remove the clothes from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we do from our dead, or should we wash him with his clothes on?’

“When they differed over this, God cast sleep over them, so that every one of them soon had his chin on his chest! Then a voice that they could not recognize addressed them from the direction of the house, saying, ‘Wash the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with his clothes on.’

“They got up and went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and washed him while he was still in his shirt. They poured water on the shirt and rubbed with the shirt, not their hands. ‘Ā’isha used to say, ‘Had I known first what I later learned, only the wives would have washed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’”

Abū Dā’ūd narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ishāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya’qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, quoting Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh, from ‘Ikrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The people gathered to wash the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); there were only his own family in the house – his uncle al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, al-Faḍl b. ‘Abbās, Qutham b. al-‘Abbās, Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Ṣāliḥ, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“When they gathered to wash him, Aws b. Khawlā al-Anṣārī, of Banū ‘Awf b. al-Khazraj, who had fought at Badr, called out from the back of the crowd to ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, “Alī, we plead with you, by God and our fine experience of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!’ ‘Alī replied to him, ‘Come inside.’ He did so and was present at the washing of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he did not participate at all in washing him.

“‘Alī rested him (the Prophet (ṢAAS), who was still dressed in his shirt, upon his own chest, while al-‘Abbās, Faḍl and Qutham, along with ‘Alī were turning him over, while Usāma b. Zayd and Ṣāliḥ, his freed-man, both poured water upon him. As ‘Alī set about washing him, not seeing from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), any of what usually is emitted from the dead, he called out, ‘By my father and my mother! How sweet-smelling you are, alive or dead!’

"When they had finished washing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having done so using water and lote-tree balm, they dried him. Then there was done to him what is normally done to the dead. After that he was wrapped in three cloths, two white and one striped cloak.

"Al-'Abbās then summoned two men. He told them, 'One of you should go to Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ.' Abū 'Ubayda would make graves for the Meccans. Al-'Abbās went on, 'The other of you should go to Abū Ṭalḥa b. Sahl al-Anṣārī.' Abū Ṭalḥa would make the burial niche¹⁵¹ for the people of Medina.

"Al-'Abbās then said, as he dispatched the two men, 'O God, choose for your messenger!'

"The two men left. However, the one looking for Abū 'Ubayda could not find him; the man seeking Abū Ṭalḥa did locate him and he came and prepared the niche for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from al-Mundhir b. Tha'labā, from al-Ṣalt, from al-'Albā b. Aḥmar, who said, "As 'Alī and al-Faḍl were washing the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a voice called out to 'Alī, 'Raise your sight to the sky!'"

This is *munqati'*, "incomplete in its chain".

I note that the *ahl al-sunan* quote 'Alī as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had told him, "'Alī, do not make your thigh visible. And do not look at the thigh of anyone, alive or dead."

This implies that he was issuing him an order relating to himself. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā, quoting Ḍamra, quoting 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "'Alī stated, 'As I washed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I watched for any discharge such as comes from a dead person, but saw nothing. He was sweet-smelling alive and dead (ṢAAS).'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it in his work *al-Marāsil*.

In the account from which he quotes the above, al-Bayhaqī adds the following words from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: "Four persons took charge of the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). These were: 'Alī, al-'Abbās, al-Faḍl and Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They placed him in his niche and erected bricks over it as a marker."

A number of the *tābi'ūn*, including 'Āmir al-Sha'bī, Muḥammad b. Qays, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, narrate approximately the same in various phraseology; it would be too lengthy to give them here.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that it was narrated by Abū 'Amr Kaysān, from Yazīd b. Bilāl, who stated that he heard 'Alī say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

151. The Arabic word is *lahd*, a vault with a niche within which the corpse is placed.

instructed that no one but myself should wash him and that 'anyone who sees my private parts will have his eyes lose their sight'.

"Ali said, 'Al-'Abbās and Usāma would hand me the water from behind the curtain. Whenever I took hold of a limb it was as if there were 30 men turning it over along with me, until I had finished washing him.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār gave the following line of transmission for this in his *musnad* collection. He stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. al-Nu'mān, quoting Kaysān Abū 'Amr, from Yazīd b. Bilāl, who said, "'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib stated, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS), instructed me that no one but myself should wash him and said, "anyone who sees my private parts will have his eyes lose their sight".'

"Ali went on, 'Al-'Abbās and Usāma were handing me the water from behind the curtain.'"

I observe that this is very strange.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Faḍl informed us, quoting Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting 'Usayd b. 'Āṣim, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥafṣ, from Sufyān, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Jurayj, who said he heard Muḥammad b. 'Ali Abū Ja'far say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) was washed three times with lote-tree balm. He was washed while he still wore his shirt. The water came from a well called al-Ghars at Qubā' that was the property of Sa'd b. Khaythama. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to drink from it. 'Ali and al-Faḍl took charge of washing him; al-Faḍl cradled him, while al-'Abbās poured the water. Al-Faḍl began crying, 'Relieve me! You're cutting my heart artery! Something is making me feel faint!'"

Al-Wāqidī stated that 'Āṣim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥakamī related to him, from 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Yes; that well, the well called Gharas is one of the water-sources of heaven. Its water is the very sweetest.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have its sweet water drawn for him, and he was washed with water from the Gharas well."

Sayf b. 'Umar stated, from Muḥammad b. 'Adī, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When the grave had been completed and the people had performed the *al-zuhr* prayer, al-'Abbās proceeded to wash the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and a sheet of close-woven netting made in Yemen was placed above him. He was positioned in the middle of the house, inside the netting. Al-'Abbās then called for 'Ali and al-Faḍl. When he left for the well to bring water for the two men, he called for Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith and brought him inside, along with men of Banū Hāshim positioned behind the netting, and some of the *anṣār* who had requested entry from my father. These men included Aws b. Khawlā, may God be pleased with them all."

Sayf (b. 'Umar) went on to quote from al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Yarbū' al-Ḥanafī, from Māhān al-Ḥanafī, from Ibn 'Abbās, who related the construction of the cover of netting, how al-'Abbās brought 'Ali, al-Faḍl, Abū Sufyān and Usāma inside it, and men of Banu Hāshim; all stood inside the house behind the netting. He

narrated, "A drowsiness overcame them and they heard a voice saying, 'Do not wash the Messenger of God; he was unsullied.' Al-'Abbās responded, 'No; we must.' The members of the household said, 'The voice spoke the truth, so do not wash him.' But al-'Abbās said, 'We can't give up a hallowed *sunna* practice because of some voice we can't identify.'

"Then drowsiness overcame them a second time and a voice called out, 'Wash him with his clothes on!' The members of the household responded, 'No; no!' Al-'Abbās said, 'I certainly will.' They then set about washing him, while he was still dressed in his shirt and an open *mijwal*.¹⁵² They washed him in the clear water, perfumed him with camphor on the parts of his body which he would prostrate in prayer and on his joints. His shirt and his *mijwal* were squeezed dry. He was then wrapped in his winding-sheet and they burned incense and perfumes over him. They picked him up, placed him on his bed and shrouded him."

This text is very strange.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SHROUD OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that al-Walid b. Muslim related to him, quoting al-Awzā'ī, quoting al-Zuhri, from al-Qāsim, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was wrapped in a striped cloth, but then it was removed from him."

Al-Qāsim stated, "The remains of that cloth are still with us."

This line of transmission meets the criteria of the compilers of the two *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; Abū Dā'ūd, however, narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Nasā'ī from Muḥammad b. Muthannā. Mujaḥid b. Mūsā differentiated between these two men. All quoted from al-Walid b. Muslim.

Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idris al-Shāfi'ī stated that Mālik related to him, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in seven white cloths from Saḥūl;¹⁵³ these did not include a shirt or a turban."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Ismā'īl b. Abū Uways, from Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Hishām, from his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white cloths of Saḥūl."

Muslim gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna. Al-Bukhārī gave it from Abū Nu'aym, from Sufyān al-Thawri. Both authorities gave it from Hishām b. 'Urwa.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The

152. The word may be interpreted, as in a footnote to the Arabic printed text, as a white cloth placed over the hand of the person shuffling the arrows in the ancient Arabian gambling game of *maysar*. Dictionaries also have the word as referring to a short skirt-like garment.

153. Located in Yemen.

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white Yemeni cloths made of cotton; these did not include a shirt or a turban.”

‘Urwa went on, “It was reported to ‘Ā’isha that he was shrouded in two cloths and a striped cloak. She commented, ‘The cloak was brought to him, but they rejected it and did not shroud him in it.’”

Muslim also narrated it thus, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Aḥmad b. Salama, quoting Hannād b. al-Sarri, quoting Abū Mu’āwiya, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, who quoted ‘Ā’isha as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three cotton white cloths from Saḥūl; these did not include a shirt, nor a turban. The ceremonial gown people had doubts about. It had been bought especially as a shroud for him, but it was put aside. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr took it, saying, ‘I’m going to keep it for myself to be buried in!’ He added, ‘If God had been pleased with it for His Prophet (ṢAAS), He would have buried him in it.’ He sold it, giving its price to charity.”

Muslim narrated it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and others, from Abū Mu’āwiya.

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated it from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Abū Mu’āwiya, from Hishām, from his father, who quoted ‘Ā’isha as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in a striped cloak that belonged to ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr. He was wrapped up in it, but it was then removed. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr had obtained that ceremonial gown to be buried in himself when he died. He commented, after he received it back, ‘I’d not keep for myself something that God kept from being used as the shroud of His Messenger.’ ‘Abd Allāh donated its cost to charity.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa who quoted ‘Ā’isha as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white cloths from Saḥūl.”

Al-Nasā’ī narrated it from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh, from ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Miskīn b. Bakr related to him, from Sa‘īd – meaning Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz – who quoted Makḥūl as quoting ‘Urwa that ‘Ā’isha said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three Yemeni fine-mesh cloths.”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawṣulī stated that Sahl b. Ḥabīb al-Anṣārī related to him, quoting ‘Āṣim b. Hilāl, the *imām* of the mosque of Ayyūb, quoting Ayyūb, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white cloths from Saḥūl.”

Sufyān stated, from ‘Āṣim b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, from Sālim, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three pieces of clothing.

In some accounts the wording is given as, "two pieces of clothing of Suhḥār,¹⁵⁴ and a striped cloak".

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Idrīs related to him, quoting Yazīd, from Miqṣam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was shrouded in three pieces of clothing – the shirt in which he died, and a ceremonial gown from Najrān, the latter consisting of two garments.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, while 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba and Ibn Māja did so from 'Alī b. Muḥammad, all three further quoting from 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Miqṣam, from Ibn 'Abbās, as above.

This is very strange.

Imām Aḥmad stated also that 'Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) was shrouded in two white garments and a red cloak."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Abū Bakr al-Shāfi'ī stated that 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan related to him, quoting Ḥamid b. al-Rabī', quoting Bakr – meaning Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān – quoting 'Isā – meaning Ibn al-Mukhtār – from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān – he being Ibn Abū Laylā – from 'Aṭā', from Ibn 'Abbās, from al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) was shrouded in two white garments and a red cloak."

Abū Ya'fā stated that Sulaymān al-Shādhkūnī related to him, quoting Yahyā b. Abū al-Haytham, quoting 'Uthmān b. 'Aṭā', from his father, from Ibn 'Abbās, from al-Faḍl, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) was shrouded in two white garments from Saḥūl."

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā added, "and a red cloak".

Several authorities narrated it from Ismā'īl al-Mu'adib, from Ya'qūb b. 'Aṭā', from his father, from Ibn 'Abbās, from al-Faḍl, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) was shrouded in two white garments." And in one account the garments were stated to be from Saḥūl. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir narrated through Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ, quoting Aḥmad b. Ishāq, from al-Bahlūl, quoting 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb, quoting Sharik, from Abū Ishāq, who said, "I happened to attend a meeting of Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, many of them being present. I asked them, 'In how many pieces of cloth was the Messenger of God (SAAS) shrouded?' They stated, 'In three garments, without a shirt, a *qibā'*, "a long-sleeved outer garment", or a turban.' I asked them, 'How many of you were taken prisoner at the battle of Badr?' 'Al-'Abbās, Nawfal and 'Aqīl,' they replied."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through al-Zuhri, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) was shrouded in three garments, one being a striped cloak."

154. A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that the word refers to the mountain by that name above 'Ammān.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ‘Asākir gave it along a line of doubtful authenticity, from ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, “I shrouded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in two garments from Saḥūl and a striped cloak.”

Abū Sa‘īd b. al-A‘rabi stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Kathīr, quoting Hishām, from Qatāda, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two fine-mesh cloths and a striped cloak from Najrān.”

Abū Dā‘ūd al-Ṭayālīsī narrated it from Hishām and ‘Imrān al-Qaṭṭān, from Qatāda, from Sa‘īd, from Abū Hurayra.

Al-Rabi‘ b. Sulaymān narrated it from Asad b. Mūsā, quoting Naṣr b. Ṭarīf, from Qatāda, quoting Ibn al-Musayyab, from Umm Salama (who said) that, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three garments, one of which was a cloak from Najrān.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “From what we have narrated from ‘Ā’isha, it is clear why there is confusion for people, and that the striped cloth was removed from him. But God knows best.”

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī narrated through Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzayma, quoting Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, from Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ru‘āsī, from Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, from Hārūn b. Sa‘īd, who said, “‘Alī had some musk, and he gave instruction that it be used for embalming. He said, ‘It is some of the musk left over from embalming the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’”

He narrated this through Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, from Ḥamid, from Ḥasan, from Hārūn, from Abū Wā’il, from ‘Alī.

THE MANNER IN WHICH PRAYERS WERE OFFERED OVER THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

The *ḥadīth* narrated above by al-Bayhaqī, quoting from al-Ash‘ath b. Ṭalīq and al-Bazzār from a *ḥadīth* of al-Iṣbahānī, both quoting from Murra, from Ibn Mas‘ūd, tells of the instruction made by the Prophet (ṢAAS), that he should be washed by the men of his household. In it he is also quoted as having said, “Shroud me in these clothes of mine, or in a Yemeni cloth, or a white one from Egypt.” After placing him in his shroud, they were to place him on the edge of his grave, then leave him until the angels had prayed over him, after which the men of his household were to pray over him, with the other people to follow thereafter individually.

The *ḥadīth* is given above in full. There is some dispute over its authenticity, as we have stated. God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abbās related to him, quoting ‘Ikrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the men were brought in and they prayed over him in groups and without an *imām*. When the men had finished, the women were brought in and they prayed over him. Then the children came and

prayed, then the slaves. All these prayed over him in groups, without anyone acting as *imām*."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ubayy b. 'Ayyāsh b. Sahl b. Sa'd related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been wrapped in his shroud, he was placed on his bed. After that he was placed on the edge of his grave and the people came in (to pray) over him in groups, without anyone acting as their *imām*."

Al-Wāqidī also stated that Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm related to him, that, "I have discovered a document in the handwriting of my father. In it it states that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was wrapped in his shroud and placed on his bed, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with them, arrived, accompanied by a group of *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* as large as the house could contain. The two men said, 'Peace be upon you, Prophet, along with God's mercy and blessings.' The *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* made the same salutation as had Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and then they arranged in lines, though without anyone acting as their *imām*."

"Abū Bakr and 'Umar – they being in the first line – then spoke, facing towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, 'O God, we bear witness that he has delivered the message that was revealed to him and that he has properly advised his nation. He strove hard in God's cause until God made His religion firm and completed His word; He has become worshipped alone and without associate. Make us, O God, of those who follow the words revealed with him. Unite us with him, letting him know us, and making us know him. He was always forgiving and merciful towards the believers. We seek no alternative to having faith in him, and we would never exchange it at any price.'

"At this, those present called out Amen! Amen! They then left and others came in. This went on until all the men had prayed, then the women and then the children."

It has been said that they prayed over him following the sun's passing its zenith on Monday until the same time on the Tuesday, and also that they continued praying over him for three days, as will be explained shortly. But God knows best.

This practice, their having prayed over him individually without anyone acting as their *imām* is accepted unanimously, without any disagreement.

However, there is dispute over interpreting this. If the *ḥadīth* we have given from Ibn Mas'ūd is authentic, then it constitutes documentary evidence. This (behaviour) would constitute *al-ta'abbud* "an act of religious devotion", the purpose of which is difficult to explain. It is not up to anyone to say, "This was because they had no *imām*", because we have explained above that they only began preparing him for burial after completion of the pledge of allegiance made to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

Some scholars have stated that no one acted as their *imām* only in order that each person might engage in direct, personal prayer over him. This was also because of the constant repetition of the prayers of the Muslims over him, one

following the other, each of the Companions, the men, their women, their children and their slaves, both male and female, acting as individuals.

Al-Suhaylī stated, in essence, that God had informed him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) that He and His angels would pray over him, and ordered that each individual Muslim should pray directly for him after his death in this way. He stated, "And also the angels act for Us as *imāms* in that." But God knows best.

Later adherents of the Shāfiʿī school differ over the question of the legality of others than the Companions subsequently praying over his grave. Some assert the positive, because his body remained fresh in his grave, because God forbade the earth to spoil the bodies of prophets, as is stated in the *ḥadīth* in the *al-sunan* collections of the traditions as well as elsewhere; he is still just as a person dead today would be. Others disagreed, saying that this should not be done, because the early Muslims who came directly after the Companions did not do this. If it had been in accord with the *sharīʿa*, they would have done this early on and kept up the practice. But God knows best.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE BURIAL OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND WHERE HE WAS BURIED. REFERENCE TO THE DIFFERENCES OVER WHETHER HE WAS BURIED BY NIGHT OR BY DAY.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq reported that Ibn Jurayj, quoting his father, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj, as having said, "The Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) did not know where to bury him until Abū Bakr stated, 'I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS), say, 'Every prophet has been buried wherever he died.' And so they took away his bed and dug a grave beneath it."

This *ḥadīth* has a link missing between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj and Abū Bakr, the former not having met the latter. However, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿqūb narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿĀʾisha, from Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with them all. He stated that Abū Mūsā al-Harawī related to him, quoting Abū Muʾāwiya, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "There was disagreement over the burial of the Prophet (ṢAAS), after his death. Abū Bakr stated, 'I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, "A prophet only dies in the places most loved by him." He went on, 'Bury him where he died.'"

Al-Tirmidhī related this similarly, from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Muʾāwiya, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, there was disagreement over his burial. Abū Bakr stated, 'I heard from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) something I have not forgotten. He said, "A prophet always dies in that place where he wishes to be buried." Bury him where his bed is positioned.'"

Al-Tirmishī classified al-Mulayka as a weak source and then stated, "This *ḥadīth* is also narrated from a different line. Ibn ʿAbbās related that Abū Bakr quoted this statement from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Umawī quoted his father, from Ibn Ishāq, from a man who quoted from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said that Abū Bakr stated, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'No prophet has ever been buried in any place other than that where he died.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā stated that Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Tamīmī related to him, quoting Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṭayālīsī, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "There were two grave diggers in Medina, and when the Prophet (ṢAAS) died, people asked, 'Where should we bury him?' Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, 'In the place where he died.' One of the grave-diggers would make a niche, the other would dig a pit. The one who made niches did arrive, and he did so for the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Mālik b. Anas narrated it from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, with a line of authorities that was *munqati'*.

Abū Ya'qūb stated that Ja'far b. Mahrān related to him, quoting 'Abd al-A'qā, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When they wanted to dig a grave for the Prophet (ṢAAS), there was Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh who would dig down a pit as the Meccans favoured and Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl, who would dig for the Medinans and would make a niche. Al-'Abbās called to two men. To one he said, 'Go and fetch Abū 'Ubayda.' To the other he said, 'Go and fetch Abū Ṭalḥa.' (He then said) 'O God, choose for Your messenger!'"

He went on, "The man sent to Abū Ṭalḥa did locate him. He came and made a grave with a niche for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been prepared for burial on Tuesday, he was placed on his bed in his house. The Muslims were in disagreement about his burial. One said, 'We should bury him in his mosque.' Another suggested, 'We should bury him with his Companions.' Abū Bakr said, 'I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "Every prophet who died was buried where he died."'

"The bed of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on which he had died, was taken away and they dug a grave beneath it. The people were then brought in to pray over him in groups. When the men had finished, the women were brought in. When they had finished the children were brought. No one acted as *imām* for the people over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was buried in the middle of Wednesday night."

Ibn Māja narrated it similarly from Naṣr b. 'Alī al-Jahḍamī, from Wahb b. Jarīr, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq; that account has the same line of transmission. At its end, he added, "'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, and al-Faḍl and Qutham, the two sons of 'Abbās, along with Shuqrān, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went down into his tomb. And Aws b. Khawlā – Abū Laylā, that is – asked 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, 'I charge you by God and our fine experience of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' 'Alī told him, 'Come down then.'"

“Shuqrān, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), took a cloak the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would wear and put it in the grave. He said, ‘I swear by God, no one will ever wear it after you!’ And it was buried with him.”

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, from Jarir b. Ḥāzim, from Ibn Ishāq, in abbreviated form. Yūnus b. Bukayr and others narrated it similarly from (Ibn) Ishāq.

Al-Wāqidī narrated from Ibn Abū Ḥabība, from Dā’ūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ṭikrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, who quoted from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said, “Every prophet who died was buried where he died.”

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn or Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died there was disagreement over his burial. People asked, ‘How should we bury him? With the people? Or in his apartments?’”

“Abū Bakr said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, “Every prophet who died was buried where he died.” And so he was buried where his bed had been; the bed was lifted away and a (grave) was dug beneath it.””

Al-Wāqidī stated that ‘Abd al-Ḥamid b. Ja‘far al-Akhnaṣī quoted from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa‘īd – he being Ibn Yarbū‘ – who said, “When the Prophet (ṢAAS) died, there was disagreement over the position of his grave. One person said, ‘In al-Baqī‘; he made many prayers for (God’s) forgiveness for them (buried) there.’ Another said, ‘At his *minbar*.’ Another said, ‘In his own chapel.’

“Abū Bakr came and said, ‘I have knowledge and a comment about that. I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, “Every prophet who died was buried where he died.”””

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, “It is also given in a *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, and in a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from his father, both of whom quote from Abū Bakr, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS). The *ḥadīth* is *mursalān*.”

Al-Bayhaqī also stated, quoting al-Ḥākim, from al-Aṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Salama b. Nubayṭ b. Shurayṭ, from his father, from Sālim b. Ubayd – one of those who had resided at al-Ṣuffa¹⁵⁵ – who said, “Abū Bakr went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he died, and then he left again. He was asked ‘Has the Messenger of God died?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. And people knew it to be as he said.

“He was asked, ‘Should we pray over him? And how should we pray?’ He replied, ‘You should come in in groups and then pray.’ And they knew it should be as he said.

155. A shelter that was attached to the Prophet’s mosque in Medina that was used by guests and homeless people.

"They asked, 'Will he be buried, and where?' He replied, 'In the place where his soul was taken. His soul would only have been taken in a good place.' And they knew it should be as he said."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "'Ā'isha described to her father a vision she had seen; he was one of the most highly skilled of men in interpretation. She said, 'I saw three moons fall into my lap.' He responded, 'If your vision is accurate, then three of the finest men on earth will be buried in your house.'

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, he told her, "'Ā'isha, this is the best of your "moons"!"

Mālik narrated this with an incomplete chain, from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, from 'Ā'isha.

She is quoted in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) died in my house, on the day of his visit to me, and resting between my chest and neck. And God joined my saliva with his in his last moments on earth and his first in the Hereafter."

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, it is related from *aḥādīth* of Abū 'Awāna, from Hilāl al-Warrāq, from 'Urwa, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say during the illness from which he died, 'May God curse the Jews and the Christians who adopt the graves of their prophets as places of worship.'"

'Ā'isha went on, "Had it not been for that, he would have made a prominent tomb; he feared, however, that it would be adopted as a mosque."

Ibn Māja stated that Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān related to him, quoting Hāshim b. al-Qāsim, quoting Mubārak b. Faḍāla, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, there was in Medina one man who specialized in making wall niches in graves and another who dug trench graves. People said, 'We will let God choose; we will send for both. And we'll let the one do it who arrives first.' They were sent for and the one who made the niches arrived first. And so they dug for him a grave with a niche."

Ibn Māja is alone in giving this. Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim.

Ibn Māja also stated that 'Umar b. Shabba b. 'Ubayda b. Zayd related to him, quoting 'Ubayd b. Ṭufayl, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Mulayka, quoting Ibn Abū Mulayka, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, there was disagreement over whether he should be buried in a niche or in a trench grave. The dispute became intense, with voices raised. 'Umar said, 'You shouldn't make a hubbub near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), whether dead or alive' – or words to that effect. So they summoned both a man who dug trench graves and another who dug graves with niches. The man who made the niches arrived and so he dug one for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was then buried."

Ibn Māja was alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Waki' related to him, quoting al-'Umarī, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, and also from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said that a grave with a niche was dug for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Aḥmad is alone in giving this from both these lines.

Imām Aḥmad also stated that Yaḥyā b. Shu'ba and Ibn Ja'far related to him, quoting Shu'ba, quoting Abū Jamra, who said that Ibn 'Abbās stated, "A red velvet cloth was placed in the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī narrated this from several lines, from Shu'ba. Waki' narrated it from Shu'ba.

Waki' stated, "This was done exclusively for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn 'Asākir narrated this.

Ibn Sa'd stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī informed him, quoting Ash'ath b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ḥumrānī, from al-Ḥasan, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was laid out with a red velvet garment beneath him that he had used to wear. Al-Ḥasan said, "The earth was damp." Ḥushaym b. Maṣṣūr quoted al-Ḥasan as having said, "A cloth of red velvet was placed in the grave of the Prophet; he had won it at the battle of Ḥunayn."

Al-Ḥasan went on, "This was done because the ground at Medina is marsh-like."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated that Ḥammād b. Khālid al-Khayyāt related to him, from 'Uqba b. 'Abū al-Ṣaḥbā' who said that he heard al-Ḥasan say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Lay out for me a piece of velvet in my niche, for the earth should not be given power over the bodies of prophets.'"

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Musaddad, quoting 'Abd al-Wāḥid, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'd b. al-Musayyab, who said, "Ali stated, 'I washed the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I set about looking for any such discharge as comes from the dead, but I saw nothing; he was sweet-smelling both alive and dead.'"

He went on, "There were four persons who, more than the other people, took charge of the burial and refilling the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS). These men were 'Ali, al-'Abbās, al-Faḍl and Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS). A niche was dug in his grave and unburnt bricks were placed over it as a marker."

Al-Bayhaqī reported, from some sources, that nine bricks were placed as a marker over his grave.

Al-Wāqidī narrated from Ibn Abū Sabra, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'bad, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was placed upon his bed from when the sun had begun to decline on the Monday until it began to decline on the Tuesday. The people prayed over him while his bed was positioned at the edge of his grave. When they wished to bury him, they turned the bed towards his feet and placed him in from there. Al-'Abbās, 'Ali, Qutham, al-Faḍl and Shuqrān went into his grave."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Ismā'īl al-Suddī, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Those who entered the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were al-'Abbās, 'Alī, and al-Faḍl. An *ansāri* arranged the grave-niche; it was he who had arranged the niches of the graves of the martyrs killed at the battle of Badr."

Ibn 'Asākir stated, "The correct wording should be 'at the battle of Uḥud'."

Here above we have given the account of Ibn Ishāq from Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Those who went down into the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were 'Alī, al-Faḍl, Qutham and Shuqrān." He also mentioned the fifth person, who was Aws b. Khawli and went on to report the story of the (red) velvet cloak that Shuqrān placed in the grave.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Ṭāhir al-Khudābādhi informed him, quoting Abū Qalāba, quoting Abū 'Āsim, quoting Sufyān b. Sa'īd – al Thawrī, that is – from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Sha'bī, who quoted Abū Marḥab as having said, "It's as if I can still see them now, those four men in the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS). And one of them was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Muḥammad b. al-Sabāḥ, from Sufyān, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid.

He then went on to narrate it from Aḥmad b. Yūnus, from Zuhayr, from Ismā'īl, from al-Sha'bī, quoting Marḥab or Ibn 'Ammi Marḥab (who said), "They took with them 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. When 'Alī had finished, he said, 'Only a man's family should follow him.'"

This *ḥadīth* is extremely strange. Its line of transmission is very strong, and we know of it only from this line.

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr stated in his study, "The given name of Abū Marḥab is Suwayd b. Qays." He also mentioned another Abū Marḥab, saying, "But I don't know anything about him."

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba*, "It is likely that the narrator of this *ḥadīth* is the first of these two men; or it could be a third person, someone other than either of these. And to God be praise."

Accounts of who was the last person to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, quoting his father, Ishāq b. Yasār, from Miqsam Abū al-Qāsim, the freed-man of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, from his freed-man, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, who said, "I went on the *'umra* pilgrimage with 'Alī in the reign of 'Umar – or 'Uthmān – and 'Alī stopped to visit his sister Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Ṭālib. When he had finished performing the *'umra*, he returned (to her home) and she poured out water for him with which he washed.

"When he had finished washing, a group of men from Iraq came in to see him and asked, 'Abū Ḥasan, we have come to ask you to tell us about something.' He responded, 'I imagine al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba is telling you how he was the last person to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' 'Yes, that's right', they answered. 'That's what we have come to ask you about.' He replied, 'The last person to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was Qutham b. 'Abbās.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this from this line.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated it from Muḥammad b. Ishāq exactly the same, except that he added to the beginning (of the chain) Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, "Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba used to say, 'I took my ring and threw it into the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, when the people left, 'My ring has fallen into the grave.' I dropped it there deliberately so that I would touch the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with it and so be the last person to be with him.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "My father Ishāq b. Yasār related to me, from Miqṣam who quoted his freed-man 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith as having said, 'I went on the *umra* pilgrimage with 'Alī . . .'" and he proceeded to narrate the *ḥadīth* as above.

This material narrated from al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba does not necessarily mean that it occurred as he had hoped. It could be that 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, did not permit him to go down into the grave and that he directed someone else to do so, and the latter gave it to him (al-Mughīra). According to the information given above, it would have been Qutham b. 'Abbās whom he asked to take it.

Al-Wāqidi stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinnād related to him, from his father, who quoted 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utba as having said, "Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba threw his ring down into the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And 'Alī commented, 'You only did that to say, "I went down into the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."' And he then went down himself and gave it back to him – or he told another man to do so, who returned it."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz and Abū Kāmil related to him that Ḥammād b. Salama related to them both, from Abū 'Umrān al-Jawnī, from Abū 'Asīb – or Abū 'Āsīm – who quoted Bahz as having said that he witnessed the prayers being spoken over the Prophet (ṢAAS), and that people asked, "How should we pray?" He (presumably Abū Bakr) replied, "Go in in groups." And they entered from one door, prayed over him and then went out through the other door.

Bahz went on, "When he had been placed in his niche, al-Mughīra said, 'You did not properly arrange (the shroud over) part of his feet.' They told him, 'Well, you go down and do it.' So he did enter the grave and placed his hand inside (the shroud) and touched both his feet. He then said, 'Now pass down some earth to me.' They did so until it was covering half his legs. He then came out. He used to say, 'I was later than any of you to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!'"

WHEN THE BURIAL OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TOOK PLACE.

Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as having stated, "Fāṭima told me, she being the daughter of Muḥammad, the wife of 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, who let me in to visit her so that I heard it from her. She cited from 'Amra, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, 'We did not know about the burial of the Prophet (ṢAAS), until we heard the sound of the spades in the middle of the Wednesday night.'"

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ibn Abū Sabra related to him, from al-Ḥalyas b. Hishām, from 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb, who quoted Umm Salama to say, "While we were gathered together we wept; we did not sleep while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there in our apartments. We took comfort in seeing him on the bed. Then we heard the sound of the pickaxes in the pre-dawn night. We screamed in lament and those in the mosque did so too. The whole town was screaming with one voice. Then Bilāl made the dawn call to prayer. When he mentioned the Prophet (ṢAAS), he wept and lamented. His pain increased our own. Then people began going in to his grave, but they were shut out. What a disaster that was! Any later tragedy we came to suffer was alleviated when we recalled our disastrous loss of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Imām Aḥmad narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from 'Ā'isha, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on the night of Wednesday.

Several narrations similar to this have been given above. This represents the view accepted by many of the *imāms*, both early and later. These include Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī, Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, Ibn Ishāq, Mūsā b. 'Uqba and others.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān narrated from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, from Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb, from al-Awzā'ī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday before the middle of the day, and he was buried on Tuesday."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this similarly from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ibn Jurayj, who said, "I was told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died in the forenoon of Monday and was buried in the forenoon of the next day."

Ya'qūb stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting Sa'īd b. Manṣūr, quoting Sufyān, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father and from Ibn Jurayj, from Abū Ja'far, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and that he remained (unburied) for that day, that night and up to the end of the daytime of Tuesday.

This statement is strange. What is most widely accepted is, as we have given above, that he died on Monday and was buried on the Wednesday night.

One other strange statement made in this regard is that narrated by Ya'qūb b. Sufyān from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb, from Abū al-Nu'mān, from Makhūl, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born

on Monday, received revelation on Monday, went into exile on Monday and died on Monday at age sixty-two and a half. He remained unburied for three days, with people coming in and praying in groups, not standing in lines and without *imāms* to lead them."

His words, "He remained unburied for three days", is strange. What is factual is that he remained unburied for the remainder of Monday and all of Tuesday and was buried on the eve of Wednesday, as we have stated above. But God knows best.

An opposing view is that narrated by Sayf, from Hishām, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, was also washed on Monday and was buried on the night of Tuesday."

Sayf went on, "Yahyā b. Saʿīd on one occasion related all this to me from ʿĀʾisha."

This is very strange.

Al-Wāqidi stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar related to him, from Ibn Abū ʿAwn, from Abū ʿAtiq, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sprayed with water. The person who did this was Bilāl b. Rabbāh, using a water-skin. He began at his head, from his right side, and finished with his legs. He then struck the water on the wall, but was not able to turn around from the wall."

Saʿīd b. Manṣūr stated, from al-Darāwardī, from Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Yaman, from Umm Salama, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday."

Ibn Khuzayma stated that Muslim b. Ḥammād related to him, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday."

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ubayd b. ʿAyyāsh b. Sahl b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday night."

Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā quoted Muḥammad b. Saʿīd as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, 12 days after the beginning of Rabiʿ al-Awwal, and he was buried on Tuesday."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū al-Dunyā stated that al-Ḥasan b. Isrāʾīl Abū Muḥammad al-Nahritīri related to him, quoting ʿIsā b. Yūnus, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, who stated that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday; and he was not buried until Wednesday."

Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab said the same, as did Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir.

Section: On the descriptions of the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

It has been reiterated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was buried in the apartment of ʿĀʾisha which had been set aside for her to the east of the mosque,

in the south-west corner of the room. Later on, after him, Abū Bakr and then 'Umar, may God be pleased with them both, were also buried there.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, who stated to him that Sufyān al-Tammār narrated to him that he had seen the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as a convex pile.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ narrated to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, quoting 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Hānī, from al-Qāsim, who said, "I went in to 'Ā'isha and asked her, 'Expose for me the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and those of his two Companions.' She then exposed three graves that were neither elevated nor recessed and inscribed on the red surface of the floor were (the words) 'The Prophet', (ṢAAS), 'Abū Bakr', may God be pleased with him, and 'Umar', may God be pleased with him."

Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this.

Al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Abū Fudayk, from 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, from al-Qāsim, who said, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) in front; the head of Abū Bakr was resting between the shoulders of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The head of 'Umar was at the leg of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "This narrative shows that their graves were flat, because gravel only remains stable on what is flat."

This is a strange comment for al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy upon him, to make. For there is no mention in the account whatsoever of gravel. In that regard, it could well have been made convex, with the gravel buried in the clay and other earth.

Al-Wāqidi narrated from al-Darāwardī, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, who said, "The grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was flat."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Farwa b. Abū al-Maghra' related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Mushir, from Hishām, from 'Urwa, who quoted his father as having said, "When the wall collapsed in the era of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, they set about rebuilding it. A foot became visible to them and they were extremely shocked, thinking it to be the foot of the Prophet (ṢAAS). No one could be found who knew about it, but eventually 'Urwa told them, 'No, I swear by God, that's not the foot of the Prophet (ṢAAS); that's 'Umar's foot.'"

It is also given from Hishām, from his father, who said that 'Ā'isha instructed 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, saying, "Don't bury me with them. Bury me with my companions in (the cemetery of) al-Baqī'. There I'll never receive inappropriate praise."

I note that when al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik came to power, in the year 86 AH, he began building the Damascus mosque. He wrote to his governor in Medina, his cousin 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, telling him to expand the Medina mosque. He did so, including its eastern side, and so the apartment of the Prophet (ṢAAS) became encompassed within it.

Ibn 'Asākir narrated the *ḥāfiẓ* with a line of transmission from Zādān, the freed-man of al-Farāfiṣa, who built the Mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS), during

the governorship of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz over Medina. He (Ibn ʿAsākir) quoted from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh approximately as had al-Bukhārī, and he also gave a description of the graves as Abū Daʿūd had narrated.

*Accounts of the great afflictions that befell the Muslims
upon the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS).*

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Harb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Thābit, from Anas, who said, "When the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grew intense, he was overwhelmed by agony. Fāṭima exclaimed, 'What agony, father!' He responded, 'Your father will suffer no more agony after today.'

"When he died, she said, 'O for father! He has responded to a Lord Who has summoned him! O father, whose abode is (now) the garden of paradise! O father, we make Gabriel aware of your death.'

"When he was buried, Fāṭima asked, 'Anas, are you men pleased to be piling earth over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?'"

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Thābit al-Banānī, who quoted Anas as having said, "When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was buried, Fāṭima said, 'Anas, are you men now pleased that you have buried the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the earth and have come back?'"

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, in abbreviated form from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥammād b. Zayd. According to him, Ḥammād stated, "When Thābit related this *ḥadīth* he would weep so hard his chest would heave."

This should not be considered tantamount to lamentation. It is, rather, the expression of just admiration for him, may he receive the very best of prayers and salutations. We have made this comment only because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade lamentation.

Imām Aḥmad and al-Nasāʿī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʿba, who quoted Qatāda, quoting Muṭarrif, from Ḥakīm b. Qays b. ʿĀṣim, from his father who, leaving instructions for his children, said, "Do not lament over me; no lamentation was made over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ismāʿīl b. Ishāq al-Qādī narrated it in his *al-Nawādir*, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn, from Shuʿba. He then narrated it from ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, from al-Mughīra b. Salama, from al-Ṣaʿq b. Ḥazn, from al-Qāsim b. Muṭayyab, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, from Qays b. ʿĀṣim, who said, "Do not lament for me. Lamentation was not made for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I heard him forbid lamentation."

He then narrated it from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, from al-Ṣaʿq, from al-Qāsim, from Yūnus b. Ubayd, from al-Ḥasan, from ʿĀṣim.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUqba b. Sinān related to him, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿUthmān, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama,

from Abū Hurayra, that no lamentation was made for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥaffān related to him, quoting Ja'far b. Sulaymān, quoting Thābit, from Anas, who said, "On the occasion of the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Medina, everything was brightly lit up. The day he died everything there became dark.

"And no sooner had we finished with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), than we were overcome by doubts."

Both al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it thus, from Bishr b. Hilāl al-Ṣawwāf, from Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍab'ī.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*."

I note that its line of transmission satisfies the criteria of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. And it is correct from a *ḥadīth* of Ja'far b. Sulaymān. The scholastic community gave it from him, and the people at large do so similarly.

Al-Kudaymī, he being Muḥammad b. Yūnus, may God have mercy upon him, narrated a *ḥadīth* that could be considered *gharīb*, in this regard. He stated that Abū al-Walid Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṭayālīsī, quoted Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍab'ī, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, Medina became so dark that we could not see one another. One would stretch out one's hand but not see it" – or "not catch sight of it". "No sooner had we completed his burial than we were overcome by doubts."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it similarly through that line.

He also narrated it similarly through a different line of *ḥuṣṣāz*, from Abū Walid al-Ṭayālīsī, as we have given it above. It is the correct version, but God knows best.

The great *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Asākir narrated through Abū Ḥafṣ b. Shāhīn, quoting Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Bisṭām at al-Abilla, quoting Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Ru'āsī, quoting Maslama b. 'Alqama, from Dā'ūd b. Abū Hind, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Medina everything there became bright. The day he died everything there became dark."

Ibn Māja stated that Ishāq b. Mansūr related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Aṭā' al-'Ijlī, from Ibn 'Awn, from al-Ḥasan, from Ubayy b. Ka'b, who said, "While we were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we were (united) in one direction, and when he died, we looked (disunited) here and there."

He also stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī related to us, quoting his uncle Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Muṭṭalib b. al-Sā'ib b. Abū Wadā'a al-Sahmī, quoting Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Umayya al-Makhzūmī, quoting Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, who quoted Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "At the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), if someone arose to pray he would do so without allowing his sight to rise from the position of his feet. Then he died and there was Abū Bakr (in command) and

if someone arose to pray, he would not allow his sight to move from the spot where his head rested (during prostration). Then Abū Bakr died and there was ʿUmar (in command) and if someone arose to pray he would not allow his sight to move away from the *qibla*. Then ʿUmar died and there was ʿUthmān (in command) and dissension arose, and at that time people would look everywhere, to right and to left.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Thābit, from Anas, that Umm Ayman wept when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died. She was asked, “Why are you weeping over the Prophet (ṢAAS)?” She replied, “I knew the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would die; what I’m lamenting for is the revelation that was taken from us.”

He narrated it thus, in a condensed form.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed us, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym and Muḥammad b. al-Naḍr al-Jarūdī, both of whom said, “Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Khulānī related to us, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣim al-Kilābī, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughira, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to visit Umm Ayman and I accompanied him. She brought him a cordial. He was either fasting or did not want it, and he refused it. She then went over to him to make him laugh. After the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr said to ʿUmar, ‘Let’s go and visit Umm Ayman.’ When we arrived to see her, she wept. The two men asked her, ‘What is making you weep? Being with God is good for His Messenger.’ She replied, ‘I swear by God, I’m not weeping because I don’t realize that to be with God is good for His Messenger; I’m weeping that revelation from heaven has ceased.”

“She aroused them to tears, and they began weeping.”

Muslim alone (of the major scholars) narrated it, from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣim.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, in his account of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and of Abū Bakr’s address on that occasion, as follows, “And the people came back after Abū Bakr had finished the address and there was Umm Ayman sitting weeping. She was asked, ‘What is making you cry? God has honoured His Prophet (ṢAAS), taken him into His garden and given him rest from worldly cares.’ She responded, ‘I am only weeping for that news of heaven that used to come to us like a fresh fruit every day and night. Now it has been cut off and ended, and I weep for it.’

“People were much impressed by her words.”

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that it was related to him from Abū Usāma, by, among others, Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Jawharī, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, “When God wished to grant mercy to some

nation of his worshippers, he would first take away their prophet and make of him a precursor and forerunner who could bear witness for them. If God wished to destroy a nation, He would chastise them while His Prophet was still alive; He would destroy them while His Prophet looked on. And this destruction of them would please the latter since they would have disbelieved him and disobeyed his commands."

Muslim is alone in giving this, both in regard to its line of transmission and its content.

The *hāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Majid b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Sufyān, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Sā'ib, from Zadhān, from 'Abd Allāh – he being Ibn Mas'ūd – who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "God has angels who will travel all around and pass on to me greetings from my nation."

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'My life is a good thing for you; you take action and it comes to pass for you. And my death is a good thing for you; your actions will be shown to me. For that which I have seen to be good I have praised God. For that which I have seen to be evil, I have asked God's forgiveness for you.'"

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of the latter part of this *ḥadīth* being narrated from 'Abd Allāh only from this line."

I note that the first part of this *ḥadīth* consists of the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "God has angels who will travel all around and pass on to me greetings from my nation." Al-Nasā'ī narrated it from several lines, from Sufyān al-Thawrī and from al-A'mash, both of whom gave it from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Sā'ib, who quoted it from his father.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ju'fī related to him, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir, from Abū al-Ash'ath al-Ṣan'ānī, from Aws b. Aws, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "Friday is one of the best of your days. On it Adam was created and on it he died. On it (life began with) a breath, and on it (life will end with) a thunderbolt. Pray for me often on that day, for your prayer will be made known to me."

People asked, "Messenger of God, how will our prayers be made known to you when you will have *arimta*, 'disintegrated'?" By this word he meant *balīta*, "decayed". He replied, "God has forbidden the earth to eat the bodies of prophets, may peace be upon them."

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Hārūn b. 'Abd Allāh, and from al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. Al-Nasā'ī gave it from Ishāq b. Maṣṣūr, all three of them quoting it from Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. Ibn Māja narrated it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, from Ibn Jābir, from Abū al-Ash'ath, from Shaddād b. Aws.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī stated, "That line of transmission quoted by Ibn Māja is imagined; the correct name is Aws b. Aws, he being known as 'al-Thaqafi', may God be pleased with him."

I note that this is confirmed as widely known to be correct by a copy of the line of transmission I have in my possession, just as Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī narrated it – from Aws b. Aws, that is.

Ibn Māja confirmed that 'Amr b. Sawwād al-Miṣrī narrated to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb, from 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, from Sa'īd b. Abū Hilāl, from Zayd b. Ayman, from 'Ubāda b. Nusayy, who quoted Abū al-Darā' as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Pray for me often on Friday, for it will be witnessed by the angels. Whenever anyone shall pray for me his prayer will be made known to me, right on until he finishes it.' And what about after (your death)?" He replied, 'God has forbidden the earth to eat the bodies of prophets, may peace be upon them.' The Prophet of God is alive and sustained (in his grave)."

This is one of the *aḥādīth* that are given only by Ibn Māja, may God have mercy upon him.

At this point in his work the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir gives a section presenting those *aḥādīth* narrated about visitation to his sacred grave, may God's prayers and salutations be for him until Judgement Day! The proper place to examine this is in my work *al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr*, if God so wills it.

REFERENCE TO THE EXPRESSIONS OF CONSOLATION MADE
REGARDING THE DEATH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Ibn Māja stated that al-Walid b. 'Amr b. al-Sukayn related to him, quoting Abū Hammām, he being Muḥammad b. al-Zibraḡān al-Ahwāzī, quoting Mūsā b. 'Ubayda, quoting Muṣ'ab b. Muḥammad, from Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) opened a door between himself and the people" – or lifted aside a screen – "and there they were praying behind Abū Bakr. He gave praise at having seen them in such fine condition, and hoping that he would be succeeded by the one he was looking at. He said, "People, should any person, any believer, suffer some disaster, let him derive strength from the suffering he was made to endure because of (my departure). For none of my nation will suffer after myself any disaster more severe than that caused by (my departure)."

Ibn Māja is alone in giving this.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Faqīh informed him, quoting Shāfi' b. Muḥammad, quoting Abū Ja'far b. Salāma al-Ṭaḡāwī, quoting al-Mizzī, quoting al-Shāfi'ī, from al-Qāsim b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ḥafs, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, that some men of Quraysh went in to visit his father, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. The latter said, "Should I talk to you about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" Please do, they asked. And so he related to us about Abū al-Qāsim – the Prophet (ṢAAS) – saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became ill, Gabriel came to him and said, 'Muḥammad, God has dispatched me to you to express special honour and

respect for you, to ask you about what He knows better than yourself: How are you?" 'Gabriel, I am much afflicted. Gabriel, I am in agony.'

"Gabriel returned to him the second day, asked him the same and the Prophet (ṢAAS) responded to him as he had on the first day. Gabriel then came to him a third day, asking as he had on the first, and the response was the same. Then he came to him accompanied by an angel named Ismā'īl, who had charge of 100,000 angels, each angel in charge of another 100,000 angels. He asked to introduce him, and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) asked about him. Gabriel told him, 'This is the angel of death who asks permission to visit you, having never asked such permission of any human being before yourself, and never will of any person after you.' The Prophet (ṢAAS) responded, 'Allow him in', and Gabriel did so.

"He (Ismā'īl) entered and said, 'Muḥammad, God has sent me to you. If you order me to take your soul, I will do so. If you order me to leave you alone, I will do so.' 'Would you really do that, angel of death?' he asked. 'Yes,' he replied. 'That was what I was ordered, and I was ordered to obey you.'

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) looked over at Gabriel and Gabriel said to him, 'Muḥammad, God is longing to meet you.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to the angel of death, 'Proceed as you were ordered.' And he took away his soul.

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) died, and condolences came, people heard a voice from the direction of the house, saying, 'Peace be upon you all, people of the house, and the mercy and blessings of God. In God there is consolation from all disaster, substitute for all that perishes, permanence from all transience. And so, put in God your trust and in Him hope. Those truly afflicted are those forbidden reward.'

"'Ali, may God be pleased with him, asked, 'Do you know who that is? This is al-Khiḍr, may peace be upon him.'"

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*. There is weakness in its line of transmission with regard to al-Qāsim al-ʿUmārī. Several of the *imāms* have categorized him as a weak source, while others of them totally exclude him. Al-Rabīʿ narrated it from al-Shāfiʿī, from al-Qāsim, from Jaʿfar, from his father, from his grandfather, from whom he narrated only the story of the consolation with a full line of transmission. In that line there is reference to the aforementioned al-ʿUmārī. We mention him here so that there be no delusion about him.

However, the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī did narrate it, from al-Hākim, from Abū Jaʿfar al-Baghdādī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, or 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Murtaʿid al-Ṣaghānī, quoting Abū al-Walid al-Makhzūmī, quoting Anas b. ʿIyyād, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, a voice called out to people; they could hear the voice but not see the speaker. It said, 'Peace be upon you, people of the house, and mercy, and His blessings. In God there is consolation from all disaster and permanence from all transience. Put your trust in God and in Him hope. Those truly deprived

are those deprived of reward. Peace be upon you all, and God's mercy and blessings.”

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, “Even though one of these two lines of transmission is weak, the one does substantiate the other, and shows that it originates from the *ḥadīth* of Ja‘far. But God knows best.”

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥafīz informed us, quoting Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Balawayh, quoting Muḥammad b. Bishr b. Maṭar, quoting Kāmil b. Talḥa, quoting ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, his Companions stared at him and gathered around him weeping. Then a large, handsome man with a white beard arrived who watched them and wept. He then turned to the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, ‘There is in God consolation for every disaster, compensation for everything that passes away, and substitute for all that perishes. Return to God and express to Him your wishes. His gaze is towards you in your distress, so look. The afflicted are those not restored.’ He then left.

“They asked one another, ‘Do you know this man?’ Abū Bakr and ‘Alī replied, ‘Yes; this is al-Khiḍr, the brother of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, “Ayyād b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad is a weak source. And this (tradition) is extremely objectionable.”

Al-Ḥārith b. Abū Usāma narrated from Muḥammad b. Sa‘d, quoting Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim, quoting Ṣāliḥ al-Mizzī, from Abū Ḥāzim al-Madanī, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was taken away by God, the Almighty and Glorious, the *muhājirūn* went in in groups, praying over him and then leaving. The *anṣār* would go in next and do the same, then the people of Medina followed. After the men had finished, the women went in. From among them there came cries of the kind that occurred in the past.

Then they heard a thud inside the house and knew and kept silent. Suddenly a voice spoke, “In God there is consolation from all that passes away and compensation from all disaster, substitute for all that perishes. The person restored is one whom the reward (of God) has restored; the one (truly) afflicted is he whom the reward does not restore.”

Section: Narratives telling of the knowledge of ‘The People of the Book’ (the Christians and the Jews) of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs related to him, from Ismā‘īl b. Abū Khālīd, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajalī, who said, “I was in Yemen and met two men from there, (one named) Dhū Kalā‘, the other Dhū ‘Amr. I began talking with them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told me, ‘If what you say is true, your master passed away three days ago.’

“I continued on, as did they with me. On the road a party travelling from Medina appeared before us. We questioned them and they told us, ‘The

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has passed away and Abū Bakr was appointed his successor; the people are fine.”

He went on, “The two Yemenis then said to me, ‘Tell your master that we came; perhaps we will return, if God the Almighty and Glorious so wills it.’

“The two men did return to Yemen. When I arrived, I informed Abū Bakr what they had said. He asked, ‘Why did you not bring them?’

“Later, Dhū ‘Amr said to me, ‘Jarīr, I owe you a favour; I’m going to inform you of something. You Arab people will continue to be fine for so long as whenever one of your leaders dies you appoint another to power. If, however, it happens by the sword, you’ll end up a kingdom, enduring the rage of the kings and being pleased when they so please.’”

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus, as did al-Bukhārī, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. Al-Bayhaqī also narrated it thus, from al-Ḥākim, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far, from Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting ‘Alī b. al-Mutawakkil, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī, quoting Zā‘ida, from Ziyād b. ‘Alāqa, from Jarīr, who said, “A high priest met me in Yemen and told me, ‘If your master was a prophet, he died on Monday.’”

That is how al-Bayhaqī narrated it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Sa‘īd related to him, quoting Zā‘ida, quoting Ziyād b. ‘Alāqa, from Jarīr, who said, “A high priest in Yemen told me, ‘If your master was a prophet, he died today.’” Jarīr added, “And he died on Monday.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān al-Mu‘addil of Baghdad informed him, quoting Abu Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Amr, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Haytham, quoting Sa‘īd b. Kathīr b. ‘Ufayr, quoting ‘Abd al-Ḥamid b. Ka‘b b. ‘Alqama b. Ka‘b b. ‘Adī al-Tanūkhī, from ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith, from Na‘īm b. Ajbal, from Ka‘b b. ‘Adī, who said, “I arrived in a delegation from the people of al-Ḥira to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he explained Islam to us. We accepted Islam and then left for al-Ḥira.

“Soon news reached us of the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS). My friends were confused by this and said, ‘Well, if he were a prophet, he would not have died!’ I replied, ‘The prophets before him died.’ So I remained firm in my Islam. Later I left for Medina and passed by a monk without whose advice we never decided anything. I asked him, ‘Would you advise me about something that is bothering me?’ He replied, ‘Bring me some name.’ I brought him a bone dice.¹⁵⁶ He said, ‘Cast it into this text’, referring to a text he had brought out. So I cast the bone into it. He then leafed through the text and came upon the description of the Prophet (ṢAAS), just as I had seen him. And it was foretold that he would die at the time his death actually occurred.

156. The word used is *ka‘b*, an oblong bone from an animal’s foot that was used as a dice. The game of *ka‘b* was forbidden in the Qur’ān. The narrator’s name is also “Ka‘b”, so it is possible that he brought the monk, who had asked for a name, something that bore his own name.

“And so my conviction in my faith was strengthened. I went to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and told him of this, then I remained there with him. After that he dispatched me to Chosroe, and I later returned. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb also dispatched me to him and I delivered to him his (‘Umar’s) letter. Then the battle of Yarmūk took place, without my having knowledge of it. He (Chosroe) asked me, ‘Do you know that the Byzantines have killed and routed the Arabs?’ I replied, ‘Not possible!’ ‘Why not?’ he asked. I replied, ‘God promised His Prophet that he would give him victory over all religions, and He is not one to break His promise.’ He told me, ‘Your Prophet spoke the truth to you. The Byzantines were killed. And God did kill ‘Ād.’ He then asked me about the most important Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I told him of them. He gave gifts to ‘Umar and to them also. Those to whom he made gifts were ‘Alī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and al-Zubayr.”

The sub-narrator stated, “And I think he also named al-‘Abbās.”

Kaʿb went on, “I had been a partner of ‘Umar in a cloth business during the *jāhiliyya*. When ‘Umar imposed the *diwān*¹⁵⁷ system, he put me in charge of Banū ‘Adī b. Kaʿb.”

This is a strange tradition and contains surprising information. It meets the criteria for the category of *ṣaḥīḥ*.

DIVISION

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the Arab tribes seceded. Judaism and Christianity became arrogant and hypocrisy spread. The Muslims became like sheep in the rain on a winter’s night at loss of their Prophet (ṢAAS), until God united them around Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.”¹⁵⁸

Ibn Hishām stated, “Abū ‘Ubayda and other scholars related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, most of the Meccans considered leaving Islam – and indeed were intending to do so. ‘Attāb b. Usayd,¹⁵⁹ may God be pleased with him, was afraid of them and went into hiding. But then Suhayl b. ‘Amr, may God be pleased with him, arose, gave praise and thanks to God, then made reference to the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He said, ‘That event has only increased the strength of Islam; and we will behead anyone doubting it!’ And so the Meccans reconsidered and gave up what they had been considering. ‘Attāb b. Usayd reappeared. This is the position the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prophesied that Suhayl would take, as shown by his words to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. When, that is, ‘Umar made reference to pulling out Suhayl’s two front teeth when he was among the prisoners at the battle of Badr, the Messenger

157. The system instituted by the Caliph ‘Umar that regulated both taxation and payments for governmental employees, both civilian and military.

158. Ibn Ishāq is apparently quoting ‘Ā’isha in these words. See Guillaume, op. cit. page 689.

159. The Muslim governor of Mecca.

of God (ṢAAS), had said, 'He may well take a position for which you certainly won't blame him!'"

We have recounted elsewhere¹⁶⁰ the apostacy that occurred in many Arab tribes after the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and events involving Musaylima b. Ḥabīb, the self-professed prophet in al-Yamāma, and the uprising of al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī in Yemen. We have there shown what became of these people, until they retracted and came back to God, expressing repentance and regret for the great stupidity and ignorance they had displayed in seceding, attitudes to which they had been seduced by Satan. God then gave them aid and settled them down, restoring them to His true religion at the hands of his caliph, Abū Bakr, "the trusting", may God be pleased with him.

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq and others quote poems by Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, on the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One of the finest and most eloquent of these is that narrated by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām, may God be pleased with him, from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, in which Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, mourns the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

"At Ṭayba traces remain of the Messenger, and a light-emitting locality, though traces may often fade and disappear,

The signs of a sacred building with the *minbar* the guide would mount will never disappear.

Its signs are clear, its features lasting, and that home with a chapel and a mosque.

There are chambers amidst which light from God would descend, giving illumination and fire,

Knowledge that will never be effaced, signs which, if removed become renewed.

There I knew the Messenger's design and commission and a grave in whose dust he was hidden and buried.

I remained there weeping for the Messenger, though the eyes of the spirits were delighted,

Recalling those blessings of the Messenger. I see my soul unable to enumerate and so is confused.

My spirit is tormented, drained by loss of Aḥmad, as it goes on enumerating the wonders of the Messenger.

It cannot manage to account for one-tenth of all his deeds, and my soul has still more to suffer.

I stood long there at the mound of that grave containing Aḥmad, my eyes weeping all they could.

160. In Ibn Kathir's work *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāyya*.

You are blessed indeed, grave of the Messenger, and
blessed you, that land where the wise and rightly-guided one
resided.

Blessed be that grave that contains a good man, over
which stands a structure of broad stones in tiers.

Hands poured earth over him, eyes their tears, and at
that the stars set.

They sent away wisdom, knowledge and mercy, that night
they covered him, pillowless, with dirt.

Then they left sadly, their Prophet not among them,
their backs and arms feeling weak,

Weeping for one whose death-day the heavens and the
earth mourn, and the people were more sad.

Could ever mourning for a dead man equal that of the
day when Muḥammad died?

A day when the site of revelation was taken from them,
a source of light that gave benefit and help.

Leading to the Merciful One those who imitated him,
saving them from the horror of shame, guiding aright,

An *imām* for them energetically leading them to the
truth, a teacher of truth; those obeying him found happiness,

Forgiving their errors, accepting their excuse; if they
behaved well, God was very generous with reward.

If disaster struck them too hard to bear, from Him came
ease for what pained them

While they enjoyed God's favour, a guide amidst them to
show the way to be followed.

It hurt him if they strayed from the true path, and he
was eager that they go straight in right guidance.

He was sympathetic towards them, not excluding any from
his protection, leading them towards shelter.

While there in that light an arrow sent by death struck
into their light,

And so Maḥmūd was sent back to God while the angels
mourned him while giving praise.

The sites in the land of the sacred places became
desolate at the absence of the revelation it had known,

Deserted, except for that spot with the grave where our
long-lost friend rests, between Balāṭ and Gharqad¹⁶¹

And his mosque and those places deserted at his loss
are an empty area where once he stood and prostrated.

And the great stoning mound there, the houses, vacant
land, encampments and birth-sites miss him.

161. Balāṭ was the area between Medina's mosque and the market, and Gharqad was its graveyard. The words mean, respectively, "even ground" and "box tree".

Weep tears, eye, for the Messenger of God, and may I never know you with your tears dried up!

What is wrong with you, eye, that you do not weep for that generous man whose ample robe encompassed the people?

Shed tears copiously and mourn aloud at loss of him the like of whom will never again exist.

The ancients never lost the like of Muḥammad, and his like will never be mourned again till Judgement Day,

Nor any one more kind or trustworthy in obligation after obligation, nor anyone more generous, one never ill-tempered.

Nor anyone more munificent with wealth both newly acquired and long-held; while others are generous, some are niggardly with their inheritance.

Nor anyone more noble in descent in the clans when ancestry is checked, not more noble in ancestry to leaders of the (Mecca) valley,

Nor anyone more fortified by eminence, nor more secure in a prominence that is supported by towering supports.

Nor anyone more firm in his roots and his branches and his trunk, watered by rain clouds, his trunk strong and supple.

It was an illustrious Lord who reared him, bringing him to perfection in the most fine of deeds.

Instruction for the Muslims rested with him, and knowledge was not kept back, nor was opinion disapproved.

I say, and no one could complain at my words, unless devoid of sense and out of touch,

That it is not my intent to refrain from praising him; it may be that I will reside in paradise forever,

With the Chosen One, whose aid I hope thereto; and to attain that day I will constantly strive."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī stated at the end of his book *al-Rawāq* that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, in mourning over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

"I lay awake, my night endless, and the night of the friend of one struck down is ever long.

My weeping cheered me, and my mourning was little indeed compared to what the Muslims had lost.

Our disaster was enormous, momentous, that evening when it was said that the Messenger had died.

Our very earth, because of what had afflicted it, seemed ready to quake.

We had lost the divine inspiration and its revelation among us, that had been brought by Gabriel as he came to and fro.

That man was fully worthy to have the souls of the people flow out to him, or almost so.

A Prophet who would lift doubt away from us, by what was revealed to him, and what he said.

He guided us, and we never feared going astray, the Messenger being our guide.

O Fāṭim(a), you have excuse indeed to mourn, but if you do not, that is the (right) path.

For the grave of your father is the most important grave of all, and in it lies the most important of men, the Messenger.”

Chapter: Information showing that the Prophet (SAAS) did not leave a dīnār, a dirham, a slave, a slave-girl, a sheep, a camel, nor anything to be inherited from him – except for land, all of which he left as a charitable offering to God, the Almighty and Glorious.

The world and all things thereon were to him – as they are to God – too insignificant for him to strive after, or to leave as inheritance – may God’s prayers and greetings be upon him and upon his brother prophets and messengers, fully and constantly, until Judgement Day.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, from Abū Ishāq, from ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave, a slave-girl – nothing except his white mule that he used to ride, his weapons and land that he left as a charitable bequest for wayfarers.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not. Al-Bukhārī narrated it in various places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from various lines of transmission from Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Zuhayr b. Mu’āwiya.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Isrā’īl. Al-Nasā’ī gave it also, from a *ḥadīth* of Yūnus b. Abū Ishāq, all of them quoting from Abū Ishāq. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sabī’ī, from ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṣṭaliq b. Abū Dinār, the brother of Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, “the mother of the Believers”, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Mu’āwiya related to him, quoting al-A’maṣh and Ibn Numayr, from al-A’maṣh, from Shaqīq, from Masrūq, from ‘Ā’isha, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a sheep, a camel, nor did he leave testamentary statements over anything.”

Muslim is alone in narrating it, al-Bukhārī not having given it. Abū Dā’ūd, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Māja gave it from several lines from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-A’maṣh, from Shaqīq b. Salama Abū Wā’il, from Masrūq b. al-Ajda’, from the mother of the Believers, ‘Ā’isha, “the trusting lady”, the daughter of (Abū Bakr) “the trusting”, the beloved of him beloved by God, the lady declared innocent from above the seven heavens, may God be pleased with her and give her pleasure.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ishāq b. Yūsuf related to him, from Sufyān, from 'Āṣim, from Zirr b. Ḥubaysh, from 'Ā'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave-girl, a slave, a sheep or a camel."

(Imām Aḥmad also stated), "'Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, from Sufyān, from 'Āṣim b. Zirr, from 'Ā'isha (who said), 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a sheep or a camel.'"

Sufyān stated, "That is the extent of my knowledge; I have doubts about (the reference to) the slave and the slave-girl."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it thus in *al-Shamā'il* from Bindār, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakī' related to him, quoting Miṣ'ar, from 'Āṣim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Zirr, who quoted 'Ā'isha, as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave, a female slave, a sheep or a camel."

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus, without (expression of) doubt.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from Abū Zakariyyā' b. Abū Ishāq al-Muzakkī, from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, quoting Ja'far b. 'Awn, quoting Miṣ'ar, from 'Āṣim, from Zirr, who said, "'Ā'isha stated, 'Are you asking me about the inheritance left by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)? He did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave or a slave-born female.'"

Miṣ'ar is quoted as having said, "I think he said, 'or a sheep or a camel'."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to state that Miṣ'ar informed him, from 'Adī b. Thābit, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a *dīnār*, a *dirham*, a slave or a slave-born female."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from a *ḥadīth* of al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from 'Ā'isha, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) bought food from a Jew for a given length of time and gave as security an iron chain-mail.

In the version given by al-Bukhārī, he narrated it from Qabiṣa, from al-Thawrī, from al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from 'Ā'isha, may God be pleased with her, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) died while his armour was mortgaged to a Jew for 30."¹⁶²

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn, from al-Thawrī, from al-A'mash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, who quoted her as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS), died while his armour was mortgaged for 30 *sā'* of barley."

He went on, "Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Kathīr, from Sufyān."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to state that 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdān informed him, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥammuwayh al-'Askarī, quoting Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Qalānisi, quoting Ādam, quoting Shaybān, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was invited to a meal of barley bread and rancid fat." Anas went on, "And I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'By

162. The Arabic printed text quotes al-Bukhārī as adding, "For 30 *sā'* weight of barley, that is."

Him who holds the life of Muḥammad in his hands, Muḥammad's family has no longer a *sā'*'s weight of wheat or of dates.' At that time he had nine wives. He had pawned a coat of armour he had to a Jew in Medina in exchange for food; and he had not found money to redeem it up to his death.'"

Ibn Māja narrated some of this from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nahwī, from Qatāda.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Thābit, quoting Hilāl, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) gazed towards Mt. Uḥud and said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, how it would please me if Mt. Uḥud belonged to Muḥammad's people and I could spend it in God's cause! The day I die I would have two *dinārs* worth of it; these, however, I would set aside for debt.'

"He did die, but did not leave a *dinār*, a *dirham*, a slave, nor a slave-born female. He left his armour still pledged to a Jew for thirty *ṣā's* weight of barley."

Ibn Māja narrated the latter part of this, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya al-Jumāhī, from Thābit b. Yazīd, from Hilāl b. Khabbāb al-'Abdī al-Kūfī. For the first part there is testimony in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Dharr, may God be pleased with him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Ṣamad, Abū Sa'īd and 'Affān related to him, quoting Thābit – Ibn Yazīd, that is – quoting Hilāl – Ibn Khabbāb, that is – from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, that 'Umar came in to see the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was lying on a straw mat that had left a mark on his side. 'Umar asked, 'Prophet of God, should you not have a more comfortable bed than this?' He replied, 'I'm not concerned with worldly things; I am merely like a rider travelling on a summer's day, resting for a while during the day time beneath a tree, then moving away and leaving it behind.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. Its line of transmission is excellent.

There is testimony to it from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās, from 'Umar, regarding the two women who protested to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); and also in the story of the abstinence from marital relations. The *ḥadīth*, and others like it, relating this will come later in discussion of the asceticism of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his disinterest in and disavowal of worldly things; all this will substantiate our statements that he cared nothing for things of this world.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rufay', who said, "I and Shaddād b. Ma'qil went in to see Ibn 'Abbās, who told us, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left nothing except what is contained between these two covers.' We then went to see Muḥammad b. 'Alī and he told us the same."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this similarly, from Qutayba, from Sufyān b. 'Uyayna.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Mālik b. Mighwal, from Ṭalḥa, who said, "I asked 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, 'Did the Prophet (ṢAAS) leave a will?' 'No,' he replied. I asked, 'Why was it, then, recorded that

the people should make wills or that they were ordered to do so?' He replied, 'He bequeathed the Book of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and all the orthodox scholars, except Abū Dā'ūd, narrated this, from several lines of transmission, from Mālik b. Mi'wal. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "It is *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*; we know of it only from the *ḥadīth* of Mālik b. Mighwal."

NOTICE.

Many *aḥādīth* exist that we will give shortly after this section, relating to dwellings, apartments for his wives, slaves both female and male, horses, camels, weapons, a mule, a donkey, clothes, furnishings, a ring and various other things owned by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) during his life. We will give the evidences and lines of transmission for the statements relating to all this.

Perhaps the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave many of these away as gifts to charity during his life; and he manumitted his slaves, both male and female. He also set aside some of his belongings, along with the two tracts of land of Banū al-Naḍir, and that at Khaybar and Fadak to which God entrusted him, for the benefit of the Muslims.

We will explain all this, if God so wills it. However, he did not leave any of that to be inherited absolutely from himself, as we will show shortly. And God's help is to be sought.

Chapter: Evidence to the Prophet (ṢAAS) having said, 'We will not leave (property for) inheritance'.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-A'raj, from Abū Hurayra to whom this evidence came. He once said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'My heirs will not inherit a *dīnār* nor a *dirham*; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees, is to be treated as a charity.'

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from various sources from Mālik b. Anas, from Abū al-Zinād 'Abd Allāh b. Dhakwān, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz al-A'raj, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "My heirs will not inherit a *dīnār* nor a *dirham*; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees, is to be treated as a charity."

This is the text of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who stated that, following the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), his wives wished to send 'Uthmān to Abū Bakr for him to ask about their inheritances. 'Ā'isha said, "But did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) not say, 'We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity?'"

Muslim narrated it thus, from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā. Abū Dā'ūd gave it from al-Qa'nabī, al-Nasā'ī from Qutayba. All of them quoted it from Mālik.

This comment was from one of the inheriting wives – if inheritance had been decreed – who acknowledged that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established his estate for charity, not inheritance. It is clear that the remainder of “the mothers of the Believers” agreed with what she narrated and remembered what had been said to them in that regard. Her expression shows that this was a matter well established among them. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismā'īl b. Abān related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) stated, “We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity.”

Al-Bukhārī also stated, under the section entitled, *The statements made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)* as follows, “'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Hishām, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, that Fāṭima and al-'Abbās went to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to receive their inheritance from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They were, at that time, seeking his land at Fadak and his share of Khaybar. Abū Bakr told them, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, “Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity. However, Muḥammad’s family may feed themselves from this property.”’

“Abū Bakr went on, ‘I swear by God, I will never omit doing anything I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) doing.’

“Fāṭima then left him and did not speak to him again from then to her death.”

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma'mar.

Aḥmad then narrated it from Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, that following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Fāṭima asked Abū Bakr for her inheritance from what he had left that God had provided him. Abū Bakr told her, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity.’” Fāṭima grew angry and left Abū Bakr; she continued avoiding him up to her death.

Aḥmad stated, “Fāṭima lived on for six months following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).” And he proceeded to narrate the *ḥadīth*.

Imām Aḥmad stated it thus. Al-Bukhārī narrated this *ḥadīth* in his work *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* within his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from Ibn Bukayr, from al-Layth, from 'Aqīl, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha, as is given above. And he added, “When she died, 'Alī buried her at night. He did not inform Abū Bakr; he did pray over her.”

('Ā'isha stated,) “During the life of Fāṭima, 'Alī had great prestige among the people. When Fāṭima died, he lost this special position and set about making peace with Abū Bakr and pledging allegiance to him. He had not pledged allegiance for those months. So he sent a message to Abū Bakr, saying, ‘Come to

us, but don't bring anyone else.' He did not want 'Umar to come because of what he knew of 'Umar's severity. 'Umar said, (to Abū Bakr), 'Don't go in to them alone, by God!' Abū Bakr replied, 'What could they do to me? I shall go to them, by God!'

"Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then set off. 'Alī spoke the *shahāda* and went on, 'We well know your virtue and what God has awarded you. We'll not envy you for the good to which God has led you. But you monopolized power, to which we thought, because of our close relationship to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we had a right to share.' 'Alī went on talking until Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, wept. The latter then said, 'By Him in whose hand is my soul, I would prefer to do good to relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), than to my own! Regarding the question of the properties that inspired antagonism between us, I am not inclining in this away from what is right; I would never omit doing anything that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had himself done.'

"When Abū Bakr had finished performing the *al-zuhr* prayer, he mounted the *minbar* and spoke the *shahāda*. He then made reference to 'Alī's having been late in pledging allegiance to him and the excuses he had made that had been accepted. 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, then spoke the *shahāda* and emphasized Abū Bakr's right and went on to refer to his virtue and precedence. He stated that his actions had not been influenced by any jealousy towards Abū Bakr. He then went up to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and expressed his allegiance to him. The people gathered around 'Alī saying, 'You have done well!' 'Alī became very popular when he rejoined the common cause."

Al-Bukhārī also narrated this, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd, and al-Nasā'ī, from several lines of transmission, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from 'Ā'isha in similar form.

This pledge of allegiance made by 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, came after the death of Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her. It affirmed the peace between them. It was subsequent to that pledge to which we referred first on that day in the hall, as was narrated by Ibn Khuzayma and declared authentic by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. 'Alī had not been avoiding Abū Bakr for these six months, but had been performing the prayer behind him and attending *al-mashwara*, "the consultative assemblies", with him. He had also accompanied him to Dhū al-Qiṣṣa.

In the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated that Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, performed the *al-ʿaṣr* prayer some nights following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and, leaving the mosque, found al-Ḥasan, 'Alī's son, playing with the other boys. He carried him on his back and began chanting,

"Oh, by my father, the image of the Prophet, but not the image of 'Alī!"

'Alī was laughing. However, when this second pledge of allegiance took place, some narrators believed that 'Alī had not spoken a pledge before that, and denied

that he had done so. But what is positively affirmed takes precedence over what is negative, as we have shown and stated above. But God knows best.

As for the anger being expressed by Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her and give her pleasure, against Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure, I cannot account for it.

If it was due to his refusal to award her the inheritance for which she asked him, he had given her a reason that had to be accepted. This was his reference to the statement by her father, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity." She was one of those who submitted to the text of the law-giver that had been unknown to her before she asked about inheritance, just as it was unknown to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), until ʿĀ'isha informed them all of it; and they accepted it.

It should not be thought of Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, that she was making some accusation to (Abū Bakr) "the trusting", may God be pleased with him, for what he had told her – heaven forbid that, both for her and for him! How could this be, since ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, Abū Hurayra and ʿĀ'isha had all agreed with him in his narration of this *ḥadīth*, as we will shortly demonstrate. And even if it had been an account narrated solely by Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, it would still have been incumbent upon the whole world to accept it, and to yield to him in the matter.

If her anger related to what she had asked Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, these lands were a public charity, not an inheritance that her husband should supervise. His reason amounted to his assertion that, because he was the successor of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he considered it his duty to do as the former had done, and to rule as he had. The *ḥadīth* quotes him as saying, "I will never omit doing anything I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) doing." And it goes on, "Fāṭima then avoided him and did not speak to him again from then to her death."

This circumstance and her estrangement from him opened a broad field for the "rejectionist faction" and extensive foolishness, because of which they intruded themselves where they had no business.

Had they properly understood, they would have credited Abū Bakr with his virtue and accepted the reason he gave as it should be by everyone.

However, they are a forsaken faction, a contemptible group, people who stubbornly maintain the dubious, while ignoring what is accepted as definite and incontrovertible by the great *imāms* of Islam, the Companions and their immediate successors, and the well-respected scholars who followed them throughout the ages and everywhere – may God be pleased with them all and give them pleasure!

DISCUSSION OF THE NARRATION FROM VARIOUS AUTHORITIES
CONCERNING THE STATEMENT MADE BY ABŪ BAKR AND THEIR
AGREEMENT UPON THIS.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yahyā b. Bukayr narrated to him, quoting al-Layth, from 'Aqil, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Mālik b. Aws b. al-Ḥadathān informed me" – and Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Mut'īm also narrated part of this *ḥadīth*, saying that he went in to him, (Mālik) and asked him and that he replied to him as follows – "I had gone in to see 'Umar, when his doorkeeper, Yarfa' came and asked him, 'Would you like to see 'Uthmān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, al-Zubayr and Sa'd?' He replied, "Yes, let them come in." Yarfa' then asked, "And 'Alī and 'Abbās too?" "Yes," he replied."

"Abbās asked, 'Commander of the Believers, give judgement between myself and this man ('Alī).' 'Umar replied, 'I charge you by God through whose permission the heavens and the earth exist, do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity", and that by this he (the Prophet) was referring to himself?' The group agreed that he had indeed said that. 'Umar then approached 'Alī and 'Abbās and said, 'Do you both know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that?' They replied, 'Yes, he did say that.'"

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb went on, "I will talk to you about this matter. God chose His Messenger for this *faḥṣ*,¹⁶³ 'booty', as something he had not given to anyone else. As God stated, 'What God had awarded as *faḥṣ* for His messenger . . . has power over all things' (*sūrat al-Ḥashr*; LIX, v.6).

"That property was therefore specifically for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He did not, however, I swear by God, keep it for himself or withhold it from you, but gave out its income which he distributed to you so that the present property remained. And from it he would provide the yearly expenses for his family, treating whatever remained as God's property. He acted in this way throughout his life. I adjure you by God, do you know that?' 'Yes,' they replied. 'Umar then asked 'Alī and 'Abbās, 'I adjure you by God, do you two men know that?' 'Yes,' they replied.

"Umar went on, 'Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died and Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, 'I am the successor of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And he took that property and managed it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done. Then Abū Bakr died and I said, 'Now I am the successor of the successor to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' And I took that property for two years, managing it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done. Then you both came to me, each saying the same thing and making the same case. Eventually you ('Abbās) came to me asking me for your share from the property of your nephew (the Prophet (ṢAAS)). After that, this man ('Alī) came requesting

163. Goods or property won at war by Muslims but without fighting actually having occurred.

the share of his wife from her father. I told you both, 'If you wish, I will give it to you to be managed in the same way.' Are you now seeking from me a different judgement? By God by whose permission the heavens and earth exist, I'll never give you any decision that is different, not even till Judgement Day! If you are incapable of managing it, then return it to me, and I'll take care of it for you!"

Al-Bukhārī narrated this in various places in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim and the other orthodox scholars gave it from various lines, from al-Zuhri.

In one narrative in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, 'Umar is quoted as saying, "Then Abū Bakr became in charge of it, and managed it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done. And God knows that he was truthful, pious, rightly guided, and always in pursuit of the truth. Then I took control of it and managed it as had both the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr. And God knows that I too am truthful, pious, rightly guided and always in pursuit of the truth. Then you both came to me and I gave it over to your control, to manage it as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr and I. I adjure you by God, did I not pass it to you to do likewise?" 'Yes,' they said. 'Umar then said to them, 'I adjure you two men by God, did I not pass it to you both to do likewise?' 'Yes,' they said. 'Umar went on, 'Do you (now) seek from me some different decision? No, by Him whose permission the heavens and the earth exist!'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān narrated to him, from 'Amr, from al-Zuhri, from Mālik b. Aws, who said, "I heard 'Umar say to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Sa'd, 'I implore you by God by whose order the heavens and the earth exist, do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Our property will not be inherited; we have left it as charity?"' "Yes," they said."

This *ḥadīth* meets the criteria of both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

I note that what the two men asked him – though God knows best – was that, following the award of authority to them, the income would be divided between them so that they would receive what would have been their right if it had been decreed that each be an actual heir to the land.

They apparently sent ahead of themselves a group of the Companions, including 'Uthmān, Ibn 'Awf, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Sa'd. They had developed a serious rivalry because the management authority had been divided between them. The Companions who had gone on ahead asked 'Umar, "Commander of the Believers, decide between them both. Or relieve one of the other."

It seems that 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, was reluctant to divide authority between them as if dividing a heritage, even if doing so only in appearance, since he wished to act in accord with the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity.' He therefore resisted them all and gave them an outright refusal, may God be pleased with him.

'Alī and al-'Abbās continued thereafter to manage the property jointly up to the time of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. Then 'Alī gained the advantage to it and al-'Abbās

gave it up to him, with the assent of his son 'Abd Allāh, may God be pleased with them both, in the presence of 'Uthmān. Aḥmad narrated to this effect in his *musnad* collection. It has continued to be controlled by the 'Alawī¹⁶⁴ community.

I have closely examined the lines of transmission of this *ḥadīth* and its phraseology in both *musnad* collections of *aḥādīth* of the *shaikhān*, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with them both. For each one I have assembled a large volume of narrations they made relating to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and their views on what constitutes proper and useful law. I have arranged this material under legal headings currently used today.

I have narrated that Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, initially argued using analogy and general reference to verses in the Holy Qur'ān. Abū Bakr responded to her by quoting the texts restricting the rights of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and she accepted his words. This is what is attributed to her, may God be pleased with her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān narrated to him, quoting Hammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama, that Fāṭima asked Abū Bakr, "Who would inherit for you if you died?" "My son and my family," he replied. She asked, "Then why can we not inherit from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" He replied, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Prophets do not leave (property for) inheritance.' However, I myself provide for those whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) provided and give money to those to whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it in his collection, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Abū al-Walid al-Ṭayālīsī, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra. Al-Tirmidhī gave it with a full line of transmission and categorized it as being *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb*.

There is also the *ḥadīth* given by Imām Aḥmad, who stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from al-Walid b. Jumay', from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, Fāṭima sent the following message to Abū Bakr: 'Is it you who inherited from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or his family?' He replied, 'Not me, his family.' She then asked, 'So where is the share of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' Abū Bakr replied, 'I heard him say, "If God gives provision to a prophet then takes him away, He leaves that provision to whomever succeeds him." So I thought I should return it to the Muslims.' She responded, 'Then (do) as you (think) and heard from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl.

This *ḥadīth* is somewhat strange and objectionable. It may have been narrated in the sense that some sources understood it. These include some who love Shi'i tendencies; this should be known.

164. The descendants of 'Alī, that is.

The best aspect of this *ḥadīth* is her having said, "Then (do) as you (think) and heard from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." This is correct and what is to be expected of her, appropriate to her situation, her leadership role, her knowledge and her faith. May God be pleased with her!

It seems that it was after this that she asked him to appoint her husband manager of this charitable property, but he did not agree to that, as we have shown. And because of that she scolded him. She was a woman like all Adam's daughters, becoming upset as they all do; she is certainly not infallible, in light of the existence of a text from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and her opposition to Abū Bakr, "the trusting"; may God be pleased with her!

And we have narrated of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, that he did reconcile with Fāṭima and treated her kindly before her death, and this pleased her, may God be pleased with him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, quoting 'Abdān b. 'Uthmān al-'Atkī, of Nishapur, quoting Abū Jamra, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Sha'bi, who said, "When Fāṭima fell ill, Abū Bakr went and asked permission to visit with her. 'Alī said, 'Fāṭima, this is Abū Bakr. May he visit with you?' She asked, 'Do you wish me to give him permission?' 'Yes,' he replied.

"She permitted him to enter and he did so, in order to cheer her. He said, 'I swear by God, I have never left home, property, family and tribe unless to please God, His Messenger and all of you, his family!' He then reconciled with her so that she was content."

The line of transmission for this is excellent and strong. It is clear that 'Āmir al-Sha'bi heard it from 'Alī, or from someone who heard it directly from him.

The scholars who belong to the household of the Prophet (ṢAAS) acknowledge the soundness of Abū Bakr's decision in this matter.

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ informed him, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ismā'īl b. Ishāq al-Qāḍī, quoting Naṣr b. 'Alī, quoting Ibn Dā'ūd, from Fuḍayl b. Marzūq, who said, "Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib stated, 'For my part, if I had been in Abū Bakr's place, I would have reached the same decision he reached over (the property at) Fadak.'"

DIVISION

The *al-rāfiqūna*, "the rejectionists", have spoken foolishly in this regard, pretending knowledge they did not actually have. They lied about what they had no knowledge and were unable to interpret. They intruded themselves into issues not of their concern.

Some of them have tried to refute Abū Bakr's reported statement to which we have referred above by maintaining that it is contrary to the Qur'ān in which

God Almighty stated, "and Solomon was heir to David" (*sūrat al-Naml*; XXVII, 16), and also to where the Almighty quotes Zakariyya by saying, "so grant me from Yourself someone to be my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob's progeny. And make him, O Lord, pleasing (to You)" (*sūrat Maryam (Mary)*; XIX, v.5, 6).

Their quoting this as evidence is foolish from several viewpoints.

One is that in His words, "Solomon was heir to David" He was referring only to power and to prophethood, saying, in effect, "We have made him his successor in his exercise of power, management over his subjects and rule among the Israelites; We have made him a noble prophet like his father. Just as We combined kingship and prophethood in his father, so did we in his son after him."

This does not mean in inheritance of wealth. For, as is stated by many commentators, David had very many sons, said to number 100. And why, then, should the reference have been made to only Solomon of all these, if what was meant was inheritance of property? What was meant by inheritance was Solomon's assumption of the prophethood and power after David. This is why He stated, "and Solomon was heir to David". And He quoted Solomon as saying, "O my people! We have been taught the speech of birds, and we have been given (knowledge) of everything. This is assuredly manifest grace" (*sūrat al-Naml*; XXVII, v.16).

We have covered this issue fully and sufficiently in our work, *Tafsīr (Exegesis)*. And all praise and credit belong to God.

Regarding the story of Zakariyya, he was, may peace be upon him, one of the noble company of prophets. He considered this world of too little consequence for him to ask God for a son to inherit his property; why should he, indeed, when he was, as al-Bukhārī tells us, merely a carpenter, living off his earnings? Providing merely for his own sustenance, he had no savings to bequeath, for which to need to ask God for an heir. And even if he had had property, what he did ask for was actually a righteous son to inherit prophethood from him and to work for the benefit of Banū Isrā'īl and to lead them to righteousness. The Almighty therefore said, "*Kāf hā yā 'ayn sād*."¹⁶⁵ Mention of the mercy of Your Lord to His worshipper Zakariyya, when he called out to his Lord in a low voice, saying, 'O God, my bones are become weak, and my head shines with greyness! And, O Lord, I have never been tiresome in praying to You. I fear those who will come after my time. My wife has been barren, and so grant me from Yourself someone to be my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob's progeny. And make him, O Lord, pleasing (to You)'" (*sūrat Maryam (Mary)*; XIX, v.1-6). The words were, "my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob's progeny". By this he meant the prophethood, as we have affirmed in our work, *al-Tafsīr (Exegesis)*, and to God be all praise and credit.

165. A number of the *sūrat*, "chapters", of the Qur'ān, as here, are prefixed by letters that offer themselves to various interpretations. These are discussed in the standard works of exegesis to which the interested reader may make reference.

It is given hereabove in the account of Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, from Abū Bakr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Prophets do not leave (property) for inheritance." This is a comprehensive, all-inclusive reference encompassing all prophets. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan*. And in another *ḥadīth* he is quoted as saying, "We prophets do not leave (property for) inheritance."

Secondly, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was singled out from all the prophets with ordinances in which others do not participate with him; we will give a separate chapter on this at the end of this biography, if God so wills it. If it is supposed that prophets other than himself might leave property in inheritance – and that is not the case – then that would have been narrated in the information we have given from the Companions, including the "four *imāms*", Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, and this would have made clear his having been singled out from the others by this ordinance.¹⁶⁶

Thirdly, it is necessary to operate in accord with this *ḥadīth* and to reach judgement on its basis as the caliphs did, its veracity having been recognized by the scholars, whether or not they regarded this as a unique feature of (the Prophet). He did, indeed, state, "We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity."

It is possible, therefore, from the phrase used, that the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "What we leave will be for charity", represent information about his decision or that of the rest of the prophets, along with himself, in accord with the above; this seems apparent. It is also possible that the words constitute a testamentary statement, suggesting that he meant, "We will not leave (property for) inheritance, since all that we have left is for charity", his specific purpose being to affirm the validity of all his property being considered to be for charity.

The first of these possibilities is preferable and is that accepted by the majority. The second might be considered strengthened by what is given above in the *ḥadīth* of Mālik and others, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-Aʿraj, from Abū Hurayra, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "My heirs will not inherit a *dīnār* nor a *dirham*; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees is to be treated as a charity."

This wording is given in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. It refutes the distortions spoken by that foolish faction of the *shīʿa* who read the phrase as, "What we leave is (to be considered) as an inheritance", considering the negative particle *mā* as a "*mā*, 'denying categorization'".¹⁶⁷ Yet how would this work with the first part of the *ḥadīth*, in which he stated, *lā nūraṭhu*, "we will not be inherited from".¹⁶⁸ and also this other *ḥadīth* saying, *mā taraktu baʿda nafaqati nisāʾi*.¹⁶⁹

166. That is, that he not leave property in inheritance.

167. A grammatical term; thus it would render the statement all-inclusive, meaning "whatever", instead of "not".

168. Translated above as: "our property is not to be inherited".

169. Translated above as: "whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives . . ."

And is this anything but similar to what is related of a certain *mu'tazilī*¹⁷⁰ who recited to an orthodox sheikh the words, "And God spoke to Moses, using words" (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.164), with the word Allāh in the accusative case. To which the *sheikh* commented, "Confound you! How will you, in keeping with the above reading, be able to distort the following words of the Almighty, 'And when Moses came at our appointed time and his Lord spoke to him.'" (*sūrat al-A'raf*; VII, v.143).

The outcome is that application must be given to the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), "We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we will leave will be for charity", to the full extent that phraseology and meaning allow. It is a statement that makes specific the general tenor of the verse relating to inheritance and excludes the Prophet (ṢAAS), either alone or along with his brother prophets, may God's peace and blessings be upon them all.

Chapter: An Account of the wives and children, may God be pleased with them all, of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

God Almighty stated, "Wives of the Prophet, you are not like any other women, provided you remain conscious of God. Hence be not alluring in your speech, lest those men with sickness in their hearts be attracted. Speak with politeness. Remain in your homes and do not display yourselves as women did in the days of ignorance. Perform the prayers, pay the alms and obey God and His Messenger. God wishes only to preserve you from what is vile, you family members of the household, and to keep you thoroughly pure. And remember those verses and the wisdom from God that are revealed in your homes. God is kind and knowledgeable" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.32-4).

There is no dispute over the fact that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, he left nine widows. These were 'Ā'isha al-Taymiyya, daughter of Abū Bakr, "the trusting"; Hafṣa al-'Adawiyya, daughter of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Umm Ḥabība Ramla al-Umawiyya, daughter of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya; Zaynab al-Asadiyya, daughter of Jahsh; Umm Salama Hind al-Makhzūmiyya, daughter of Abū Umayya; Maymūna al-Hilāliyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith; Sawda al-'Āmiriyya, daughter of Zam'ā; Juwayriyya al-Muṣṭaliqiyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār; and Ṣafiyya al-Naḍariyya al-Isrā'īliyya al-Hārūniyya, daughter of Huyayy b. Akḥṭab. May God be pleased with them and give them pleasure.

He also had two wives donated to him. The first of these were Māriyya al-Qubṭiyya al-Miṣriyya, from Kawrat Anṣinā', who was the mother of his son

170. The *mu'tazila* movement seems to have initially encompassed those who *'azalū*, "remained neutral or uncommitted", in the dispute over the succession in AH 35 of 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. Later the word became applied to a theological movement centred in Basra that differed essentially with the *sunni* orthodox community over the specifics of sin and disbelief. See article in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Ibrāhīm, upon whom be peace. The second was Rayḥāna al-Quraẓiyya, daughter of Shamʿūn; she accepted Islam and he manumitted her. She then rejoined her family. Some claim that she remained in seclusion among them. But God knows best.

We will proceed to give detailed information on them, drawing upon statements made by the *imāms*, may God have mercy upon them.

The great *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī narrated, through Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married fifteen women. He consummated marriage with thirteen of these and eleven lived with him. He died leaving nine widows."

He went on to name those nine, as we have done; may God be pleased with them all.

Sayf b. ʿUmar narrated this from Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas. Buḥayr b. Kathīr narrated it from Qatāda from Anas. The first line is more (likely to be) authentic. Sayf b. ʿUmar al-Tamīmī narrated it from Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas, as also did Ibn ʿAbbās.

Sayf narrated it similarly from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Mulayka, from ʿĀʾisha who said, "The two women with whom he did not consummate his marriage were ʿAmra, daughter of Yazīd al-Ghifāriyya and al-Shanbāʾ. He was alone with ʿAmra, but when he undressed her he saw leprosy on her. He therefore sent her away, providing her with a dowry and she was prohibited from contact with other men. Al-Shanbāʾ, when brought in to him, was not receptive and he left her, waiting for her to become so. However, when his son Ibrāhīm died shortly thereafter, she commented, 'If he were a prophet, his son would not have died!' And so he divorced her, provided a dowry for her and she was prohibited from other men."

ʿĀʾisha went on, "The women who were in his household were: ʿĀʾisha; Sawda; Ḥafṣa; Umm Salama; Umm Ḥabība; Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh; Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma; Juwayriyya; Ṣafiyya; Maymūna and Umm Sharik."

I note that in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī, it is stated from Anas that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go to his wives in sequence and that they totalled eleven wives.

It is well established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not consummate his marriage to Umm Sharik, as will be explained. The mention above of him attending his wives in sequence and their being eleven women in number was the total of the nine women named above and the two women gifted to him, Māriyya and Rayḥāna.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī narrated this from al-Ḥajjāj b. Abū Manīʿ, from his grandfather ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Ziyād al-Raṣāfi, from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bukhārī gave it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection with a full line of transmission from this same al-Ḥajjāj.

The *ḥāfiẓ* b. 'Asākir gave this in part, also attributing it to him, to the effect that the first wife the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), married was Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy, and that she was married to him by her father prior to his having received his prophetic mission.

In one account, al-Zuhri stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 21 years of age when he married Khadija; it is also said that he was 25 and that the marriage took place around the time that the *ka'ba* was being reconstructed."

Al-Wāqidī added to this, "And she was 45 years old."

Other scholars state that his age at that time was 30. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām is quoted as having said, "The age of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 25 years of age the day he married Khadija, and she was 40."

Ibn 'Abbās is quoted as having said that she was 28 years old. Ibn 'Asākir gives both these accounts.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "(At that time) the Prophet (ṢAAS) was 37 years old. To him were born al-Qāsim, by whose name he was commonly known, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭima."

I note that she was the mother of all his children, except for Ibrāhīm, who was born to Māriyya, as will be explained hereafter.

Ibn Jarīr went on to speak about each of the daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and those who married them. His conclusion was that Zaynab was married by al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabi' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf, who was Khadija's nephew. His mother was Hāla, daughter of Khuwaylid. To him she bore a son named 'Alī and a daughter named Umāma. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib married her following the death of Fāṭima. He died while still married to her. After his death, she married al-Mughīra b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

(Ibn Jarīr went on) "Ruqayya was married to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. She bore him a son, 'Abd Allāh; 'Uthmān was first known by this son's name and later by his son 'Amr. Ruqayya died while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at the battle of Badr. When Zayd b. Ḥāritha returned with the news (of the victory) he found them levelling the earth over her grave. 'Uthmān had remained with her, nursing her, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded him his payment and share of the booty. He then married 'Uthmān to his other daughter Umm Kulthūm. This is why 'Uthmān is known as 'he who possessed the two lights'. She died, also while living with 'Uthmān, during the life of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Fāṭima was married by her cousin 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He consummated his marriage to her following the battle of Badr, as we recounted above. She bore him Ḥasan, by whom he was known, and Ḥusayn who was martyred in 'Irāq."

I note that he was also named "Muḥsin".

(Ibn Jarīr went on) "Then there were Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm. This Zaynab was married by her cousin, 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far. She bore him 'Alī and

ʿAwn and died while living with ʿAbd Allāh. Umm Kulthūm was married by the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. She bore him Zayd; ʿUmar died while still married to her. After him she married the sons of her uncle Jaʿfar, one after the other. First she married ʿAwn b. Jaʿfar, and he died. His brother Muḥammad then married her and he too died. Then the brother of both these men, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, married her, and she died while still married to him.”

Al-Zuhri stated, “Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, had been married prior to her marriage to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to two men. The first of these was ʿAtiq b. ʿĀʾidh b. Makhzūm. To him she bore Jariyya, the mother of Muḥammad b. Sayfi. The second was Abū Hāla al-Taymi; to him she bore Hind b. Hind.”

Ibn Ishāq gave his name and went on, “After the death of ʿĀʾidh Abū Hāla, she married al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra, a man of Banū ʿAmr b. Tamīm, an ally of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār. To him she bore one boy and one girl, and he died. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married her, and to him she bore his four daughters and after them his sons al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir. All the boys died while still suckling.”

I note that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not marry another woman while she was still alive.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated it thus from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, as above.

We have referred above in the appropriate place to her marriage, and have also made reference to her virtues, with the evidences thereto.

Al-Zuhri went on, “Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after Khadija, married ʿĀʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Quḥāfan ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾāyy b. Ghālib b. Fihri b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna; she was the only virgin he ever married.”

I note that she bore him no children. It is said, however, that she miscarried a child of his whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had named ʿAbd Allāh. And she was therefore named Umm ʿAbd Allāh. Others say, however, that she bore this name after the son of her sister Asmāʾ, his father being al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, may God be pleased with them all.

I also note that it is also said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Sawda prior to ʿĀʾisha; Ibn Ishāq and others stated this. We have mentioned above the dispute over this. God knows best.

I have described the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to both these women prior to the Hijra, and how he postponed the consummation of his marriage to ʿĀʾisha until after the Hijra.

(Al-Zuhri went on) “And he married Ḥafsa, daughter of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. She had previously been the wife of Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. ʿAdi b. Ḥudhāfa b. Sahm b. ʿAmr b. Huṣayṣ b. Kaʿb b. Luʾāyy. He died, a Muslim, while still married to her.

"Then he married Umm Salama Hind, daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. She had previously been the wife of her cousin Abū Salama 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.

"After that he married Sawda, daughter of Zam'a b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. She had previously been married to al-Sakrān b. 'Amr, the brother of Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams. He died as a Muslim while married to her after his and her return to Mecca from Abyssinia; may God be pleased with them both.

"He next married Umm Ḥabiba Ramla, daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣay. She had previously been married to 'Ubayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Rṣāb of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma. He died a Christian in Abyssinia. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to her 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī in Abyssinia to arrange his betrothal to her. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān conducted his marriage to her."

I note that this is what he stated; however, the correct name here should be 'Uthmān b. Abū al-Āṣ. The Negus awarded her a dowry on his behalf of 400 *dinārs* and dispatched her with Shurahbīl b. Ḥasana. We have narrated all this at length above – and to God be praise.

Al-Zuhri went on, "Then he married Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh b. Rṣāb b. Arad b. Khuzayma. Her mother was Umayma, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Zaynab had previously been the wife of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was the first of his wives to have joined him (after her death) and the first to have a grave monument constructed over her. Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, made this over her, having seen this done in Abyssinia.

"He next married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma. She was of Banū 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a. She was known as *umm al-masākin*, 'the mother of the unfortunate', and had previously been the wife of 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Rṣāb, who was killed at the battle of Uhūd. She lived only a short time with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before she died; may God be pleased with her."

Yūnus quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as having stated, "Prior to this she had also been married to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, or to his brother al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith."

Al-Zuhri went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also married Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, son of Bujayr b. al-Huzam b. Ru'aba b. 'Abd Allāh b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣaṣa'a. And it was she who offered herself in marriage."

I note that in fact he did ask for her in marriage. The matchmaker between them was Abū Rāfi', his freed-man, as we have narrated above in the section of the *'umrat al-qaḍā'*.

In his account, Sayf b. 'Umar stated that she had been the wife of 'Umayr b. 'Amr, a son of 'Aqda b. Thaqif b. 'Amr al-Thaqafi. He died while still married

to her. She then married Abū Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abū Qays b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy.

Sayf went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzāʿa at the battle of al-Muraysiʿ. He freed her, then married her. It is also said that her father al-Ḥārith, the leader of Khuzāʿa, came forward and accepted Islam and then married her to him. She had previously been married to her cousin Ṣafwān b. Abū Shufr."

Qatāda quoted from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, al-Shaʿbī, Muḥammad b. Ishāq and others as having stated, "This clan of Khuzāʿa had been allies of Abū Sufyān against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is why Ḥassān (b. Thābit) spoke the verse,

"The alliance of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār and that of Qurayza among you are the same."

In his account from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, Sayf b. ʿUmar stated that Ibn Abū Mulayka quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "Juwayriyya had been married to her cousin Mālik b. Ṣafwān b. Tawlab Dhū al-Shufr b. Abū al-Sarḥ b. Mālik b. al-Muṣṭaliq."

Sayf went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also took captive Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab, of Banū al-Naḍir, at Khaybar. She was then the bride of Kināna b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq."

In his account, Sayf b. ʿUmar maintained that prior to her marriage to Kināna she had been the wife of Sallām b. Mishkam. But God knows best.

Sayf concluded, "These, then, are the 11 women with whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated marriage."

During his caliphate, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb awarded 12,000 (*dirhams*) to each of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). However, he gave 6,000 to Juwayriyya and Ṣafiyya since they had been taken captive.

Al-Zuhri stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had kept both these women in seclusion and had provided for them."

I note that we have commented extensively above, in the appropriate places, on his marriages to each of these women, may God be pleased with them.

Al-Zuhri stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also married al-ʿĀliya, daughter of Zabyān b. ʿAmr, of Banū Bakr b. Kilāb, and that he consummated this marriage and divorced her.

Al-Bayhaqī commented, "It is thus stated in my book. And also, in an account from someone else, it is said that he did not consummate marriage with her but did divorce her."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd quoted Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Saʿīb al-Kalbī as having stated, "A man of Banū Bakr b. Kilāb related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married al-ʿĀliya, daughter of Zabyān b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb

b. 'Abd b. Abū Bakr b. Kilāb, and that she lived with him for a period and he then divorced her."

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān narrated from Ḥajjāj b. Abū Munī', from his grandfather, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "It was al-Daḥḥāk b. Sufyān al-Kilābī who pointed her out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); I was listening from behind the screen. He said, 'Messenger of God, do you find Umm Shabīb's sister attractive?' Umm Shabīb was the wife of al-Daḥḥāk."

Al-Zuhri stated on this subject, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage to a woman of Banū 'Amr b. Kilāb. Then he was told that she had leprosy and he divorced her without having consummated the marriage."

I comment that it is evident that this refers to the woman¹⁷¹ previously mentioned. But God knows best.

Al-Zuhri went on, "He also married a woman of Banū al-Jawn al-Kindi, allies of Banū Fazzāra. But she took refuge from him and he told her, 'You've indeed sought refuge with Someone mighty! Rejoin your family.' He divorced her without having consummated the marriage."

He went on, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also had in his household a bond-maid called Māriyya. A son was born to her named Ibrāhīm. He died when several months old.¹⁷² There was also a slave-born female named Rayḥāna, daughter of Sham'un, a Jew from Banū Khanāfa, a clan of Banū Qurayza. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted her. They say that she remained in seclusion thereafter."

The ḥāfiẓ Ibn 'Asākir narrated, giving a line of transmission from 'Alī b. Mujaḥid, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Khawlā, daughter of al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrat al-Taghlibi, whose mother was Kharnaq, daughter of Khalifa, daughter of Diḥya b. Khalifa. She was carried to him from Syria, and she died on the way.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Asmā', daughter of Ka'b al-Jawniyya, but he had not consummated the marriage with her by the time he divorced her. He also married 'Amra, daughter of Zayd, a woman of Banū Kilāb, from the sub-tribe of Banū al-Waḥīd. She had previously been married to al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) divorced her without having consummated marriage with her."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "These were the two women referred to by al-Zuhri, though he did not name them. However, Ibn Ishāq did not mention al-'Āliya."

Al-Bayhaqī also stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Zakariyyā' b. Abū Zā'ida, from al-Sha'bī, who said, "Various women gave themselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He consummated with some of these and with others

171. 'Amra, daughter of Yazīd al-Ghifāriyya, that is.

172. The translation is tentative. The Arabic is, *wa qad mala'a al-mahda*, "after he had filled the cradle".

he delayed, not approaching them before his death. They did not marry after him. These included Umm Sharik. This relates to the words of the Almighty, 'You may postpone whomever of them you wish, and you may take to yourself whomever you wish. (Should) you desire those you previously set aside, then no blame is yours'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.51).

Al-Bayhaqī stated that it was narrated to him from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, who quoted his father as having said, "Khawlā" – al-Ḥakīm's daughter, that is – "was one of those women who gave themselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī went on to state that it was narrated to him from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Rashīd al-Sāʿidī that the name of the woman of Banū al-Jawn who had sought refuge and whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent back to her family was Umayma, daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. Sharāḥīl.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghasīl, from Ḥamza b. Abū Usayd, quoting his father and from ʿAbbās b. Sahl, quoting his father, both of whom stated, "The Prophet (ṢAAS), accompanied by some of his Companions, passed by us, so we went off with him. We reached a garden called al-Shawṭ and proceeded in it until we came to two walls. We sat between them, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having told us to do so. He then went on inside; the woman of Banū al-Jawn, accompanied by her maid, had been brought to him (there) and left alone in a house belonging to Umayma, daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. Sharāḥīl. When he went in to the woman of Banū al-Jawn, he said to her, 'Give yourself to me!' But she answered, 'Should a queen give herself to a common person! I seek refuge with God from You!' He replied, 'You have gained refuge with Him who awards it!'

"He then came out to us and said, 'Abu Usayd, present two coats of armour to her and take her back to her family.'"

Someone other than Abū Aḥmad (sic) gave the wording as, "a woman of Banū al-Jawn named Umayma".

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghasīl, from Ḥamza b. Abū Usayd, from Abū Usayd, who said, "We went out in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and proceeded to a garden called al-Shawṭ. In it we reached two walls, between which we sat down; he had told us, 'Sit down here.' He then went on inside. The woman of Banū al-Jawn, accompanied by her nurse-maid, had been brought out to him (there) and had been given accommodations in a house belonging to Umayma, daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. Sharāḥīl. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to her, he asked her, 'Give yourself to me!' She replied, 'Should a queen give herself to a common person!' He brought down his hand upon her so that she would be pacified. She then said, 'I seek refuge in God from you!' He replied, 'You have gained refuge with Him who awards it!'

"He then came out to us and said, 'Abū Usayd, present two white lined dresses to her and take her back to her family.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that al-Husayn b. al-Walid said, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghasil, from 'Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa'd, from his father and from Abū Usayd, both of whom stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with Umayma, daughter of Sharāḥīl. When he went in to her, he stretched out his hand towards her, and she seems to have disliked that. He then told Abū Usayd to give her a trousseau and two white linen dresses."

Al-Bukhārī then gave this *ḥadīth* from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Wazīr, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥamza, from his father and from 'Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa'd, from his father.

Al-Bukhārī is the only author of compilations of the *aḥādīth* who gives these narratives.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that al-Ḥumaydī related to him, quoting al-Walid, quoting al-Awzā'ī, who said he asked al-Zuhri, "Which one of the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) sought refuge (with God) from him?" He replied, "Urwa quoted to me 'Ā'isha as having said that when the daughter of al-Jawn went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she said, 'I seek refuge with God from you!' And he replied, 'You have gained refuge with the Great One. Go and join your family.'"

Abū 'Abd Allāh went on to say that al-Ḥajjāj b. Abū Manī' narrated it from his grandfather, from al-Zuhri, who said that 'Urwa quoted 'Ā'isha as having said the same.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this narrative; Muslim does not.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "I saw in the book *al-Ma'rifā* of Ibn Manda that the name of the woman who sought refuge from him with God was Umayma, daughter of al-Nu'mān b. Sharāḥīl. Her name is also given as Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Her true name was Umayma. But God knows best."

They claim, moreover, that the name of the woman of Banū Kalb was 'Amra, and that she was described by her father as never becoming sick. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found her distasteful.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd narrated from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, from al-Zuhri, who said, "It was Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān, who sought refuge with God from him, and so he divorced her. She would collect animal droppings and say, 'How unfortunate I am!' He had contracted marriage with her in Dhū al-Qa'da of 8 AH. She died in 60 AH."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as having said that among the women with whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted but did not consummate marriage were Asmā' al-Jawniyya, daughter of Ka'b, and 'Amra, daughter of Yazid al-Kilābiyya. Ibn 'Abbās and Qatāda gave the name as Asmā', daughter of al-Nu'mān b. Abū al-Jawn. But God knows best.

Ibn 'Abbās stated that when the woman sought refuge from him with God, he came out angry. Al-Ash'ath told him, "Don't let that bother you, Messenger of

God. I have someone more beautiful for you." And he arranged his marriage with his own sister, Qatīla.

Others say that this incident occurred in the spring of 9 AH.

Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba quoted Qatāda as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married 15 women; he included Umm Sharīk al-Anṣāriyya al-Najjāriyya among these.

He (Qatāda) also said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'I like to marry *anṣār* women, but I hate their jealousy.'¹⁷³ And he did not consummate marriage with her."

He went on, "He also married Asmāʾ, daughter of al-Ṣalt, of Banū Ḥarām, of the clan of Banū Salīm, but he did not consummate with her. And he also became engaged to Ḥamza al-Mazaniyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith."

Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Naysābūrī stated, "Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage with 18 women.'

"Among these he mentioned Qatīla, daughter of Qays, sister of al-Ashʿath b. Qays. Some claim that he married her two months prior to his death. Others maintain that he married her during his illness. But she had not come to him, nor had he seen her, nor had he consummated marriage with her."

He went on, "Others claim that the Prophet (ṢAAS) left a testamentary statement that Qatīla be given a choice. If she wished, she could go into seclusion and be forbidden access to the Muslims, and if she wished, she could marry anyone she liked. She did choose to marry, and ʿIkrama b. Abū Jahl married her in Ḥaḍramawt. News of this reached Abū Bakr and he commented, 'I'm almost grinding my teeth in anger at them both!'

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, 'But she is not one of "the mothers of the Believers"'. He did not consummate marriage with her, nor was she placed in seclusion.'"

"Abū ʿUbayda stated that some people maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left no testamentary statement about her, that she apostatized after his death, and ʿUmar used her apostacy as argument against Abū Bakr by stating that she was not one of 'the mothers of the Believers'."

Ibn Manda stated that the woman who apostatized was al-Barṣāʾ, of Banū ʿAwf b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAsākir narrated through several lines, from Dāʿūd b. Abū Hind, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage to Qatīla, sister of al-Ashʿath b. Qays, but died before giving her a choice, and that God freed her from commitment to him.

Ḥammād b. Salama narrated, from Dāʿūd b. Abū Hind, from al-Shaʿbī, that Abū Bakr wanted to behead ʿIkrama b. Abū Jahl after his marriage to Qatīla. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, however, persuaded him against this, saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not consummated marriage with her, that she

173. The Arabic word used is *ghayra*; this also connotes pride and high self-esteem.

had apostatized with her brother, and had become disassociated from both God and His Prophet. He kept insisting on this until Abū Bakr gave up the issue.

Al-Ḥakīm stated that Abū 'Ubayda added to the number of wives given above Faṭīma, daughter of Shurayḥ, and Saba', daughter of Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamīyya.

Ibn 'Asākir narrated it similarly through Ibn Manda, giving a line of transmission from Qatāda.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd gave it similarly from Ibn al-Kalbī. Ibn Sa'd said, "She was Saba'".

Ibn 'Asākir stated that her full name was Saba', daughter of al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥāritha b. Hilāl b. Ḥarām b. Simāk b. 'Awf al-Sulamī.

Ibn Sa'd stated that Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī related to him, quoting al-'Arzamī, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) included Saba', daughter of Sufyān b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Abū Bakr b. Kilāb."

Ibn 'Umar sated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abū Usayd to arrange his marriage to a woman of Banū 'Āmir named 'Amra, daughter of Yazīd b. 'Ubayd b. Kilāb. He did contract marriage with her but then learned that she had leprosy and he divorced her."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd quoted al-Wāqidi as having stated that Abū Ma'shar related to him, saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Mulayka, daughter of Ka'b. She was reputed to be exceedingly beautiful. 'Ā'isha went in to visit her and asked, 'Are you not ashamed to be marrying the man who killed your father?' Mulayka then sought refuge with God from him and he divorced her.

"Her people then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, 'She is just young and of unsound judgement. And she has been deceived. Take her back.' But he refused. They then asked his permission for her to marry a close relative of hers of Banū 'Udhra, and he agreed.

"Her father had been killed by Khālīd b. al-Walīd at the conquest of Mecca."

Al-Wāqidi stated that 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jundu'ī related to him, from his father, from 'Aṭā' b. Yazīd, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated marriage with her in Ramaḍān of 8 AH; and she died while still married to him."

Al-Wāqidi went on, "Our colleagues deny that."

The *hāfiẓ* Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Asākir stated that Abū al-Faṭḥ Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Māḥānī informed him, quoting Shujā' b. 'Alī b. Shujā', quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Manda, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm al-Marwazī, quoting Abū al-Muwajjih Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-Muwajjih al-Fazzārī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting Yūnus b. Yazīd, from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad in Mecca. She had previously been married to 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh al-Makhzūmī. He next arranged marriage, in Mecca, to 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr. Then, in Medina, he married Ḥafsa, daughter of 'Umar. She had previously been married to Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa

al-Sahmī. Next he married Sawda, daughter of Zam'ā, who had previously been married to al-Sakrān b. 'Amr, a brother of Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. Then he married Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, who had previously been married to 'Ubayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī, of Banū Khuzayma. He next married Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, her given name being Hind. She had previously been married to Abū Salama 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. He then married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma al-Hilāliyya, also al-'Āliyya, daughter of Zabyān, of Banū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Kilāb. He married a woman of Banū al-Jawn of Kinda, and received as a captive Juwayriyya, in the expedition to al-Muraysī, in which Manāt were defeated. The latter was the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'a. He also received as a captive Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab, of Banū al-Naḍir. These two women were part of the booty God had granted him, having awarded both to him. He also received Māriyya, the Copt, as a tribute, and she bore him Ibrāhīm. He similarly received Rayḥāna of Banū Qurayza as a tribute; he set her free, and she rejoined her family with whom she remained in seclusion.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divorced al-'Āliyya, daughter of Zabyān. He separated from a woman of Banū 'Amr b. Kilāb, and also from a woman of Banū al-Jawn, of Kinda, because she had leprosy. Zaynab al-Hilāliyya, daughter of Khuzayma, died during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). We have also been told that al-'Āliyya, daughter of Zabyān, whom he divorced, married again before the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had been declared (by God) to be prohibited. She married a cousin, from her own people, and had children among them."

We have given this text in full because of the strangeness of his reference to the marriage of Sawda as having been in Medina. The truth is that this took place in Mecca, before the Hijra, as we have related above. Though God knows best.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as having stated, "Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, died three years before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the Hijra. He did not marry any other woman during her lifetime; she and Abū Ṭalib died the same year. After Khadija, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Sawda, daughter of Zam'ā. After Sawda, he married 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr. 'Ā'isha was the only virgin he married; he did not receive a child from her before he died. After 'Ā'isha, he married Ḥafṣa, daughter of 'Umar. Then he married Zaynab al-Hilāliyya, daughter of Khuzayma, (known as) *umm al-masākin*, 'the mother of the poor'. After her he married Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, and after her Umm Salama Hind, daughter of Abū Umayya. After her he married Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, and after her Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār. Then, after Juwayriyya, he married Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab. After Ṣafiyya he married Maymūna al-Hilāliyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith."

This sequence is preferable and more accurate than that listed by al-Zuhri. But God knows best.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Abū Yaḥyā, from Ḥumayd b. Zayd al-Ṭā'ī, from Sahl b. Zayd al-Anṣārī, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arranged his marriage to a woman of Banū Ghifār. He went in to her and he told her to undress, and she did so. He then saw a white spot of leprosy at her breasts and so kept away from her. He then told her, 'Take your clothes and rejoin your family.' He paid her her dowry in full."

Abū Nu'aym narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥumayyil b. Zayd, from Sahl b. Zayd al-Anṣārī, someone who had seen the Prophet (ṢAAS). He stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married a woman of Banū Ghifār", and he proceeded to narrate as above.

I note that Umm Sharīk al-Azdiyya was among those women with whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) contracted marriage but did not consummate.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "It is well established that she was of Banū Daws, though some say of the *anṣār*. Others name her as of Banū 'Āmir, and that her name was Khawlā, daughter of Ḥakīm al-Sulamī."

Al-Wāqidi stated that her name was Ghaziyya, daughter of Jābir b. Ḥakīm.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq quoted Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm, from Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, as having stated that his father said, "The total number of women the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married was 15. These included Umm Sharīk al-Anṣāriyya; she gave herself to the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Sa'īd b. Abū 'Arūba quoted Qatāda as having stated, "He married Umm Sharīk al-Anṣāriyya of Banū al-Najjār. And he said, 'I love to marry *anṣārī* women, though I hate their *ghayra*, "jealousy".' And he did not consummate marriage with her."

Ibn Ishāq stated, from Ḥakīm, from Muḥammad b. 'Alī, from his father, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Laylā al-Anṣāriyya, daughter of al-Khaṭīm; she was very jealous. She feared for herself from him and asked his permission to be released. And so he did release her."

WOMEN TO WHOM THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) BECAME ENGAGED BUT DID NOT ULTIMATELY MARRY.

Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid stated, from al-Sha'bi, that Umm Hānī, Fākhita, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proposed marriage to her. She told him that she had young children and he then left her, saying, "The best women are those who ride camels and righteous women of Quraysh. They are those most kind to their children when young, and those most careful with their husband's property."

'Abd al-Razzāq stated, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who quoted Abū Hurayra as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proposed marriage to Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, and that she replied, "Messenger of God, I am too old and I have young children."

Al-Tirmidhī stated that 'Abd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, quoting Isrā'īl, from al-Suddī, from Abū Ṣālih, from Umm Hānī,

daughter of Abū Ṭalib, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proposed marriage to me, but I asked to be excused and he did excuse me. God then revealed, 'We have made lawful to you your wives to whom you have given dowries, as well as those women in your power whom God has awarded you as spoils of war, along with the daughters of your paternal uncle and the daughters of your paternal aunts and the daughters of your maternal uncle and the daughters of your maternal aunts who went into exile with you' (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v. 50). I was not made lawful for him, because I had not gone into exile; I was one of those women divorced."

Al-Tirmidhī went on to state, "This *ḥadīth* is *ḥasan*. We know it only from the *ḥadīth* of al-Suddī."

This (interpretation) requires that women who had not gone into exile were not permitted to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The Qādī al-Mawardī has absolutely refuted that view in his exegesis, according to various scholars. It is said that the phrase, "who went into exile with you" refers to those women closely related to him to whom reference was made.

Qatāda stated that this phrase means, "those who accepted Islam with you". Under this interpretation only unbelieving women would be prohibited to him while all Muslim women would have been permitted. This does not rule out (the possibility) for him to marry *anṣār* women. However, he did not in reality consummate with any single one of them.

Regarding the account given by al-Mawardī from al-Shaʿbī that Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma, "the mother of the poor", was a woman of the *anṣār*, this is not correct. She was indisputably of Banū Hilāl, as we have explained above. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd narrated, from Hishām b. al-Kalbī, from his father, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Laylā, daughter of al-Khaṭīm, came up to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he had his back turned towards the sun and tapped him on the shoulder. He exclaimed, 'Who is that? May the Black One devour you!' She replied, 'I am the daughter of him who feeds the birds and outpaces the wind. I am Laylā, daughter of al-Khaṭīm. I have come to you to present myself to you. Will you marry me?' 'Consider it done,' he replied. She then returned to her people and said, 'I have arranged my marriage to the Messenger of God!' People told her, 'What you did was a mistake; you are a jealous woman and the Messenger of God is already master of women who are jealous about him. He will curse you to God. Seek your release.'

"So she went back and asked, 'Messenger of God, please release me.' He did so. Masʿūd b. Aws b. Sawād b. Zufr then married her and she bore him a child. One day, while she was washing herself in one of the gardens of Medina, a black wolf leapt at her and ate part of her, and so she died."

He also stated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Dabāʿa, daughter of ʿĀmir b. Qirṭ was the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judʿān who divorced her. Hishām b. al-Mughira then married her and she bore him Salama. She (Dabāʿa) was a well-built and beautiful

woman with abundant hair covering her body. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked her son Salama to accept his engagement to her. Salama asked, "(Will you wait) until I ask her permission?" He did ask her and she replied, "Do you have to ask permission when it's the Messenger of God!" When her son came back, he remained silent, not giving any answer; it seems that he felt her to be too old. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said nothing (more) about her.

He (Muḥammad b. Sa'd) also stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also became engaged to Ṣafiyya, daughter of Bashāma b. Naḍla al-ʿAnbarī. He had received her as war spoils. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her a choice, saying, 'If you wish, then myself; if you wish, then your husband.' She replied, 'My husband.' He then sent her away. Banū Tamīm cursed her."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd went on to say that al-Wāqidi informed him that Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī quoted his father as having said, "Umm Sharīk was a woman of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy who gave herself to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But he did not accept her. She never married."

He also stated that Wakīʿ informed him, from Sharīk, from Jābir, from al-Ḥakam, who quoted ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Umm Sharīk al-Dawsīyya.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "We are quite certain that she was from Daws b. al-Azd." Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, "Her name was Ghaziyya, daughter of Jābir b. Ḥakīm."

Al-Layth b. Sa'd stated, from Hishām b. Muḥammad, who quoted his father as having said that someone stated that Sharīk had presented herself to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and that she was a righteous woman.

Those to whom he became engaged but did not marry included Ḥamra, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwn b. Abū Ḥāritha al-Murri, whose father said there was something wrong with her – though there was not. When her father returned to her, she had contracted leprosy. She was the mother of Shabīb b. al-Barsāʿ, the poet.

Sa'd b. Abū ʿArūba mentioned this, quoting Qatāda.

He went on, "He also sought to be engaged to Ḥabība, daughter of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. But he discovered that her father was his foster-brother, both having been suckled by Thuwayba, Abū Lahab's freed-woman.

These, then are his wives. They were of three categories. One group consisted of women with whom he consummated marriage, and he died before their deaths. These were the nine who were mentioned initially. They were prohibited to others following his death. This was universally recognized to be required by the faith, and that their *ʿidda*¹⁷⁴ would last until the end of their lives. God Almighty had stated, "It is not for you to harm the Messenger of God, nor ever to marry his wives after him; that would be very serious to God" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.53).

174. The period prescribed for a woman to wait from the end of one marriage to the beginning of another.

Another category consists of those women with whom he consummated marriage but divorced during his lifetime. There is a question as to whether it would be permissible for them to remarry after the expiration of the (normal) period of their *ʿidda*. The scholars express two views. One rejects this, due to the all-inclusive nature of the verse we have mentioned. The second view considers their remarriage permissible, referring to the verse giving a choice. In it God stated, "O Prophet, say to your wives, 'If you desire the life of this world and its finery, then come! I will provide for you and grant you a pleasant release. But if you desire God and His Messenger and the abode of the After-life, then God has prepared a fine reward for those of you who do good'" (*sūrat al-Aḥzāb*; XXXIII, v.28, 29).

They stated, 'Unless it be permissible for someone else to marry them after his separation from them, then there would be no purpose in their having a choice between this world and the hereafter; if his separation from them did not permit them to marry others, there would have been no purpose in it for them.' This argument is strong: God alone knows best.

The third category of the women consists of those he married but divorced before consummating marriage with them. It was permitted for other men to marry them; I know of no dispute concerning this category.

Those women to whom he became engaged but did not actually contract marriage were entirely able to marry. A chapter will come later in the book *al-Khaṣāʾis* dealing with this subject. But God knows best.

Accounts of those persons awarded to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as tribute.

Two women were awarded to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as tribute. One of these was Māriya, the Copt, daughter of Shamʿūn. She was awarded to him by the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Minā. Along with her he also presented her sister Shirīn.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that he presented her as one of four girls. But God knows best.

Included was a eunuch slave named Mābūr, and a female mule called al-Duldul. The Prophet (ṢAAS) accepted his gifts and chose Māriya for himself. She was from an Egyptian village called Ḥafn, from the Kūra Anṣina region. During the period of his governorate (over Egypt) Muḥāwiya b. Abū Sufyān exempted this village from payment of the *kharaj*, "the land tax", in honour of her because she bore a male child, Ibrāhīm, upon whom be peace, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

They say that Māriya was beautiful and fair-skinned, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) admired and fell in love with her and that she enjoyed much favour with him. This was especially true after she bore him his son Ibrāhīm.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented her sister Shīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, to whom she bore his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

The eunuch slave Mābūr was allowed to enter the quarters of Māriya and Shīrīn without special permission, as had been his practice in Egypt. Some people, however, began making comments about Māriya because of that; they did not know that he was an eunuch until the fact was manifest, as we will explain shortly, if God so wills it.

The mule mentioned above was one the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would ride; it appears – though God knows best – that it was this donkey he rode at the battle of Ḥunayn. This donkey lived on to great age and was kept by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib during his rule. When 'Alī died it became owned by 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib. When it grew very old, barley was crushed for it to eat.

Abū Bakr b. Khuzayma stated that Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. 'Ubayd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from Bashīr b. al-Muhājir, from 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb, from his father, who said, "The leader of the Copts sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) two girls who were sisters, and a female mule that he would ride in Medina. He took for himself one of the two girls and she bore him his son Ibrāhīm; he gave away the other girl."

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. Abū Ṣa'ṣa'a related to him, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abu Ṣa'ṣa'a, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) very much admired Māriya; she was fair-skinned and beautiful and had curly hair. He lodged her and her sister with Umm Sulaym, daughter of Milḥān. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit them both there and it was there that they both accepted Islam. He consummated with Māriya since she was a slave, then moved her into a property he had at al-'Āliya that had belonged to Banū al-Naḍīr. He was there during the summer and at the time for the date harvest. He would go to her there. She was devout. He presented her sister Shīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

"Māriya bore to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a son whom he named Ibrāhīm. He sacrificed a sheep for him on the seventh day after the child's birth. He shaved his head and made a donation in silver to the poor to the weight of his hair that he thereafter had buried in the ground. He named the child Ibrāhīm. The midwife was Salmā, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She came out to see her husband Abū Rāfi' and told him that Māriya had given birth to a son. Abū Rāfi' went with the good news to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who gave him a necklace as a gift. The wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were already jealous (of Māriya) and this envy grew more intense after she bore him the son."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī narrated, from Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Ismā'īl, from Ziyād b. Ayyūb, from Sa'īd b. Zakariyyā' al-Madā'īnī, from Ibn Abū Sāra, from 'Ikrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When Māriya gave birth, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Her son has set her free!'"

Al-Dārquṭnī went on, “Ziyād b. Ayyūb is alone in giving this, and he is a reliable source.”

Ibn Māja narrated similarly from a *ḥadīth* of Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, and we have also narrated it from a different source.

We have devoted an individual and separate study to the issue of the sale of (slave) mothers (who bore their masters) children.¹⁷⁵ Therein we have given statements made by the scholars relating to this, relevant to eight narratives. We have given a full line of transmission to each narrative. And to God be all praise and credit.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, from his father, who quoted his grandfather ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib as having said, “People kept spreading rumours about Māriya, Ibrāhīm’s mother, and a Coptic cousin of hers who would visit her frequently. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Take this sword and go. If you find him with her, then kill him!’ I replied, ‘Messenger of God, I would do your bidding (directly) as on a fully secured road; nothing would divert me until I accomplished whatever you had ordered me to do. Or (should I be as) an eye-witness, seeing what the absent does not?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘Indeed yes; as an eye-witness who sees what the absent does not.’

“So off I went, wearing the sword, and I found him with her. I unsheathed the sword and when he saw me, he knew that I was after him. He went over to a palm tree and climbed it, then turned over on his back and drew up his legs. He had been made emasculated and completely smooth. There was absolutely no trace of a male member. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him. He said, ‘Praise be to God, who has diverted evil from the household members.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who stated that ‘Alī had said, “Messenger of God, when you dispatch me, should I be (proceeding directly) as on a fully secured road, or should I be as an eye-witness, seeing what the absent does not?” He replied, “As an eye-witness who sees what the absent does not.”

He narrated it thus, in abbreviated form. This, then is the origin for the account we have presented above; its line of transmission consists of authorities considered fully trustworthy.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Khalid al-Ḥarrānī related to him, quoting his father, quoting Ibn Lahī‘a, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb and ‘Aqīl, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, “When Māriya gave birth to Ibrāhīm, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seemed almost to begin having suspicions about him. Then Gabriel came down to him and said, ‘Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm!’”

175. It is not clear why Ibn Kathir sees relevance to this issue, since there is no suggestion of Māriya’s “sale” of her son.

Abū Nu'aym stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū Bakr b. Abū 'Aṣim, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Bāhili, quoting Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad, from a man he named who quoted al-Layth b. Sa'd, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said, "A king of the Byzantine patriarchs (sic) called al-Muqawqis presented a Coptic girl of royal descent named Māriya, along with a young male cousin of hers. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to see her one day when he would go to his private room and consummated with her. She became pregnant with Ibrāhīm.

"When her pregnancy became visible, I was much annoyed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said nothing. She did not produce milk, so he bought for her a ewe giving milk from which to feed the boy. His body grew strong and his colour was excellent and his complexion clear. One day she arrived carrying him on her shoulder. She asked, "'Ā'isha, how do you think the lad looks?' 'Neither I nor others see a resemblance,' I replied. She then asked, 'No comment about his flesh?' I replied, 'By my life, anyone fed on sheep's milk is going to have nice flesh!'"

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Māriya died in Muḥarram of 15 AH. 'Umar prayed over her and buried her in the al-Baqī' cemetery."

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ghassān al-Ghallābi said the same. Khalīfa, Abū 'Ubayda and Ya'qūb b. Sufyān all stated that she died in 16 AH. May God have mercy on her.

Included in this category of woman was Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, of Banū al-Naḍir, also said to have been of Banū Qurayza.

Al-Wāqidi stated, "Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, was of Banū al-Naḍir or, it is said, of Banū Qurayza."

Al-Wāqidi (also) stated, "Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, was of Banū al-Naḍir and had married within the tribe. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had taken her for himself as booty. She was beautiful. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proposed to her that she accept Islam, but she refused to be anything but Jewish. He then placed her in seclusion, being considerably annoyed. He sent a message to Ibn Sa'ya telling him of this and Ibn Sa'ya responded, 'May my father and mother be your ransom, I swear she will accept Islam!' He then went and told her, 'Don't follow your own people! You have seen what Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab brought them to! Accept Islam; and in this case the Messenger of God is to choose you for himself.'

"While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with his Companions, he heard the sound of slippers. He said, 'Those are the slippers of Ibn Sa'ya who is coming to tell me the good news of Rayḥāna accepting Islam.' He did come and said, 'Messenger of God, Rayḥāna has accepted Islam!' He was delighted at this."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) defeated Qurayza, he chose for himself Rayḥāna, daughter of 'Amr b. Khanāfa. She was with him until his death, at which time she was still within his domain. He had proposed Islam to her and to marry her, but she refused, accepting only Judaism."

Ibn Ishāq went on to narrate her acceptance of Islam, as above.

Al-Wāqidi stated that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sulaymān related to him, from Ayyūb b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ṣaṣa’a, from Ayyūb b. Bashīr al-Ma‘awī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent her to the house of Salmā Umm al-Mundhir, daughter of Qays. She remained there with her until she had fully menstruated and was cleansed of her menstruation. Umm al-Mundhir then went and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He went to Rayḥāna in Umm Mundhir’s house and said, ‘If you wish me to free you and to marry you, I will do so. If you wish to remain in my domain and for me to have intercourse with you by that right, then that I will do.’ She replied, ‘Messenger of God, it would be easier on you and on me for me to remain in your domain.’ And she remained in his domain, with him having intercourse with her, until she died.”

Al-Wāqidi stated that Ibn Abū Dhīḥb related to him, “I asked al-Zuhri about Rayḥāna, and he said, “She was a bond-maid whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had manumitted and then married. She remained in seclusion in her family and would say, ‘No one shall see me after the Messenger of God.’”

Al-Wāqidi went on, “This is, in our view, the most secure of the two *aḥādīth*. Her husband, prior to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was al-Ḥakam.”

Al-Wāqidi stated that ‘Āṣim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam related to him, from ‘Umar b. al-Ḥakam, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Khanāfa; she had been living with her husband who loved her and treated her honourably. She said, ‘I will never go to anyone after him.’ She was a beautiful woman. When Banū Qurayza were taken captive, the prisoners were paraded before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Rayḥāna said, ‘I was among those paraded before him; he gave orders, and I was placed aside. He had the practice of taking (booty for himself) on each occasion when there were war spoils. When I was placed aside, God selected me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to the home of Umm al-Mundhir, daughter of Qays for some days until after he had executed the prisoners and divided up the slaves. He then came to see me, and I turned aside from him in modesty. He called me to him and sat me down before him, saying, ‘If you choose God and His Messenger, the Messenger of God will choose you for himself.’ I replied, ‘I do choose God and His Messenger.’ When I accepted Islam, he manumitted me and married me, presenting as my dowry the weight (in silver) of 12 *awqiyya* and one *nash*,¹⁷⁶ the sum he customarily gave to his wives. The wedding was conducted in the home of Umm al-Mundhir. He provided me the same expenses as to his other wives and required me to wear the veil.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) admired her greatly and would give her anything she asked of him. People would tell her, ‘If you had asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for Banū Qurayza, he would have set them free.’ She would reply, ‘He was not alone with me until after he had divided up the slaves.’ He would spend time alone with her and desired her much. She remained with

176. The weight of 20 *dirhams*; approximately one half of one *awqiyya*.

him until her death following his return from the *ḥijjat al-wadā'*. He buried her at the al-Baqī' cemetery."

His marriage to her was in Muḥarram of 6 AH.

Ibn Wahb stated that Yūnus b. Yazīd quoted al-Zuhri as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received Rayḥāna as a captive from Banū Qurayza. He manumitted her and she rejoined her family."

Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā stated, "Rayḥāna was the daughter of Zayd b. Sham'un, of Banū Qurayza."

Some say that she was from Banū Qurayza and that she would be in one of the palm-groves reserved for charity, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would sometimes take a siesta with her there. He received her as a captive in Shawwāl of 4 AH.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama stated that Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām related to him, quoting Zuhayr, from Sa'īd, from Qatāda, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had two female slaves: Māriya, the Copt, and Rayḥa or Rayḥāna, daughter of Sham'un b. Zayd b. Khanāfa, of Banū 'Amr b. Qurayza. She had been married to a cousin of hers called 'Abd al-Ḥakam, so I have been told, and that she died before the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had in his domain four bond-maids. These were Māriya, the Copt, and Rayḥāna of Banū Qurayza. He also had another beautiful bond-maid whom his wives kept from him for fear that she would gain favour with him over themselves. He also had a valuable bond-maid presented to him by Zaynab. He had abandoned her, because of Ṣafīyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, for the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar. When the Rabi' al-Awwal came in which he died, he was pleased to go in to Zaynab and she told him, 'I don't know with what to reward you!' And she presented the girl to him."

Sayf b. 'Umar narrated, from Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted 'Ā'isha as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would sometimes share funds with Māriya and Rayḥāna, and at others he would leave them out.

Abū Nu'aym quoted Abū Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi as having stated, "Rayḥāna died in 10 AH; 'Umar prayed over her and buried her in al-Baqī'. And to God be praise."

INFORMATION CONCERNING HIS CHILDREN, MAY PRAYERS AND PEACE BE FOR THEM ALL.

There is no disagreement over all his children having been born to Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, with the exception of Ibrāhīm, who was born to Māriya, the Copt, daughter of Sham'un.

Muḥammad b. Sa'īd stated that Hishām b. al-Kalbī informed him, quoting his father, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The first son of the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was al-Qāsim. Then came, in succession, Zaynab, ʿAbd Allāh, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima and Ruqayya. Al-Qāsim died in Mecca; he was the first of his children to die. Then ʿAbd Allāh died. Al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī stated, 'His line had been severed, and so he was *abtar*, "cut off". And so God, the Almighty and Glorious, sent down, 'We have given abundance to you. And so pray to your Lord, and make sacrifice! It is your antagonist who is *abtar*, "cut off"'" (*sūrat al-Kawthar*, CVIII, v.1-3).

He went on, "Thereafter Māriya bore him Ibrāhīm in Medina, in Dhū al-Hijja, 8 AH. He died at the age of eighteen months."

Abū al-Faraj al-Muʿāfa b. Zakariyyā al-Juwayrī stated that ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Nāfiʿ related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. Bakkār, quoting Muḥammad b. Ziyād and al-Furāt b. al-Sāʾib, from Maymūn b. Mihrān, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Khadija bore the Prophet (ṢAAS) ʿAbd Allāh and after him there was a period without a child being born to him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one day talking to a man, while al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil looked on, a man asked him (al-ʿĀṣ), 'Who is that?' He (al-ʿĀṣ) replied, 'That is *al-abtar*.' Among Quraysh, if a man were to have a child and then there was a delay in the next birth, they would say, 'This man is *abtar*'. And so God sent down, 'It is your antagonist who is the *abtar*.' This implied, 'It is the one angering you who is "cut off" from all good.'"

He (Ibn ʿAbbās) went on, "Then she bore him Zaynab, Ruqayya, al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, al-Muṭṭahar, al-Ṭayyib, al-Muṭayyab, Umm Kulthūm and then Fāṭima, the youngest of them. When Khadija had a child, she would give it to someone to nurse. Only she, however, nursed Fāṭima."

Al-Haytham b. ʿAdī stated that Hishām b. ʿUrwa related to him, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) had two sons: al-Ṭāhir and al-Ṭayyib. One of them he also named ʿAbd Shams, the other ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā."

This is somewhat objectionable.¹⁷⁷ But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾidh stated, "Al-Walid b. Muslim informed me, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, that Khadija gave birth to al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, Muṭṭahar, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār quoted his uncle Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh as having said, "Khadija bore al-Qāsim and al-Ṭāhir, who was also called al-Ṭayyib. Al-Ṭāhir was born after the beginning of the prophethood. He died when young; ʿAbd Allāh was another name given him. Then were born Fāṭima, Zaynab, Ruqayya and Umm Kulthūm."

Al-Zubayr also stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, from Ibn Wahb, from Ibn Lahīʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, that Khadija gave birth to al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, al-Ṭayyib, ʿAbd Allāh, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Fāṭima, and Umm Kulthūm.

177. The second names referred to were, of course, common among the polytheists. They mean "worshipper of the sun" and "worshipper of (the goddess) al-ʿUzzā".

(He went on) "Muḥammad b. Faḍāla quoted to me a sheikh who had been a contemporary of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, 'Khadija bore al-Qāsim and 'Abd Allāh. Al-Qāsim lived until he could walk; 'Abd Allāh died while still small."

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār also stated, "In the *jāhiliyya* Khadija was known as 'al-Ṭāhira, daughter of Khuwaylid'. She bore to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) al-Qāsim, his elder son, by whose name he was himself known. After al-Qāsim came Zaynab and 'Abd Allāh, who was known as 'al-Ṭayyib', 'the good', and as al-Ṭāhir, 'the pure'. The latter was born after the commencement of the prophethood and died while small. Then she bore him, in order, his daughters Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima and Ruqayya. Al-Qāsim died in Mecca; he was the first of his children to die. And then 'Abd Allāh died.

"Later Māriya, daughter of Sham'un, bore him Ibrāhīm. She was a Copt; al-Muqawqis, Governor of Alexandria, had presented her, along with her sister Shirīn and a eunuch named Mābūr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave Shirīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and she bore him his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The line of Ḥassān b. Thābit died out."

Abū Bakr b. al-Barqī stated, "It is said that 'al-Ṭāhir' was 'al-Ṭayyib' and also 'Abd Allāh'. It is also said that al-Ṭayyib and al-Muṭayyab were twins, as also were al-Ṭāhir and al-Muṭahhar."

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ghassān stated, from Aḥmad b. Hanbal, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Mujāhid, who said, "Al-Qāsim, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), remained alive for seven days, then died."

Al-Mufaḍḍal went on, "This is an error; in fact, he lived for seventeen months."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym quoted Mujāhid as having said, "Al-Qāsim died when he was seven days old."

Al-Zuhri said that he was two years old. Qatāda stated that he lived until he could walk.

Hishām b. 'Urwa stated, "It was the Iraqis who invented reference to al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir. Our scholars say, (that his children were) 'Abd al-ʿUzzā, 'Abd Manāf, and al-Qāsim; the females were Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭima."

Thus also Ibn 'Asākir gave it and it is objectionable; what he denied is what is commonly accepted. He also left out any reference – which is obligatory – to Zaynab. But God knows best.

Regarding Zaynab, 'Abd al-Razzāq quoted Ibn Jurayj as having said, "Several people told me that Zaynab was the oldest of the daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Fāṭima was the youngest of them and the one he most favoured. Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabī' married Zaynab and she bore him 'Alī and Umāma. It was Umāma whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would carry during prayer. When he prostrated, he would put her down; when he stood up, he carried her."

Perhaps this was following the death of her mother, in 8 AH. This was what al-Wāqidī, Qatāda, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm and others stated. She seems to have been a small child at the time. But God knows best.

‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, may God be pleased with him, married her after the death of Fāṭima.

The death of Zaynab, may God be pleased with her, occurred in 8 AH. Qatāda stated this from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, from Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama and from others also. Qatāda also quoted Ibn Ḥazm as having stated that she died at the beginning of 8 AH.

Ḥammād b. Salama reported from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, that when Zaynab left on the Hijra, a man pushed her and she fell on a rock and had a miscarriage, remaining thereafter in pain until she died. People considered that she died a martyr.

Ruqayya was initially married by her cousin, ‘Utba b. Abū Lahab, whose brother ‘Utayba b. Abū Lahab married her own sister, Umm Kulthūm. Both men divorced the sisters, before consummating marriage with them, out of anger at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when God sent down, “May both hands of Abū Lahab perish and may he perish! His wealth and earnings will not avail him! He will burn in fire of flames, along with his wife, that bearer of fuel, around her neck a twisted rope!” (*sūrat al-Lahab*; CXI, v.1–5).

‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, may God be pleased with him, married Ruqayya, and she went into exile with him to Abyssinia; he is said to have been the first person to leave for there. Thereafter they both returned to Mecca, as we narrated above. They then went into exile to Medina. She bore him his son, ‘Abd Allāh, who lived on to age six. A cock pecked him in the eyes and he died. ‘Uthmān was initially named for him, and then later for his son ‘Amr.

She died after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had won victory at Badr, on the *yawm al-furqān*,¹⁷⁸ when the two forces clashed. When the messenger bearing the good news of the victory, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, that is, reached Medina, he found them levelling the soil over her grave. ‘Uthmān had remained with her nursing her, by orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter gave him his salary and his share of the booty. Following his return, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married ‘Uthmān to Ruqayya’s sister Umm Kulthūm. ‘Uthmān was therefore known as *dhū al-nūrayn*, “he who had the two lights”. Umm Kulthūm died in his quarters in Sha‘bān of 9 AH; she bore ‘Uthmān no children. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, “If I had had three daughters, I would have married them all to ‘Uthmān!” In one account he is quoted as having said, “If I had had ten daughters, I would have married them all to ‘Uthmān!”

Fāṭima was married to her cousin ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb in Ṣafar of 2 AH. She bore him al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and, it is also stated, Muḥsin; she also bore him Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab.

During his reign ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb married Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb and Fāṭima, treating her with extreme honour and respect. Because of her descent from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he awarded her 40,000 *dirhams*. She bore him a son, Zayd b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

178. See above, Vol. II, page 252 *et seq.*

Following the assassination of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, his cousin 'Awn b. Ja'far married Umm Kulthūm and he left her a widow. His brother Muḥammad then married her and also left her a widow. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, brother of both her previous two husbands, then married her and she died while still his wife. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far had previously been married to Umm Kulthūm's sister Zaynab, daughter of 'Alī, and she too had died while his wife. Fāṭima died six months after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), according to the most widely accepted accounts.

This authoritative information is given from 'Ā'isha in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; al-Zuhri and Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir also stated this.

According to al-Zuhri, her death came three months after that of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū al-Zubayr gave that period as two months. Abū Burayda stated, "She lived for seventy days and nights after him." 'Amr b. Dīnār stated, "She remained alive for eight months after him." 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith said the same. In an account from 'Amr b. Dīnār, the period of time is given as four months.

Ibrāhīm was born to Māriya al-Qibṭiyya, as stated above. His birth was in Dhū al-Ḥijja of 8 AH. It has been narrated from Ibn Lahī'a and others, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād as having said, "When she became pregnant with Ibrāhīm, Gabriel came to him and said, 'Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm! God has given you a son from Māriya, his mother, and He commands you to name him Ibrāhīm. He has blessed you in him, and has made him a source of delight for you in this world and the hereafter.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār narrated, from Muḥammad b. Miskīn, from 'Uthmān b. Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn Lahī'a, from 'Aqīl and Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, "When his son Ibrāhīm was born to the Prophet (ṢAAS), he had doubts about him. And so Gabriel came to him and said, 'Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm!'"

And Asbāt quoted al-Suddī – Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, that is – as having said, "I asked Anas b. Mālik as follows, 'What age did Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet (ṢAAS) attain?' He replied, 'He filled up his cradle. If he had remained alive, he would have been a prophet. However, he was not to be kept alive, for your Prophet (ṢAAS), was the last of the prophets.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Suddī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "If Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), had lived, he would have been *ṣiddīqan nabiyyan*, 'one fully trusting (in God) and a prophet'."

Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Manda stated that Muḥammad b. Sa'd and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Absī, quoting Minjāb, quoting Abū 'Āmir al-Asadī, quoting Sufyān, from al-Suddī, from Anas, who said, "Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), died while a child of 16 months. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Bury him in the al-Baqī' cemetery. He has a nursemaid who will complete suckling him in paradise.'"

Abū Yaʿqā stated that Abū Khaythama related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm, from Ayyūb, from ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, from Anas, who said, "I never saw any person more kind with children than the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ibrāhīm was being suckled in the heights of Medina. He would hurry off there, in our company. He would enter the house while Ibrāhīm was being fed. His wet nurse lived among us. He would take hold of him (Ibrāhīm) and kiss him, then leave."

ʿAmr said, "When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Ibrāhīm is my son; he died on the breast. He has two wet nurses who will complete his suckling in paradise.'"

Jarīr and Abū ʿAwāna narrated, from al-Aʿmash, from Muslim b. Ṣabīḥ Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died while a child of 16 months. he said, 'Bury him in al-Baqīʿ; he has a nursemaid in paradise.'"

Aḥmad narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Jābir, from ʿĀmir, from al-Barāʾ. Sufyān al-Thawrī narrated it thus from Firās, from al-Shaʿbi, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib similarly.

Al-Thawrī also narrated it from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ. Ibn ʿAsākir traced it through ʿAttāb b. Muḥammad b. Shawdhab, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, "Ibrāhīm died and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'The rest of his suckling will take place in paradise.'"

Abū Yaʿqā al-Mawṣilī stated that Zakariyyāʾ b. Yahyā al-Wāsiṭī related to him, quoting Hushaym, from Ismāʿīl, who said, "I asked Ibn Abū Awfā" – or "I heard him asked" – about Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He replied, 'He died while still young. If it had been decreed that there be a prophet after the Prophet (ṢAAS), he would certainly have lived.'"

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Ḥāfiz, quoting ʿUbayd b. Ibrāhīm al-Juʿfi, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Farāʾ, quoting Muṣʿab b. Salām, from Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī, from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'If Ibrāhīm had lived, he would have been a prophet.'"

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Samura, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadī, from Abū Shayba, from Anas, who said, "When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Do not wrap him in his shroud until I look at him.' He then came and leaned over him and wept so hard that his beard and his sides trembled."

I note that narratives from Abū Shayba are invalid.

He (Ibn ʿAsākir) proceeded to narrate from a *ḥadīth* of Muslim b. Khālīd al-Zanjī, from Ibn Khaytham, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Asmāʾ, daughter of Yazīd b. al-Sakn, who said, "When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wept and Abū Bakr and ʿUmar told him, 'You are the one most cognisant of God's right.' He replied, 'The eye weeps and the heart is sad. We will not speak what would anger the Lord. If it were not a matter of a sincere promise and a universal compact, and that the latter of us will follow the former, we would

grieve for you, Ibrāhīm, more severely than we have ever mourned before. We are deeply saddened for you, Ibrāhīm.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. ‘Āmir related to him, quoting Isrā’īl, from Jābir, from al-Sha’bī, from al-Barā’, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed over his son Ibrāhīm. He died at the age of 16 months. He said, ‘There are those in paradise who will complete his suckling, and he is *ṣiddīq*,¹⁷⁹ “innocent”, “righteous”.’”

It is also narrated from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam b. ‘Uyayna, from al-Sha’bī, from al-Barā’.

Abū Ya’qā stated that al-Qawāriri related to him, quoting Ismā’īl b. Abū Khālid, from Ibn Abū Awfā, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed over his son, and I prayed behind him. He spoke the words *Allāhu akbar!* ‘God is most Great!’ four times.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazid b. Rukāna, who said, “Ibrāhīm, son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died while a child of 18 months, and he did not pray over him.”

Ibn ‘Asākir narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-Farwī, from ‘Isā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted ‘Alī as having said that when Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died he sent ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb to his mother, Māriya, the Copt, who was in an upper chamber. ‘Alī carried him out in a basket, placing him before himself on his horse, and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He washed him and wrapped him in his shroud, then carried him out to the people. He buried him in the alley adjoining the house of Muḥammad b. Zayd. ‘Alī went into his grave, smoothed (the soil) over him and buried him. He then emerged and sprinkled water over his grave. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his hand in his grave and said, “I swear by God, he was a prophet and the son of a prophet.” And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wept, as did the Muslims around him. The sound they all made arose above them.

‘Alī then quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, “The eye weeps and the heart is sad. We will not speak what would anger the Lord. We are deeply saddened for you, Ibrāhīm.”

Al-Wāqidi stated, “Ibrāhīm, son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died on Tuesday the 10th of Rabi‘ al-Awwal, 10 AH. He was 18 months old. He had been living among Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, in the home of Umm Barza, daughter of al-Mundhir. He was buried in the al-Baqi‘ cemetery.”

I note that I have stated above that the sun was eclipsed on the day of his death. People said, “It has eclipsed at the death of Ibrāhīm!” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a public address in which he said, “The sun and the moon

179. This epithet is translated throughout this text, when applied to Abū Bakr, as “trusting”. However, in this context the word, that has implications of sincerity and trustworthiness, has to be appropriate for application to a small child.

are two signs of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. Neither of them are eclipsed at either the death or the life of anyone.”

Chapter: Material concerning the slaves, male and female, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his servants, scribes and clerks.

These are arranged in alphabetical order of their names, and some information given about them is included.

The following constitutes in large part all material related about them.

They included Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha Abū Zayd al-Kalbī. He was also known as Abū Yazīd and as Abū Muḥammad. He was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the son of his freed-man; he was his intimate friend and the son of his intimate friend. His mother was Umm Ayman, her given name being Baraka. She was the nursemaid of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in his infancy, and one of those who believed in him early after his receipt of his mission.

In the final days of his life, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Usāma a commander of an expeditionary force. His age at that time was some 18 or 19. At the time of the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), he was commander of a large army that included ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and, it is said, Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, as well; this, however, is unlikely, since the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had appointed Abū Bakr to the *Imāmate*.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, the army of Usāma was encamped at al-Jurf, as we have narrated above. Abū Bakr requested Usāma to release ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb so that he could remain in Medina with him to give him the benefit of his counsel. Usāma did release him. Abū Bakr reaffirmed the commission of ‘Usāma’s army after many of the Companions had changed their minds about it. He rejected their view, saying, “I will not, by God, take down a flag mounted by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!”

And so they proceeded forth as far as the borders of al-Balqā’ in Syria, where his father Zayd, Ja’far b. Abū Ṭālib and ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with them all, had been killed. He attacked that territory, acquired booty and prisoners and then returned home safe and sound. This is why ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, never failed to address him with the words, “Peace be upon you, commander!”

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awarded him the commander’s banner, some people complained at his having been placed in charge. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore made an address in which he said, “For you to complain about his being in charge would be tantamount to your complaining at his father’s having been given command previously. I swear by God, he was fully worthy of the command and this man, after him, has my extremely high regard.”

This is included in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, from Ṣālim, from his father.

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that Usāma, may God be pleased with him, said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take me and al-Ḥasan (in his lap) and say, 'O God, I love these two; may You love them both.'"

From al-Shaʿbī, ʿĀʾisha is quoted as having said, "Let whoever loves God and His Messenger love Usāma b. Zayd."

Therefore, when ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb set the salaries in the *diwān* system, he assigned 5,000 (*dirhams*) for Usāma, while he gave his own son ʿAbd Allāh 4,000. He was asked about this (by ʿAbd Allāh) and replied, "He was more highly favoured by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than you were; and his father was more highly favoured than your own!"

ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, from Usāma, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set him behind himself on his donkey, on a piece of cloth, when he went to visit Saʿd b. ʿUbāda prior to the battle of Badr.

I note that he mounted him similarly behind himself on his camel when he set out from ʿArafāt to al-Muzdalifa, as we have noted above in the account of the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ*.

Several sources state that Usāma, may God be pleased with him, did not participate with ʿAlī in any of the battles. And it was he who apologized to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when the latter asked him, after he had killed the man even after he had spoken the *shahāda*, "Who will protect you at Judgement Day, from the utterance, 'There is no god but God'? Did you not kill him after he said, 'There is no god but God'?" And so on, to the completion of the *ḥadīth*.

There are many references to his virtues. He was as black as night and flat-nosed. He was sweet-tempered and good-looking, tall, eloquent, knowledgeable and masterly. May God be pleased with him.

His father had similar qualities, except for being extremely pale-skinned. For this reason certain ignorant people express suspicions about Usāma's parentage. On one occasion Mujazziz al-Mudliji¹⁸⁰ passed by them when they were both lying asleep in an outer wrap, their feet being visible – Usāma's being black, and his father's white. Mujazziz exclaimed, "Glory be to God! These feet are of the same lineage!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was most impressed by this comment and went in to see ʿĀʾisha, beaming with delight. He said, "Would you believe that Mujazziz has just looked at Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Usāma b. Zayd and commented, 'These feet are of the same lineage!'"

Because of this *ḥadīth* and the decision reached and its acceptance, scholars of the traditions such as al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad give credence to such *qāfa* in resolving questions involving mixed lineage, as is established in the appropriate place (in the texts).

It is firmly established by Abū ʿUmar that Usāma died in 54 AH. Others, however, give that date as 58 or 59 AH. It is also said that he died after the

180. He was a *qāʾif* (plural *qāfa*), one skilled in determining lineage from observation of similarities in physical attributes.

assassination of ʿUthmān, but God knows best. All compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections include in their books statements attributed to him.

Also there was Aslam, otherwise called “Ibrāhīm”, “Thābit” and “Hurmuz” Abū Rāfiʿ al-Qubṭī. He accepted Islam before Badr, but was not present there because he was in Mecca with his masters of the al-ʿAbbās family. He used to strike flint-iron; the story of his dealings with the foul Abū Lahab when news came of the battle of Badr is given above;¹⁸¹ and to God be praise.

He then went on the Hijra and took part in the battle of Uḥud and its aftermath. He was a scribe and wrote for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb at al-Kūfa. It was al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ghassān al-Ghallabī who stated this. He was present at the conquest of Egypt during the rule of ʿUmar.

First he belonged to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who presented him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter manumitted him and married him to his own freed-woman Salmā. Children were born to him and he would be in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar and Bahz stated, “Shuʿba narrated to us, from al-Ḥakam, from Ibn Abū Rāfiʿ, from Abū Rāfiʿ, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent a man of Banū Makhzūm to take charge of the *ṣadaqa*, ‘the charity funds’. The man said to Abū Rāfiʿ, ‘Come along with me, and you will get some of it.’ ‘No!’ replied Abū Rāfiʿ. ‘Not until I go to the Messenger of God and ask him.’ And so he did go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he replied, ‘Charity funds are not permitted for us; the freed-man of a family is one of them (in this regard).’”

Al-Thawri narrated it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam. Abū Yaʿlā narrated it in his *musnad ḥadīth* collection, also from Abū Rāfiʿ, that they suffered from extreme cold at the battle of Khaybar. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Whoever has a blanket should share it with those who do not have one.”

Abū Rāfiʿ went on, “I could not find anyone to share their blanket with me. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he threw his coverlet over me. We slept until morning. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found a snake at his feet and he said, ‘Abū Rāfiʿ! Kill it! Kill it!’”

All the compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections included narrations from him. He died during the reign of ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him.

Another slave was Ansa b. Ziyād Abū Mishraḥ, also known as Abū Misraḥ. He was of mixed lineage and from al-Sarrāt. He was a *muhājirī* and participated at the battle of Badr, according to ʿUrwa, al-Zuhri, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Muḥammad b. Ishāq, al-Bukhārī and others. They stated, “He was one of those who would allow access to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he held a meeting.”

Khalifa b. Khayyāt narrated in his book, “Alī b. Muḥammad stated, from ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Abū Thābit, from Daʿūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn

181. See Vol. II, pages 321–2.

‘Abbās, who said, ‘Anasa, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was martyred at Badr.’”

Al-Wāqidi stated, “In our view, that is not fully established. I have seen some scholars also assert that he witnessed the battle of Uḥud and lived on for some time thereafter, dying during the lifetime of Abū Bakr, during his caliphate.”

They also included Ayman b. ‘Ubayd b. Zayd al-Ḥabashī. Ibn Manda traced his lineage to ‘Awf b. al-Khazraj; this, however, is controversial.

He was the son of Umm Ayman Baraka, brother of Usāma on his mother’s side.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “He was in charge of the ablution vessel used by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was one of those men who stood firm at the battle of Ḥunayn. And it is said that it was about him and his companions that the words of the Almighty, “and he who hopes to meet his Lord should do good works, and not associate any other (god) with the worship of his Lord” (*sūrat al-Kahf*; XVIII, v.110).

Al-Shāfi‘ī stated that Ayman was killed while with the Prophet (ṢAAS), at the battle of Ḥunayn.

He also stated that the account quoting him narrated by Mujaḥid was *munqaṭi‘*, “incomplete in its line”. By this he was referring to what was narrated by al-Thawrī, from Manṣūr, from Mujaḥid, from ‘Aṭā’, from Ayman al-Ḥabashī, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) only sentenced to amputation a person who had stolen a shield; the value of a shield at that time was one *dīnār*.”

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī narrated this in his *Muṣjam al-Ṣaḥāba*, quoting Hārūn b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Aswad b. ‘Āmir, from al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, from Manṣūr, from al-Ḥakam, from Mujaḥid and ‘Aṭā’, from Ayman, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in similar words.

This *ḥadīth*, if it has not been forged, requires Ayman to have died after the Prophet (ṢAAS). It may well be that the attribution should have been to someone other than him.

The majority of scholars, including Ibn Ishāq and others, include him among those of the Companions killed at the battle of Ḥunayn. But God knows best.

A story is recounted of an incident involving his son al-Ḥajjāj b. Ayman and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar.

Also there was Bādhān; reference to him will be included in the life of Ṭahmān, to follow.

They also include Thawbān b. Bujdud, also known as Ibn Jaḥdar Abū ‘Abd Allāh, as Abū ‘Abd al-Karīm and as Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

His parentage was among the people of al-Sarrāt, a place between Mecca and Yemen; alternatively, he is said to be descended from the Ḥimyar people of Yemen, or from al-Hān. He is also said to be of the line of Ḥakam b. Sa‘d al-‘Ashīra of Madhḥij, and to have been taken captive in the *jāhiliyya* period. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased him, then manumitted him and gave him the choice between returning to his own people or remaining one of the household. He remained loyal to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until his death, attending him constantly, whether at home or travelling.

He took part in the conquest of Egypt during the rule of ʿUmar and thereafter resided at Ḥims, where he built a house. He remained there until he died, in 54 AH. This date is also given, mistakenly, as 44 AH. It is said that he died in Egypt, but the fact is that it was in Ḥims, as stated above. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī gives a tradition from him in the chapter *Kitāb al-ʿAdab* ("Book on Manners") of his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. Muslim also includes him in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, as do the other *ahl al-sunan ḥadīth* compilations.

Also there was Ḥunayn, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS); he was the grandfather of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥunayn.

We have narrated how he served the Prophet (ṢAAS), and helped him with the ablution. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) had finished, Ḥunayn would take the remainder of the ablution water to the Companions. Some of these would drink from it, while others wiped themselves with it. Ḥunayn would also retain it and keep it in a jar. Eventually they complained about him to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who asked him, "What are you doing with it?" He replied, "I save it up and drink it, Messenger of God." The latter commented, "Have you ever seen a slave store away what this one does!"

Ultimately the Prophet (ṢAAS) presented him to his uncle al-ʿAbbās, who manumitted him; may God be pleased with them both.

They also include Dhakwān; reference to him will be made in relation to the life of Ṭahmān, hereafter.

Also there was Rāfiʿ, or Abū Rāfiʿ, also known as Abū al-Bahī.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama stated, "He belonged to Abū Uḥayḥa Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ the elder. His sons inherited him. Three of them manumitted those they had as their share of the inheritance and he was present with them at Badr, at which battle all three were killed.¹⁸² Then Abū Rafiʿ purchased the remaining freed-men from the sons of Saʿīd, except for the share of Khālīd b. Saʿīd. Khālīd gave his share to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he accepted him, then manumitted him. He used to say, "I am the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)," and his sons after him would also say this of him.

They include Rabāḥ al-Aswad, who would grant access to visit the Prophet (ṢAAS). It was he who took permission to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to enter in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was in that upper room, that day he had turned away from his wives, secluding himself alone there from them.

He is thus quoted in the *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrama b. ʿAmmār, from Simāk b. al-Walīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakīʿ related to him, quoting ʿIkrama b. ʿAmmār, from Iyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a slave named Rabāḥ."

Of them also was Ruwayfiʿ, his freed-man. Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī included him among the freedmen, as did Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama. They

182. Their names, however, do not appear in the list of the participants at Badr, as compiled by Ibn Kathīr.

both stated, "His son went to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, during the latter's rule, who gave him an appointment. He left no offspring."

I note that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, may God have mercy on him, was very solicitous of the freed-men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He wished to know them and to grant them favours. During his rule he wrote to Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, the leading scholar of Medīna during his time, asking him to search for the freed-men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), including the freed-women, and his servants.

It was al-Wāqidī who narrated this. Abū 'Umar also mentioned this in brief and said, "I am not aware of any *ḥadīth* attributed to him." Ibn al-Athīr related this in his work *al-Ghāba*.

There was also Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī. We have given reference to him, may God be pleased with him, above in the account of his death at the battle of al-Muṭa; that occurred in Jumādā, 8 AH, some months prior to the conquest of Mecca.

He was the commander-in-chief. After him in command came Ja'far, then, following them both, came 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.

'Ā'isha, may God be pleased with her, is quoted as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd b. Ḥāritha as commander of every military expedition on which he dispatched him. If he had remained alive, he would have appointed him his successor." It was Aḥmad who gave this quotation.

They also include Zayd Abū Yasār.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated in his *Muḥjam al-Ṣaḥāba*, "He resided in Mecca. Only one *ḥadīth* of which I have knowledge is attributed to him. It was related to us by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jawzajānī, quoting Abū Salama – al-Tabūdḥakī, that is – quoting Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar al-Ṭā'ī, quoting Abū 'Umar b. Murra, quoting Bilāl b. Yasār b. Zayd, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), quoting his father who quoted his grandfather as having heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Whoever says, "I seek forgiveness from God, than Whom there is no other, He being the Living, the Everlasting; to Him I turn in repentance", will be forgiven, even if he has fled from the battlefield.'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Abū Salama. Al-Tirmidhī gave it from Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, from Abū Salama Mūsā b. Ismā'īl. Al-Tirmidhī stated, "This is *gharīb*. We know of it only from this one source."

They include Safīna Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, known as Abū al-Bakhtarī. His given name was Mahrān, and is also said to have been 'Abs, Aḥmar and Rūmān. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him his agnomen, for a reason we will relate, and it stuck to him.

He was a freed-man of Umm Salama, who set him free on condition that he serve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he died. He accepted this and would say, "If she had not stipulated this, I would not have separated from him!"

This *ḥadīth* is recorded in the *sunan* (of Abū Dā'ūd).

He was of mixed Arab ancestry, his paternal origins being from Persia. His full name was Safīna b. Māfinna.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Ḥashraj b. Nubāta al-ʿAbsī, a man of Kūfa, quoting Saʿīd b. Jumhān, quoting Safīna, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "The caliphate among my nation will be for 30 years, and thereafter it will become a kingdom."

(Saʿīd b. Jumhān continued) "Safīna then said to me, 'Take the caliphate of Abū Bakr, that of ʿUmar, that of ʿUthmān, and then that of ʿAlī. We find they total 30 years.'

"Later I researched the caliphs, but did not find they totalled 30 years. I asked Saʿīd, 'Where did you meet Safīna?' He replied, 'In a date-grove, in the era of al-Ḥajjāj. I stayed with him for three nights, asking him to tell me things the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. I asked him, 'What is your name?' He replied, 'I'm not telling you! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) named me "Safīna", "boat". I asked him, 'Why did he call you "Safīna"?' He replied, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on a journey with his Companions. Their baggage grew too heavy for them and he told me, "Spread out your cloak!" I spread it out and they put their belongings on it and then placed it on me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Carry that; you're a *safīna*!" And if I had been burdened that day with the load of one, two, three, four, five, six or seven donkeys it would not have been too heavy for me, though they would have been overdoing it.'"

This *ḥadīth* is given by Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī. The phrase they relate is, "the caliphate of the prophethood will be for 30 years. Then there will be a kingdom."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting Hammād b. Salama, from Saʿīd b. Jumhān, who quoted Safīna as having said, "We were on a journey, and whenever anyone got tired, he would throw his clothes, shield or sword over on me until I was carrying a whole lot of that. The Prophet (ṢAAS) told me, 'You're a *safīna*!'"

This was widely accepted to be how he came to be named Safīna.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that both al-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd al-Zahrānī and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Warikānī told him that Sharīk b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nakhaʿī had related to them, from ʿImrān al-Bajālī, from a freed-man of Umm Salama, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and passed by a gulley – or a river – and I was busy helping people across. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told me, 'From today on, you're nothing but a *safīna*, a "boat"!'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus, from Aswad b. ʿĀmir, from Shurayk.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda stated that al-Ḥasan b. Makram related to him, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, from Safīna, who said, "I went to sea on a ship and it was wrecked. I rode on one of its planks and it cast me up on an island where there was a lion, and that really surprised me. I said, 'Abū al-Ḥārith, I'm the freed-man of the

Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It then began using its shoulder to gesture to me, and eventually led me to a path. Then it growled, which I took to be its (farewell) greeting to me.”

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī narrated it from Ibrāhīm b. Hanṣ, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, from a man, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir.

He also narrated it from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Makhramī, from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, who quoted it from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Salama, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, who quoted Safīna, as above.

Al-Baghawī also stated that Hārūn b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting ‘Alī b. ‘Āṣim, quoting Abū Rayḥāna, who quoted Safīna, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, “When the lion confronted me, I said, ‘I’m Safīna, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ It then struck its tail on the ground and lay down.”

Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan* quoted from him. It is given above in the *ḥadīth* narrated by Imām Aḥmad that he used to reside in a date orchard, and that he lived on into the days of al-Ḥajjāj.

Salmān al-Fārisī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh, *mawlā al-islām*, “the freedman of Islam”, was also one of them.

He was originally from Persia and circumstances led him being owned by a Jew of Medina. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into exile there, Salmān accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered him to enter into a contract of manumission with his Jewish master and helped him to pay off what he owed. He was associated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said of him, “Salmān is of our household”.

We have given above a description of his leaving his own country and his association with a sequence of monks, one after the next, until circumstances led him to *al-madīna al-munawwaram*, ‘Medina the illuminated’. We described how he became a Muslim, may God be pleased with him, early after the migration of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to Medina. His death came in 35 AH, at the end of ‘Uthmān’s rule, or early in 36 AH. It is also said that he died during the reign of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; the first date is more widely accepted.

Al-‘Abbās b. Yazīd al-Baḥrānī stated, “Scholars had no doubt that he lived for 250 years; they did differ over his having lived to a greater age, up to 350 years.”

Some later *ḥuffāz*, however, claim that he did not live beyond the age of 100. God knows best what is correct.

Shuqrān al-Ḥabashī was also one of them. His given name was Ṣalīḥ b. ‘Adī; the Prophet (ṢAAS) inherited him from his father.

Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī and Muḥammad b. Sa‘d stated, “He had belonged to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, who presented him to the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated, from Ishāq b. ‘Isā, from Abū Ma‘shar, who stated that Shuqrān had told him that he had participated at the battle of Badr.

Abū Ma'shar stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not awarded him a share of the booty.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd similarly includes him among those who were present at Badr. He was a slave and therefore did not receive a share in the booty, but was placed in charge of the prisoners taken. Each man owning a prisoner made payment to him, and so he received more than the equivalent of a full share.

He (Muḥammad b. Sa'd) stated, "There were three slaves apart from him at Badr. One was owned by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, another by Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balṭa'a and a third by Sa'd b. Mu'adh. He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) did give them a small present."

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated, "There is no mention in al-Zuhri's book or in that of Ibn Ishāq of him (Shuqrān) among those who were present at Badr."

Al-Wāqidi stated that Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Sabra quoted Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Jahm as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed his freed-man Shuqrān in charge of everything found in the saddle-bags at the battle at al-Muraysī, including minor items, weapons, cattle and sheep; he assembled the children in one area."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswad b. 'Āmir related to him, quoting Muslim b. Khālīd, from 'Amr b. Yaḥyā al-Māzinī, from his father, who quoted Shuqrān as having said, "I saw him" – meaning the Prophet (ṢAAS) – "making his way to Khaybar mounted on a donkey, performing prayer as he did so, and making gesticulations."

These *aḥādīth* provide evidence that Shuqrān, may God be pleased with him, was present at these engagements.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated, from Zayd b. Akhzam, from 'Uthmān b. Farqad, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, who quoted Ibn Abū Rāfi', as having said, "I heard Shuqrān say, 'I swear by God, it was I who spread out the velvet cloth in the grave beneath the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'" Al-Tirmidhī went on to state that Ja'far b. Muḥammad quoted his father as having said, "It was Abū Ṭalḥa who made the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and Shuqrān who laid out the velvet cloth."

Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *ḥadīth* as being *ḥasan gharīb*.

It has been narrated above how Shuqrān participated in washing the body of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), how he descended into his grave and how he placed beneath him the velvet on which he had prayed, saying, "I swear by God, no one will wear this after you!"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba* that Shuqrān's line died out and that the last of his descendants died at Medina during the rule of al-Rashīd.

Also included in their number was Ḍumayra b. Abū Ḍumayra al-Ḥimyarī. He was taken captive during the *jāhiliyya* and the Prophet (ṢAAS) purchased him then manumitted him. Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī referred to him, saying, "He had a house at al-Baqī' and a child."

‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb quoted from Ibn Abū Dhīḥb, from Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḍumayra, from his father, who quoted his grandfather Ḍumayra as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by Ḍumayra’s mother while she was weeping and asked her, “What is making you cry? Are you hungry or unclothed?” She replied, “Messenger of God, I have been separated from my son.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “A mother and her son can never be separated.” He then sent for the man who had Ḍumayra and exchanged a young camel for Ḍumayra.

Ibn Abū Dhīḥb went on to state that he (Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḍumayra) then read to him a letter he had, as follows, “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate. This letter is from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Abū Ḍumayra and his family. The Messenger of God has manumitted them all. They are a family of Arab descent. If they wish, they may reside with the Messenger of God and if they wish, they may return to their own people without hindrance unless for proper cause. Those Muslims who meet with them should treat them with kindness. Ubayy b. Kaḥ wrote (it).”

They also include Ṭahmān, also known as Dhakwān, as Mahrān, as Maymūn, Kaysān and Bādhām. He quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, “Charity payments (*sadaqa*) are not permitted to be made to myself, nor to my household. The freed-man of the family is one of them (and should not be given *sadaqa*).”

Al-Baghawī narrated it from Minjab b. al-Ḥārith and others, from Sharīk, from ‘Aṭā’ b. al-Sā’ib, from Umm Kulthūm, one of the daughters of ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, “A freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), a man named Ṭahmān or Dhakwān, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said . . .”, and she proceeded to quote him as above.

Also among them was ‘Ubayd, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Dā’ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated, from Shuḥba, from Sulaymān al-Taymī, from a sheikh who asked ‘Ubayd, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), “Did the Prophet (ṢAAS) order the performance of any prayer other than those written down?” He replied, “A prayer between the *al-maghrib* and the *al-‘ishā’*.”

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated, “I know of no one other than him who narrated this.”

Ibn ‘Asākir then commented, “It was not as he said.”

He then proceeded to give a text through Abū Ya’qūb al-Mawṣilī, who stated that ‘Abd al-Aḥlā b. Ḥammād related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Sulaymān al-Taymī, who quoted ‘Ubayd, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said that there were two women who were fasting and were slandering people. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for a vessel and told them, “Vomit!” They did so, bringing up pus, blood, meat and flesh. He then commented, “These two women abstained from what was permitted and broke their fast (by eating) what was prohibited.”

Imām Aḥmad narrated this, from Yazīd b. Hārūn and Ibn Abū ‘Adī, from Sulaymān al-Taymī, from a man who related to them at a gathering held by Abū

ʿUthmān, quoting from ʿUbayd, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), narrating it as above.

Aḥmad also narrated it from Ghundar, who quoted ʿUthmān b. Ghiyāth as having said, "I was with Abū ʿUthmān when a man said, "Saʿd" – or ʿUbayd, ʿUthmān was unsure of the name – "a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS) said . . .". And he went on to narrate as above.

They also included Faḍḍāla, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that al-Wāqidī informed him, quoting ʿUtba b. Khayrat al-Ahshālī as having said, "ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm asking him for information about the servants of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), including the men, the women and the freed-men. He replied to him, stating, "There were Faḍāla, a freed-man of his, originally of Yemen, who later lived in Syria, and Abū Muwayhiba, a man of mixed Arab ancestry, of (Banū) Muzayna, whom he manumitted."

Ibn ʿAsākir stated, "I find no mention of Faḍāla among the freed-men except from this source."

Qafiz was also among them.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda stated that Sahl b. al-Sarī informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, from Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Harrānī, from Zuhayr b. Muḥammad, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Anīs, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had one slave named Qafiz."

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān is alone in giving this.

Also there was Kirkira, who was in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS), on some of his military expeditions.

Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm mentioned him in what he wrote to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from ʿAmr, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, "There was a man named Kirkira in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The man died and the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, 'He is in hell-fire!' Then they noticed that the man had a striped cloak or an outer garment that he had put on."

Al-Bukhārī narrated this from ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī, from Sufyān.

I note that his story is similar to that of Midʿam who was given to him by Rifāʿa of Banū al-Naṣīb, as will be explained.

Kaysān was also one of them.

Al-Baghawī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Ibn Fuḍayl, from ʿAṭā b. al-Sāʿib, who said, "I came to Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ʿAlī, who said, 'Kaysān, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), related to me that the latter said to me with regard to an object assigned to charity, 'We of the household are forbidden access to the charity. And our freed-man is one of ourselves: so do not consume charity offerings.'"

Also of them was Mābūr, the Coptic eunuch who was presented to him by the Governor of Alexandria along with Māriya, Shirin and the mule. We have

given information about him in the material dealing with the life of Māriya, may God be pleased with them both.

Mid'am was one of them. He was a black, of mixed Arab descent from Hismā¹⁸³ who was a gift from Rifā'a b. Zayd al-Jadhāmī. He was killed during the life of the Prophet (ṢAAS), following their return from Khaybar. When they reached Wādī al-Qurā, Mid'am was busy unloading the baggage from the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a stray arrow struck and killed him. People commented, "Lucky for him! Martyrdom!" The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Absolutely not, by Him who holds my soul in His hand, the *shamla*¹⁸⁴ he took at the battle of Khaybar that had not been assigned from the booty will light the fires of hell for him!"

When they heard that a man came up with a shoelace – or two shoelaces – and the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "A shoelace" – or "two shoelaces" – "of fire!"

Both authors of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave this from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra.

Also included among them is Mahrān, also known as Ṭahmān. It was he who was referred to by Umm Kulthūm, daughter of 'Alī, regarding the prohibition of charity payments to Banū Hāshim and their freed-men, as related above.

Maymūn was also among them, he being (the same as) the person preceding (above).

Also there was his freed-man Nāfi'.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir stated that Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Māhānī informed him, quoting Shujā' al-Ṣūfi, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Abū Mālik al-Ashja'ī, from Yūsuf b. Maymūn, from Nāfi', the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'No adulterous old man, no arrogant pauper and no person dissatisfied with the rewards of his work for God the Almighty and Glorious, shall enter heaven.'"

Also included among them is Nufay', sometimes known as Masrūḥ and as Nāfi' b. Masrūḥ. The correct name is Nāfi' b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalda b. 'Amr b. 'Ilāj b. Salama b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Ghīra b. 'Awf b. Qays, he being Thaqīf Abū Bakra al-Thaqafi. His mother was Sumayya, Umm Ziyād.

He and a number of slaves were lowered down over the walls of al-Ṭā'if, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) manumitted him. He was born in Bakra, and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) named him Abū Bakra.

Abū Nu'aym stated, "He was a righteous man; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established brotherhood between him and Abū Barza al-Aslamī."

I note that it was he who prayed over the bier of the latter, that being his testament.

183. In Syria.

184. A small turban or a body-covering cloak.

Abū Bakra was not present at the battle of the camel, nor at the battles at Siffin. His death came in 51 AH, though some say 52 AH.

Wāqid was also one of them. His name is also given as "Abū Wāqid". He was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ḥāfiẓ al-Isbahānī stated that Abū 'Amr b. Ḥamadān related to him, quoting al-Hasan b. Sufyān, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Karīm, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, quoting al-Haytham b. Hammād, from al-Ḥārith b. Ghassān, from a man of Quraysh who lived in Medina, from Zādhan, from Wāqid, a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS), who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, 'Whoever obeys God remembers God, even if his prayer, fasting and recitation of the Qur'an are minimal. Whoever disobeys God does not remember Him, even if his prayer, fasting and recitation of the Qur'an are substantial.'"

Hurmuz Abū Kaysān was one of them. He is also called Hurmuz or Kaysān. It is he who was also known as "Ṭahmān", as mentioned above.

Ibn Wahb stated that 'Alī b. 'Abbās related to him, from 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib, from Fātima, daughter of 'Alī, or Umm Kulthūm, daughter of 'Alī, who said, "I heard a freed-man of ours called Hurmuz, whose agnomen was Abū Kaysān, say, 'I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, 'We of the household are not permitted access to the charity. And our freed-men are of ourselves. So do not consume *al-ṣadaqa*, the charity.'"

Al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān narrated it, from Asad b. Mūsā, from Warqā', from 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib, who said, "I went in to Umm Kulthūm and she said, 'Hurmuz, or Kaysān, related to us that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, "We do not consume *al-ṣadaqa*, 'the charity.'"

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that Maṣṣūr b. Abū Muzāhim related to him, quoting Abū Ḥafṣ al-Abbār, from Ibn Abū Ziyād, from Mu'awiya, who said, "Twenty slaves were present at Badr, including one slave belonging to the Prophet (SAAS), a man named Hurmuz. The Messenger of God (SAAS) manumitted him and said, 'God has set you free. A people's freed-man is one of themselves. We of the household do not consume *al-ṣadaqa*, the charity; you must not do so.'"

Included among them is Hishām, a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS). Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated that Sulaymān b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Raqqī informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Raqqī, from Sufyān, from 'Abd al-Karīm, from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Hishām, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS), as having said, "A man came and said, 'Messenger of God, my wife does not fend off the hand of someone who touches her.' 'Divorce her,' he responded. The man went on, '(But) she pleases me.' 'Then enjoy her,' he said."

Ibn Manda stated that a group of scholars narrate this from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from a freed-man of Banū Hāshim, from the Prophet (SAAS). But this *ḥadīth* did not name the freed-man. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Amr also narrated it, from 'Abd al-Karīm, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir.

Also among them was Yasār; it is said that he was killed by the 'Urani (travellers) who had mutilated him.

Al-Wāqidi narrated, with his line of transmission coming from Ya'qūb b. Utba, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had received him at the engagement at Qarqarat al-Kudr, along with the livestock of Banū Ghatafān and Banū Sulaym. The men gave him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he accepted him from them. Because he saw that he was properly performing the prayer, he manumitted him. He then divided the livestock among the men, each one of them receiving seven camels. The men were two hundred in number.

They also include Abū al-Ḥamrā', a freed-man and servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS). His name is also given as Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith, Ibn al-Muẓaffar, and Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith b. Zufr al-Sulamī. He had been taken into captivity during the *jāhiliyya*.

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Duḥaym stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā and al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, from Yūnus b. Abū Ishāq, from Abū Dā'ūd al-Fāṣ, who quoted Abū al-Ḥamrā' as having said, "I was stationed in Medina for seven months – it felt like one day – and the Prophet (ṢAAS) would come to the door of the home of 'Alī and Fāṭima every morning and call out, 'The prayer! The prayer! People of the household, God wants only to remove the filth from you, and to thoroughly purify you.'"

Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim also stated that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā and al-Faḍl b. Dukayn – whose phraseology is given – stated, from Yūnus b. Abū Ishāq, from Abū Dā'ūd, from Abū al-Ḥamrā', who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by a man who had food in a bowl (for sale) and he placed his hand in it (to check its quality). He said, 'You cheated! Whoever cheats us is not one of us!'"

Ibn Māja narrated it, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Nu'aym. This is the only source he quoted.

The "Abū Dā'ūd" referred to in the above *ḥadīth* was Nufay' b. al-Ḥārith al-A'mā; he was one of those sources considered weak.

'Abbās al-Dūrī quoted Ibn Mu'īn as having said, "Abū al-Ḥamrā' (referred to above) was a Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), whose name was Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith. He used to live in Ḥimṣ; I saw there a young man who was one of his sons."

Someone else said, "His home was outside the walls of Ḥimṣ." Abū al-Wazī' quoted Sāmura as having said, "Abū al-Ḥamrā' was one of the freed-men."

Also among them was Abū Salama, the herdsman of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was also known as Abū Sallām, his given name being Hurayth.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that Kāmil b. Ṭalḥa related to him, quoting 'Abbād b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad, who quoted Abū Salama, the herdsman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'Whoever meets God, testifies that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, and expresses faith in the Mission and in the reckoning will enter paradise.'"

‘Abbād went on, “We asked him, ‘Did you hear this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?’ He placed a finger in each ear and replied, ‘I heard that from him not once, not twice, not thrice and not four times!’”

Ibn ‘Asākir gives only this *ḥadīth* from him. Al-Nasā’ī narrated another *ḥadīth* from him in the work *al-Yawm wa al-Layla* and Ibn Māja quoted another from him.

Abū Ṣafiyya, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), is another of them.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām related to us, quoting Mu‘tamir, quoting Abū Ka‘b, from his grandfather Baqiyya, from Abū Ṣafiyya, freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that the latter would lay out a leather sheet, and a palm-leaf basket containing pebbles would be brought to him. He would use these to repeat, *subḥān Allāh!* “Praise be to God!” until midday. Then it would be taken away. When he had performed *al-ūwla*, “the first prayer”, he would go on repeating *subḥān Allāh!* until evening.

They also included Abū Ḍumayra, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), the father of Ḍumayra referred to above and the husband of Umm Ḍumayra. Some mention is made of him in their letter concerning his son, Ṭaraf, to which reference is made above.¹⁸⁵

Muḥammad b. Sa‘d stated in *al-Ṭabaqāt* that Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Uways al-Wadani informed him, quoting Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḍumayra, that the text of the letter written by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to Abū Ḍumayra was as follows: “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. (This is) a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Abū Ḍumayra and his family. They are an Arab family who are among those whom God has awarded as booty to His Messenger. The latter has manumitted them. He has given Abū Ḍumayra the choice of joining his people, if he wishes, or, if he prefers, to remain with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he may then be of his household, having then chosen God and His Messenger, and entered into Islam. No one is to interrupt their passage, unless to do them good. Those Muslims who meet them should treat them with kindness. Ubayy b. Ka‘b wrote (it).”

Ismā‘īl b. Abū Uways stated, “This man was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was of Ḥimyar. A group of them went on a journey, bearing this letter. Thieves blocked their path and took their belongings. They then produced this letter and told the thieves what it contained. The latter read it, returned their belongings to them and allowed them to pass.

“Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḍumayra presented himself to the Commander of the Believers, al-Mahdī, having brought this letter with him. Al-Mahdī took it, examined it carefully, and awarded Ḥusayn 300 *dinārs*.”

They also included Abū ‘Ubayd, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Abān al-‘Aṭṭār, quoting Qatāda, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, who quoted Abū ‘Ubayd as having said

185. The text of the letter in question, from a different source, is given above with minor variants from the following account. See above, pages 450–1.

that he cooked a pot of meat for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter asked him, "Serve me its shoulder!" Abū 'Ubayd did so, but again he asked, "Serve me its shoulder!" Abū 'Ubayd did so, but again he asked, "Serve me its shoulder!" Abū 'Ubayd then said, "Prophet of God, how many shoulders can a sheep have!" He replied, "By Him who holds my soul in His hand, if you'd only remained silent, you would have been able to give me a shoulder every time I asked for it!" Al-Tirmidhi narrated this in *al-Shamā'il* from Bandār, from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Abān b. Yazīd al-Aṭṭār.

They also include Abū 'Asīb; some give his name as Abū 'Asim. The former is correct. There are those who distinguish between the two men.

It is related above that he participated in the prayers spoken over the Prophet (ṢAAS), attended his burial, and narrated the story about al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba.

Al-Hārith b. Abū Usāma stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting Muslim b. 'Ubayd Abū Naḍra, who said, "I heard Abū 'Asīb, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, "Gabriel came to me bearing fever and pestilence. I kept the fever in Medina and dispatched the pestilence to Syria. Pestilence is a testimony and a mercy for my own nation and a punishment for the unbelievers."'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus from Yazīd b. Hārūn.

Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Manda stated that Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṣaghānī, quoting Yūnus b. Muḥammad, quoting Hashraj b. Nubāta, quoting Abū al-Naḍra al-Baṣrī, from Abū 'Asīb, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth one night. He passed by me and called out to me, then passed by and called out to Abū Bakr, who came out to him. He then went on by and called out to 'Umar, who also came out to him. He then walked on and entered a garden owned by an *anṣārī*. He asked the owner of the garden, 'Provide us with some unripe dates to eat.' The man brought them and put them down. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ate, as did all the others. He then called for water and, having drunk some of it, said, 'This is a blessing! You will be asked about this on Judgement Day!' 'Umar then took the bunch of dates and struck it on the ground, scattering the unripe dates. He (the *anṣārī* owner of the date-grove) then asked, 'Prophet of God, will we really be held responsible for this on Judgement Day?' He replied, 'Yes; for everything except three things: a scrap of cloth with which a man covers his nakedness, a morsel of food with which to blunt his hunger, and some stones (of a structure) he enters' – meaning to escape the heat and the cold."

Imām Aḥmad narrated this from Shurayḥ, from Hashraj.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd narrated it in his work *al-Tabaqāt*, from Mūsā b. Ismā'īl, who quoted Muslima, daughter of Abān al-Furayṣya, who quoted Maymūna, daughter of Abū 'Asīb as having said, "Abū 'Asīb would fast for three days in sequence. He used to perform the *al-ḍuhā*, early morning, prayer while standing,

but grew (too) old. He would also fast the *ayyām al-biḍ*." She went on to tell how he had a bell in his bed, the sound of which would ring out when he called her with it; when he rang it, she would come.

Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī was also one of them. He was of the Anmār clan of Banū Mudhḥij as is widely known. He was a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

There are several versions given of his name. The best known of these is Sulaym; he is also known as ʿAmr b. Saʿd – or Saʿd b. ʿAmr. He was originally of mixed Arab descent from Daws territory. He was present at the battle of Badr.

Musā b. Uqba quoted from al-Zuhri as asserting this. Ibn Ishāq, al-Bukhārī, al-Wāqidi, Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī and Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama mention him. Al-Wāqidi added, "He also was present at the battle of Uḥud, and various later military engagements."

He died on the day when ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded to power. That was on Tuesday, eight days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Ākhira in 13 AH.

Khalifa b. Khayyāt stated, "In 23 AH Abū Kabsha, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), died."

It has been given above, from Abū Kabsha, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed through al-Ḥijr on his journey to Tabūk, the men began entering their houses. They were summoned to a communal prayer and they all assembled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What? Would you enter in upon a people with whom God was angry?" One man called out, "We're curious about them." "Should I not tell you of matters more curious than that? A man from among yourselves who informs you of what happened before you and what will be after you." And so on.¹⁸⁶

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī related to him, from Muʾāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, from Azhar b. Saʿd al-Ḥawārī, who quoted Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated among his Companions. Then he went inside and later came out again, having bathed. We asked, 'Messenger of God, was something wrong?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'A certain lady passed by me and I had a desire to be with a woman. So I went to one of my wives and had sexual relations with her. You should all act similarly; to have only what is permitted is a highly exemplary deed for you.'"

Aḥmad stated that Wakiʿ related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Ṣālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, who quoted Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'The like of this nation is as four persons. One is a man to whom God gave wealth and knowledge and who works for Him and expends it as he should. Another is a man to whom God gives knowledge but not wealth; that person says, 'If only I had the wealth of this person, I would act as he does.' These two men shall be equal in reward.

"Another is a man to whom God gives wealth but not knowledge; he acts aimlessly and expends it improperly. Then there is the man to whom God gives

186. See Vol. IV, page 28.

neither wealth nor knowledge. He says, 'If I had money such as does that man, I would do as he does.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) concluded, "Those two men shall be equal in punishment."

Ibn Māja narrated it similarly from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, and 'Alī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted from Waki'. Ibn Māja also narrated it from another line, from a *ḥadīth* of Maṣṣūr, from Salīm b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Ibn Abū Kabsha, from his father. Some sources give his name as 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Kabsha.

Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. 'Abd Rabbihi related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥarb, quoting al-Zubaydī, from Rāshid b. Sa'd, from Abū 'Āmir al-Hawzanī, who stated that Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī came to him and said, "Loan me your horse; for I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "A person who loans to a Muslim a horse that then gives birth for him will receive a reward equivalent to that for 70 horses he might have provided to bear fighters in God's cause.'"

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, from Abū Nu'aym, from 'Ubāda b. Muslim, from Yūnus b. Khabbāb, from Sa'd Abū al-Bukhturī al-Ṭā'ī, who quoted Abū Kabsha as having quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, "There are three things to which I will swear. And I will relate to you something; remember it. Charity never diminished a worshipper's wealth. No worshipper was ever maltreated by an injustice and then remained patient in face of it without God increasing his glory thereby. And no worshipper will ever open the door to begging without God opening for him a door to poverty."

He categorized this as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

Aḥmad narrated this from Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from al-A'mash, from Salīm b. Abū al-Ja'd.

Abū Da'ūd and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of al-Walid b. Muslim, from Ibn Thawbān, from his father, from Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have blood cupped from the top of his head and from between his shoulders.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated that Ḥumayd b. Mas'ada related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥamrān, from Abū Sa'd – he being 'Abd Allāh b. Busr – who said, "I heard Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī say, 'The caps worn by the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were flat and close-fitting.'"

They also included Abū Muwayhiba, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was of mixed Arab descent from Banū Muzayna. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) purchased and then manumitted him. His given name, may God be pleased with him, is not known.

Abū Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī stated, "Abū Muwayhiba was present at the battle of al-Muraysī'. It was he who would lead the camel of 'Ā'isha, may God be pleased with him."

Above is given the *ḥadīth* related by Imām Aḥmad with a line of transmission back to Abū Muwayhiba, who reported having gone with the Messenger of God

(ṢAAS) at night to the al-Baqi' cemetery. He narrated how the latter had stopped there, prayed, and asked forgiveness for them and then said, "You should be more pleased to be where you are than are some people to be where they are. Dissensions have arisen like pieces of dark night, riding the one upon the other, the latter ever more intense than the first. You should be pleased to be where you are."

He then came back and said, "Abū Muwayhiba, I have been given to choose between having the keys to those places my nation will conquer after me, going to paradise, or meeting my Lord (soon). I have chosen to meet my Lord." Abū Muwayhiba went on, "Soon – just seven or eight days thereafter – he died."

The above are, then, the slaves of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

THE WOMEN SERVANTS OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

These include Amat Allāh, daughter of Razīna.

What is correct is that it was this woman's mother Razīna who should be credited, as will be explained. However, the former name is given in the account of Ibn Abū 'Aṣim, who narrated that 'Uqba b. Makram related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Mūsā, quoting 'Ulayka, daughter of al-Kumayt al-'Atkiyya, quoting her father, who quoted Amat Allāh, the servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said that the latter took Ṣafiyya captive at the battles against Banū Qurayẓa and Banū al-Naḍir, then manumitted her and gave her Razīna, the mother of Amat Allāh as her dowry.

This *ḥadīth* is very strange.

They also included Umayma. Ibn al-Athīr stated, "She was a freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

It is the people of Syria who narrate a *ḥadīth* from her. Jubayr b. Nufayr quoted her as saying that she would wash the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (before the prayer) and that one day a man came to the latter and asked him, "Give me advice!" He responded, "Do not associate any other with God, even if you should be mutilated or burned by fire. Do not deliberately omit a prayer; anyone who does this deliberately has the protection of God and that of His Messenger withdrawn from him. Do not drink intoxicants, for they are the chief factor of every sin. Do not disobey your parents, even if they should order you to abandon your family and your way of life."

These also include Baraka, Umm Ayman, and Umm Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

She was Baraka, daughter of Tha'labā b. 'Amr b. Ḥuṣayn b. Mālīk b. Salama b. 'Amr b. al-Nu'mān al-Ḥabashiyya.

She was generally known by her agnomen "Umm Ayman", "the mother of Ayman", her son by her first husband 'Ubayd b. Zayd al-Ḥabashī. After him she married Zayd b. Ḥāritha, to whom she bore Usāma b. Zayd. She was also known as "Umm al-Zibā", "the mother of the gazelles".

She went out on both¹⁸⁷ Hijras, may God be pleased with her. She was the nursemaid to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with his own mother, Āmina, daughter of Wahb. She was one of those received by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the inheritance of his father. Al-Wāqidi stated this.

Others say that he inherited her from his mother. Yet others say she belonged to Khadija's sister, who presented her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that she accepted Islam early and went on the Hijra, following him later on.

We have given above the account of the visit made to her by Abū Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with them both, after the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and how she had wept. They then asked her, "Don't you realize that what is with God is better for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?" She replied, "Yes, indeed; but I am weeping because revelation from heaven has ceased." And they both wept along with her.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his history, "Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf stated, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhri, who said, 'Umm Ayman suckled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he was weaned. He manumitted her and married her to Zayd b. Ḥāritha."

She died five months after the Prophet (ṢAAS). Some, however, give the period as six months. She is alternatively said to have been still alive after the assassination of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Muslim narrated this from Abū al-Ṭāhir and Ḥarmala, both of whom quoted Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri. He gave her name as Umm Ayman al-Ḥabashiyya.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, quoting al-Wāqidi, "Umm Ayman died early during the caliphate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān."

Al-Wāqidi stated that Yahyā b. Sa'd b. Dīnār informed him, from a sheikh of Banū Sa'd b. Bakr who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to address Umm Ayman as '*yā ammah*', 'mother'. And he would look over at her and say, 'This woman is what remains of my (childhood) family household.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama stated that Sulaymān b. Abū Sheikh used to tell him, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, 'Umm Ayman is my mother who came after my own mother.'"

Al-Wāqidi quoted his colleagues of Medina as having said, "Umm Ayman looked over at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was drinking and said, 'Give me to drink.' 'Ā'isha demanded, 'Would you say such a thing to the Messenger of God?' She replied, 'I served him far longer!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'You are right.' And he then brought her water for her to drink."

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Assān stated that Wahb b. Jarīr related to him, quoting his father, who said, "I heard 'Uthmān b. al-Qāsim say, 'When Umm Ayman went on the Hijra, she arrived in the evening at al-Munṣarif, before al-Rawḥā'. She

187. That to Abyssinia and that to Medina.

was fasting, and she was overcome by intense thirst. A bucket of water, attached to a white well-rope, came down from heaven for her, and she said, "I drank, and never again did I experience thirst. I was open to thirst through fasting on the Hijra journeys, but I was never actually thirsty thereafter!"¹⁸⁸

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī related to him, quoting Ṣalīm b. Qutayba, from al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth, from Yaʿlā b. ʿAṭā, from al-Walid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Umm Ayman, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a pottery bowl into which he would urinate. When morning came, he would call out, 'Umm Ayman, pour out the contents of the pot.' One night I got up feeling thirsty and drank what it contained. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, 'Umm Ayman, pour out the contents of the pot', I replied, 'Messenger of God, I got up feeling thirsty and drank what was in it!' He commented, 'You'll never suffer from your stomach!'"

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba*, "Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad narrated from Ibn Jurayj, from Ḥakīma, daughter of Umayma, who quoted her mother Umayma, daughter of Raḳīqa, as having said, 'The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a wooden bowl into which he would urinate and then place beneath his bed. A woman named Baraka came one day and drank it. He asked where it was, being unable to find it, and he was told, 'Baraka drank it!' He stated, 'She is kept out of hell-fire by a screen!'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr stated, "It is said that the woman who drank the urine of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was none other than Baraka al-Ḥabashiyya, who came with Umm Ḥabība from Abyssinia."

He differentiated between the two women. But God knows best.

I note that Burayra belonged to the family of Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh. They had entered into a contract of manumission with her. ʿĀʾisha purchased her from them and manumitted her. The right of *walā*¹⁸⁸ then passed to her, as is shown by the *ḥadīth* to that effect in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. Ibn ʿAsākir does not mention her.

Khaḍra was also one of them. Ibn Manda mentioned her, saying that Muʾāwiya narrated, from Hishām, from Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, who quoted his father as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a servant called 'Khaḍra'."

Muḥammad b. Saʿd quoted al-Wāqidī as having said that Fāʾid, the freed-man of ʿUbayd Allāh related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abū Rāfiʿ, from his grandmother Salmā, who said, "The servants of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were myself, Khaḍra, Raḍwa and Maymūna, daughter of Saʿd. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted them all."

Also included among them was Khulaysa, the freed-woman of Ḥafṣa, daughter of ʿUmar.

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba*, "Ulayka, daughter of al-Kumayt narrated her *ḥadīth* from her grandmother, from Khulaysa, the freed-woman of Ḥafṣa, who told the story of Ḥafṣa and ʿĀʾisha with Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa

188. This refers to the right of the manumitted slave to inherit from the freed-man in the absence of heirs.

and their joking with her that al-Dajjāl¹⁸⁹ had come forth. And so she hid in a house where they would light a fire and laugh together. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived and asked, 'What are you two up to?' they told him about what had happened with Sawda, and he went over to her and she asked, 'Messenger of God, has al-Dajjāl really come forth?' He replied, 'No; though it is as though he had.' And so she emerged, brushing spiders' eggs from herself."

Ibn al-Athīr mentioned Khulaysa, the freed-woman of Salmān al-Fārisī, saying, "Reference is made to her regarding the acceptance of Islam by Salmān al-Fārisī, how his mistress manumitted him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) compensated her by planting 300 palm seedlings. She mentioned this as a matter of distinction."

They also include Khawlā, the servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS); Ibn al-Athīr mentions her.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym narrates her *ḥadīth* on a line of transmission through Ḥafṣ b. Sa'īd al-Qurashī, from his mother, from her mother Khawlā, who was the servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He presented her *ḥadīth* on the subject of the interruption in the revelation due to a puppy dog having died beneath the bed of the Prophet (ṢAAS), without anyone having been aware of this. When they took it away, the revelation returned, and the words of Almighty God were revealed, "By the early morning and the night when it becomes dark!" (*sūrat al-Duḥā*; XCIII, v.1, 2).

This is strange; it is well known that the reason for the revelation of this is quite different. But God knows best.

They include Razīna. Ibn 'Asākir stated, "In fact she belonged to Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, and also served the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

I note that it has been stated above regarding her daughter Amat Allāh that the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave her mother Razīna to Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, as her dowry. In this case, she must originally have belonged to him.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya'qūb stated that Abū Sa'īd al-Jushamī related to him, quoting 'Ulayka, daughter of al-Kumayt, quoting her mother Amīna, who quoted Amat Allāh, daughter of Razīna, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having stated that the latter took Ṣafiyya captive at the battles in which God gave victory against Banū Qurayza and Banū al-Nadīr. He led her in as a captive. When she saw the women, she called out, "I testify that there is not god but God, and that you are the Messenger of God!" He then released her, having been holding her by the arm, and manumitted her. Later he proposed marriage to her, married her and gave her Razīna as her dowry.

This is the sequence of events as given in this text which is better than that previously presented from the account of Ibn Abū 'Āṣim.

189. *Al-Dajjāl*, "the imposter", or *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl* "the anti-Christ", the Arabic word thought to be derived from Aramaic and Syriac, refers to a figure variously mentioned in the *ḥadīth* literature, though not in the Qur'ān. See the entry under al-Dajdjal in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

However, the truth is that the Prophet (ṢAAS), selected Safiyya from the booty taken at Khaybar and that he made her manumission her dowry. The reference in this *ḥadīth* to this having happened at the battles against Banū Qurayza and Banū al-Naḍir is nonsensical; there was a period of two years between these two engagements. But God knows best.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated in his work *Dalā'il* that Ibn 'Abdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Sukari, quoting 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Qawāriri, quoting 'Ulayka, daughter of al-Kumayt al-'Atkiyya, who quoted her mother Amīna as having said, "I asked Amat Allāh, daughter of Razīna, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Amat Allāh, did you ever hear your mother relate that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mention the fast of 'Ashūrā'?"¹⁹⁰ She replied, 'Yes; he venerated it highly. He would call that day for his suckling infants and those of his daughter Fāṭima. He would spit into their mouths and tell their mothers, 'Do not suckle them until night.'"

There is testimony to this in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections.

They also included Raḍwā.

Ibn al-Athīr stated that Sa'īd b. Bashīr narrated, from Qatāda, who would quote Raḍwā, daughter of Ka'b, as having said that she asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about menstruation causing staining. He replied, "There's no harm in that."

Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī narrated this.

(Regarding) Rayḥāna, of Banū Qurayza, though some say of Banū al-Naḍr, daughter of Sham'un, reference is made to her above, following the section dealing with the wives, may God be pleased with them, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

They also include Zarīna, referred to above under the correct spelling "Razīna".

Sā'iba, freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), is included among them.

She narrated from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a *ḥadīth* relating to things found. Ṭāriq b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān quoted her. It was Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī who narrated it; Ibn al-Athīr gives it thus in his work *al-Ghāba*.

Sadīsa al-Anṣāriyya is one of them. She is said to have been a freed-woman of Ḥafṣa, daughter of 'Umar.

She quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, "Satan has bowed down before 'Umar every time he met him since 'Umar accepted Islam."

Ibn al-Athīr stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Faḍl b. al-Muwaffaq quoted from his father, from Isrā'īl, from al-Awzā'ī, from Sālim, from Sadīsa, and Ishāq b. Yasār narrated it from al-Faḍl. He gave it from Sadīsa, from Ḥafṣa, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Nu'aym narrated this, as did Ibn Manda.

190. A "voluntary" fast observed on the 10th of Muḥarram, from sunset to sunset. In *shī'a* practice, the day is associated with the death of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, and the occasion of pilgrimage to sacred shrines.

They also include Sallāma, the wet-nurse for Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

She narrated from him a statement he made on the virtues of pregnancy, divorce, the foster-relationship and remaining awake. The *ḥadīth* has objectionable aspects both to its line of transmission and to its content.

Abū Nu'aym and Ibn Manda narrated it, from a *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. 'Anmār b. Nuṣayr, the orator of Damascus, from his father 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Khawlanī, from Anas, who quoted Sallāma. Ibn al-Athīr gave it.

Salmā was also one of them. She was the mother of Rāfi', and the wife of Abū Rāfi', as al-Wāqidi narrated, quoting her as having said, "I used to serve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as did Khaḍra, Radwā and Maymūna, daughter of Sa'īd. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted us all."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū 'Āmir and Abū Sa'īd, the freed-man of Banū Hāshim, related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Mawālī, from Fā'id, the freed-man of Ibn Abū Rāfi', from his grandmother Salmā, the servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "Whenever I heard anyone complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about a headache, he inevitably responded, 'Have your blood cupped.' When the complaint related to the person's legs, he would say, 'Dye them with *ḥannā*.'"¹⁹¹

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Abū al-Mawālī. Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, both of them quoting from Fā'id, from his freed-man 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Abū Rāfi', from his grandmother Salmā.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, "(This *ḥadīth*) is *gharīb*, but we do recognize it from a *ḥadīth* of Fā'id."

She narrated a number of *aḥādīth* quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), too many to give and examine here.

Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī stated, "Salmā was present at the battle of Hunayn."

I note that it is said that she would cook *ḥarīra*, a milk and flour soup, for the Prophet (ṢAAS), that he greatly enjoyed.

She lived on until after his death and was present at the death of Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her. She had first belonged to Ṣafiyya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the aunt of the Prophet (ṢAAS), to whom she went thereafter. It was she who acted as midwife at the births of Fāṭima's children and at the birth of Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was present at and participated with 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib in the pre-burial washing of the latter's wife, Fāṭima, along with Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, the wife of Abū Bakr.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Abū Rāfi', from Salmā, who said, "Fāṭima suffered greatly in the illness from which she died, and I would nurse her."

191. "Henna" the orange-red dye produced from the foliage of the plant of that name, still widely used as a cosmetic.

One morning Salmā went to her as usual during her illness. She said, “‘Ali went out on some business of his and Fāṭima said to me, ‘*yā ammah!* ‘Maid!’ Pour me some water to wash.’

“I poured her some and she washed herself more thoroughly than I had ever seen her do before. She then said, ‘*yā ammah*, hand me my new clothes.’ And she put them on. She then said, ‘*yā ammah*, put my bed in the centre of the house.’ I did so. She lay down on it, facing towards the *kaʿba*, placed her hand beneath her cheek and said, ‘*yā ammah*, I am dying now. I have cleansed myself and so no one should uncover me.’ And she died right there. When ‘Ali came, I told him.”

This (*hadith*) is very *gharib*, strange.

Shirīn was also one of them. She was also called Sirīn. She was the sister of Māriya the Copt and was therefore the aunt of Ibrāhīm, may peace be upon him. We have explained above how the *muqawkis*, the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Minā had presented her along with a slave named Mābūr and a mule named al-Duldul. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her to Ḥassān b. Thābit and she bore him his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

They also included ‘Unqūda al-Ḥabashiyya, mother of Malīḥ. She was a servant girl belonging to ‘Ā’isha. Her early name was ‘Inba, “a grape”, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed her ‘Unqūda, “bunch of grapes”.

Abū Nu‘aym narrated this. Her name is also given as “Ghafira”.

Also there was Farwa, the wet-nurse of the Prophet (ṢAAS). She stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to her, ‘When you go to bed, recite, ‘Say: “O you unbelievers”’ (*sūrat al-Kāfirūn*; CIX, v.1). It will keep you free from unbelief.”

Abū Aḥmad made reference to her. This is stated by Ibn al-Athīr in his work *al-Ghāba*.

Fidḍa al-Nūbiyya is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Ghāba* as having been a freed-woman of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then gave, through an indistinct line of transmission, from Maḥbūb b. Ḥumayd al-Baṣrī, from al-Qāsim b. Bahrām, from Layth, from Mujāhid, material from Ibn ‘Abbās, regarding the statement of the Almighty, “And they donate for love of Him food to the poor, to orphans and to captives” (*sūrat al-Insān* or *al-Dahr*; LXXVII, v.8). He went on to relate, in essence, that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn fell ill and were visited by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and by the general public. They asked ‘Ali, “To what would it be, if you were to swear a resolution?” ‘Ali said, “If they recover from what ails them both, I will offer God three days of fasting.” Fāṭima said the same, and so did Fidḍa.

God did cure them both, and they fasted. Then ‘Ali went and borrowed from Shamṣun al-Khaybarī three *ṣāʿ* weight of barley. That night they prepared one *ṣāʿ* of it to eat. As they were about to eat it for their evening meal, there was a beggar standing at their door who asked, “Feed the poor! May God feed you at the tables of paradise!” ‘Ali gave orders and they fed him, themselves not eating. The third night they prepared the second *ṣāʿ* of barley and when they had it

ready before them stood a beggar, who said, "Feed the orphan!" And so they fed him, themselves not eating. The third night he asked, "Feed the captive!" And so they fed him, themselves not eating.

And so God sent down regarding them, "Surely there came for man a period of time" to "We desire from you neither reward nor thanks" (*sūrat al-Insān*; V, v.1-9).

This *ḥadīth* is objectionable. Some of the *imāms* consider it fabricated, basing their views on the weakness of its phraseology. They also note that this *sūrat* was revealed in Mecca, whereas al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were born in Medina. But God knows best.

Also there was Laylā, 'Ā'isha's freed-woman. She (is reported to have) said, "O Prophet of God, when you return from the wasteland (after defecation) and I go there after you, I never see anything; all I sense is the odor of musk." He replied, "The bodies of us prophets grow on the souls of the people of paradise; whatever filth comes forth from us the earth swallows up."

Abū Nu'aym quoted her as having said this, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Madani – he being an unidentified source.

Māriya al-Qubṭiyya, the mother of Ibrāhīm, was one of them; she has been considered above among "the mothers of the Believers".¹⁹²

Ibn al-Athīr made a distinction between her and Māriya Umm al-Rabbāb. He stated that she was also a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

She is credited by the scholars of Baṣra with a *ḥadīth* narrated by 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb, from Umm Salmā, from her mother, who quoted her grandmother Māriya as having said, "I bent over so that the Prophet (ṢAAS) could stand on me to get over a wall when he fled from the polytheists."

He went on, "Māriya was a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS)". And Abū Bakr narrated, from Ibn 'Abbās, from al-Muthannā b. Ṣāliḥ, who quoted his grandmother Māriya, who had been a servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "My hand never touched anything more smooth than the palm of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr stated in his work *al-Istī'āb*, stated, "I do not know whether she (this Māriya) is the same one as mentioned before, or not."

They also include Maymūna, daughter of Sa'd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Alī b. Baḥr related to him, quoting 'Īsā – he being Ibn Yūsuf – quoting Thawr – he being Ibn Yazīd – from Ziyād b. Abū Sawda, from his brother, that Maymūna, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, "Furnish us with information about Jerusalem."

He replied, "(It is) the land of both *al-manshar* and *al-maḥshar*, 'the dispersal and the in-gathering'. Go there and pray therein; a prayer there is as a thousand prayers (elsewhere)."

She asked, "What do you think of someone not being able to withstand the strain of being borne there, or of making his way there?" He replied, "Then let

192. The title, of course, given to the acknowledged wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

him have oil for lamps taken there. For anyone who presents a gift for it is as one who prays there.”

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, from Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Raqqī, from ʿIsā b. Yūnus, from Thawr, from Ziyād, from his brother ʿUthmān b. Abū Sawda, from Maymūna, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Dāʿūd narrated it from al-Faḍl b. Miskīn b. Bukayr, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Thawr, from Ziyād, from Maymūna, without any mention of Ziyād’s brother. But God knows best.

Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn and Abū Nuʿaym both related to him, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Zayd b. Jubayr, from Abū Yazīd al-Dabbī, from Maymūna, daughter of Saʿd, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about a child born as the result of fornication. He replied, ‘There will be no good in him; I would prefer a pair of shoes I might use hard in God’s cause to manumitting a child of fornication!’”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it thus from ʿAbbās al-Dūrī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, both of whom quoted from Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting al-Muḥārībī, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUbayda, from Ayyūb b. Khālīd, from Maymūna – who was a servant to the Prophet (ṢAAS). She quoted him as having said, “A woman who swaggers in finery outside her own household will be like darkness on Judgement Day – absolutely devoid of light.”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Mūsā b. ʿUbayda. He stated, “We know this only from his *ḥadīth*.” He categorized him as a weak source for *aḥādīth*. Others also quote him for it, but without full lines of transmission.

Also among them was Maymūna, daughter of Abū ʿUnaysa – or the name is “Abū ʿAnbasa”. Abū ʿAmr b. Manda stated this.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that this name was a misspelling, and that the correct name was Maymūna, daughter of Abū ʿAsīb.

Similarly, al-Munjiʿ b. Muṣʿab Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbdī gives a *ḥadīth* from Rabiʿa, daughter of Marthad, who lived among Banū Qurayʿ, from Munabbih, from Maymūna, daughter of Abū ʿAsīb, also known as the daughter of Abū ʿAnbasa, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS). She stated that a woman of Ḥuraysh came to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and called out, “Āʾisha, help me out with some prayer from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with which you can provide me contentment and tranquillity.” He replied to her, “Place your right hand over your heart, rub it and say, ‘In the name of God. O God, cure me by your cure, heal me by your healing and by Your grace let me dispense with all others.’”

Rabiʿa went on, “I did use this prayer and found it excellent.”

Also among them was Umm Ḍumayra, the wife of Abū Ḍumayra. Reference has been made to them both hereabove; may God be pleased with them both.

Umm 'Ayyāsh was also among them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent her along with his daughter to serve her after he had arranged her marriage to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated that 'Ikrima related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ṣafwān, quoting Abū Ṣafwān, from his father, from his grandmother Umm 'Ayyāsh – who had been the servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that the latter sent her along with his daughter to 'Uthmān. She said, "I would press out dates for 'Uthmān in the morning and he would drink it in the evening. In the evening I would press grapes that he would drink in the morning. One day he asked me, 'Do you mix anything into it?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Don't do that again,' he told me."

These, then, were his women servants, may God be pleased with them all.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wakī' related to him, quoting al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl, quoting Thumāma b. Ḥazn, who said, "I asked 'Ā'isha about *al-nabidh*¹⁹³ wine. She replied, "This is the servant of the Messenger of God, ask her." She was referring to an Abyssinian servant woman. She said, "I would press grapes into a waterskin in the evening and tie it closed. Next morning he would drink from it."

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl.

The authorities on the sayings of the Prophet (ṢAAS), include this in those attributed to 'Ā'isha. However, it would be more appropriate to refer to it in a collection devoted to the sayings from an Abyssinian slave-woman who was a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS). She was either one of those to whom we have made mention above, or else she was a person in addition to them.

Chapter: On those of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who acted as his servants, but who were not freed-men.

Anas b. Mālīk b. al-Naḍr b. Ḍamḍam b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b. Jundab b. 'Āṣim b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī, the father of Ḥamza al-Madani; he was originally from al-Baṣra.

He served the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), throughout the length of his ten-year residence in Medina. The latter never criticized him for anything. He never asked him why he had done something, nor why he had not done something.

His mother was Umm Sulaym, daughter of Miḥḥān b. Khālīd b. Zayd b. Ḥarām. It was she who presented him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who received him kindly. She asked him to say a prayer for him, and he responded, "O God, increase his wealth, grant him children, give him long life and admit him to paradise."

193. Unfermented grape-juice; the Companions were interested to know from the Prophet how long it could be stored and remain permissible for their consumption.

Anas stated, "I did see two of these and I await the third. I swear by God, I have much wealth and my children and grandchildren approach 100 in number."

In one account he is quoted as having said, "My vineyard bears fruit twice a year. And my progeny totals 106 children."

There are differences of opinion over whether or not he was present at the battle of Badr. An Anṣārī narrated from his father who quoted Thumāma as having said that Anas was asked whether he had been present at Badr, and that he replied, "Where else would I have been than at Badr, may you lose your mother!"

However, it is widely accepted that he did not attend either the battles of Badr or Uḥud, due to his youth. He did not participate in the events of al-Ḥudaybiyya, Khaybar, the *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ*, the conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn, al-Ṭāʾif and those subsequent.

Abū Hurayra stated, "I never saw anyone perform prayer more like that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than the son of Umm Salīm" – meaning Anas b. Mālik.

Ibn Sirīn stated, "He performed the prayer better than anyone else, whether travelling or at home."

He died at Baṣra, the last of the Companions to survive there, according to ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī. His death was in 90 AH. Others give that date as 91, 92 or 93 AH. The first date given is the one most widely and fully accepted.

Regarding his age at his death, Imām Aḥmad stated in his compendium of *aḥādīth* attributed to him, "Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān related to us, from Ḥamid, that Anas lived to 100 minus 1 year."

The least figure given is 96 years. The highest are 107, 106 and 103 years. God knows best.

They also included al-Aslaʿ b. Sharīk b. ʿAwf al-Aʿrajī.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, "His name was Maymūn b. Sinbādh. Al-Rabīʿ b. Badr al-Aʿrajī stated, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted al-Aslaʿ as having said, 'I used to be a servant of the Prophet and journey with him. One night he told me, "Aslaʿ, get up and prepare to travel." I replied, "Messenger of God, I have experienced a major ritual impurity."¹⁹⁴ He was quiet a while, and Gabriel brought him the *āyat al-ṣaʿīd*¹⁹⁵ (*sūrat al-Nisāʾ*; IV, v.43), and he said, "Aslaʿ, get up and cleanse yourself with sand." I wiped myself and prayed. When I reached water, he told me, "Aslaʿ, off you go and wash yourself." He showed me how to clean using sand or earth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) plunged his hands into the earth and then shook them and used them to wipe both arms,

194. That is, having engaged in sexual intercourse, or having experienced, as in this case, a nocturnal ejaculation, one is under an obligation to perform a total ablution.

195. The verse allows the use of clean earth or sand for self-purification in the absence of water for those for whom a total ablution was necessary. The verse is so named because it includes the words *fatayammamū ṣaʿīdan ṭayyiban*, "make your way to high ground", to dust, sand or earth.

the right hand wiping the left, the left the right, on both their upper and lower sides.'

"Al-Rabī' went on, 'My father showed me, as had his father him, as al-Asla' had him, as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had shown him.'

"Al-Rabī' also stated, 'I related this *ḥadīth* to 'Awf b. Abū Jamīla, who said, "I swear by God, that is what I saw al-Ḥasan do!"'"

Ibn Manda and al-Baghawī narrated this in their book *Mu'jam al-Ṣahāba*, from a *ḥadīth* of this al-Rabī' b. Badr. Al-Baghawī stated, "I do not know of anyone else who narrated it."

Ibn 'Asākir stated that al-Haytham b. Ruzayq al-Mālikī al-Mudliji narrated this *ḥadīth*, from his father, from al-Asla' b. Sharik.

Asmā' b. Ḥāritha b. Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbād b. Sa'd b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Tha'laba b. Mālik b. Aqṣā al-Aslamī was also one of them. He was from al-Ṣuffa, according to Muḥammad b. Sa'd.

He was the brother of Hind b. Ḥāritha; they both served the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala, from Yahyā b. Hind b. Ḥāritha. Hind was a Companion who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya. It was Hind's brother Asmā' b. Ḥāritha whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent to his people with orders to fast the day of *al-ʿashūra*.

Imām Aḥmad went on to state that Yahyā b. Hind related to him, from Asmā' b. Ḥāritha, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him (Hind) to him and said, "Tell your people to fast today." Asmā' asked, "But what if I found they have already eaten?" "Then they should fast the rest of the day," he replied.

Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Dhababī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Ḥabīb b. Hind b. Asmā' al-Aslamī, from his father Hind, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Aslam's people. I told them, "Tell your people to fast today; those you find to have eaten already should fast for the remainder of the day.'"

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated that al-Wāqidi quoted Muḥammad b. Nu'aym b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mujammir, who quoted his father as having said, "I heard Abū Hurayra say, 'I used to think of Hind and Asmā', the sons of Ḥāritha, as merely two *mamlūks*'¹⁹⁶ owned by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "These two men, along with Anas b. Mālik were servants of his and never left his door."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated that Asmā' b. Ḥāritha died in 66 AH in al-Baṣra, at the age of 80.

Bukayr b. al-Shaddākh was among them.

196. The word *mamlūk*, literally "person owned", "slave", is a term not elsewhere used in this work to apply to any of the servants or freed-persons to whom reference is made. The term was, of course, used to refer to the dynasty that later ruled Egypt for several centuries and to those functionaries, often of high rank, who were acquired for high service in the military and the bureaucracy under the Ottomans.

Ibn Manda stated, quoting from a line of transmission through Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, from ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ya‘qā al-Laythī, who said that Bukayr b. Shaddākh al-Laythī was a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS). When he attained puberty, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was aware of that. Bukayr said, “I have been going in to your household. But I have now attained puberty, Messenger of God.” The latter replied, “O God, (put) trust in his word and grant him success!”

(Ibn Manda went on) “During the rule of ‘Umar, a Jew was killed. ‘Umar stood to make an address and said, ‘I adjure you by God, does any man of you have knowledge of that?’ Bukayr arose and said, ‘I killed him, Commander of the Believers!’ ‘Umar asked, ‘And what solution do you have, now that you have spilled his blood?’

“He replied, ‘Commander of the Believers, a certain warrior left me in charge of his family and I discovered that Jew with his wife. He was reciting:

‘Ash‘ath was diverted away from me by Islam; I was
left alone with his bride on the consummation night.

I sleep upon her breast bones, while he spends the
night on dusty harnesses.

Her inner thighs are as though up and ready for all and
sundry!’”

“‘Umar believed what he said and judged the blood of the Jew to have been shed without need for him to be avenged, in light of the prayer of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for (the truthfulness of) Bukayr, as given above.”

They also include Bilāl b. Rabāḥ al-Ḥabashī.

Born in Mecca, he had been the freed-man of Umayya b. Khalaf. Abū Bakr purchased him from him for a substantial sum because Umayya was severely persecuting Bilāl to persuade him to give up Islam. Bilāl, however, may God be pleased with him, insisted on remaining a Muslim. When Abū Bakr purchased Bilāl, he set him free as an act of homage to God.

He went out on the Hijra with the others and participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud and later engagements.

He was known as Bilāl, son of Ḥamāma, who was his mother.

He was one of the most eloquent of men; he did not, as some believe, mispronounce the letter *sin* as *shin*, despite the fact that some relate a groundless *ḥadīth* from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to that effect.

He was one of the four persons who made the call to prayer, as will be explained. Moreover, he was the first to ever make the call, as we have narrated above. He was in charge of the expenses for the children and the sum of the wealth (for distribution) was in his possession.

Following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he was one of those who went on the military expeditions against Syria. It is also said, however, that he stayed behind and acted as the *mu‘azzin* for Abū Bakr throughout his caliphate. The first of these two possibilities is the better and is more widely accepted.

Al-Wāqidi stated that he died in Damascus in 20 AH, at some 60 years of age.

Al-Fallās stated that his grave is in Damascus. Others say it is at Dāriyā.¹⁹⁷ Alternatively, he is said to have died in Aleppo; the truth, however, is that it was his brother Khālīd who died in Aleppo.

Makhūl stated, "Someone who had seen Bilāl described him to me as of very dark skin, lean and hump-backed, and with thick hair, the grey of which he did not dye. May God be pleased with him."

Ḥabba and Sawā', sons of Khālīd, were also among them; may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Mu'āwiya related to him, quoting Wakī', quoting al-A'mash, from Sallām b. Shuraḥbīl, who quoted Ḥabba and Sawā' as having said, "We once went in to the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was mending something, and we helped him. He then told us, 'Never despair of provision (from God), so long as your heads have movement. Man is born of his mother skinless, with no outer covering, and then God, the Almighty and Glorious, provides it for him.'"

Dhū Mikhmar was also one of them; he is also named as Dhū Mikhbar. He was the son of the brother of the Negus, the king of Abyssinia; others say he was his sister's son. The first possibility is correct. The king sent him to serve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as a substitute for himself.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Jarir, from Yazīd b. Ṣulayḥ, who quoted Dhū Mikhmar, a man from Abyssinia who served the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "We were with him on a journey. He made a rapid departure; this he would do because of the paucity of the provisions. Someone told him, 'Messenger of God, the rest have been left behind.' He told us all to stop until they caught up. He then asked them, (or someone asked him) 'Would you like to have a stop for sleep?' He dismounted, and they did the same. People asked, 'Who will stand guard for us tonight?' 'I will, my God make me your ransom!' I replied. He handed me the bridle of his camel, saying, 'Take it then, and don't be negligent.'

"So I took the bridle of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that of my own camel and led them a little way away. There I released them to graze. I was observing them when sleep overcame me. The next thing I knew was the sun's heat on my face. I woke up and looked to right and left and there were the two camels, not far away from me. I took the bridle of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that of my own and led them over to the closest of our people. I woke him up, and asked, 'Have you performed the prayer?' 'No,' he replied.

"The rest then woke one another and eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) awoke. He asked, 'Bilāl, is there water in the *mayḍa'a*, "the ablution water-vessel"?' He was referring to the *idāwa*, 'the water skin'. Bilāl replied, 'Yes, may God make me your ransom!' He took the ablution water to him, but it

197. A large village near Damascus.

did not cleanse him fully of the dirt. He then gave order to Bilāl, who made the call to prayer. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and performed a prayer of two *raka'at* before the *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, but did not hurry. He then again gave orders to Bilāl and again performed the prayer, but without hurrying. Someone asked him, 'Messenger of God, have we been neglectful?' He replied, 'No; God took away our souls, then restored them to us, and we have prayed.'"

They also included Rabi'ā b. Kaḥ al-Aslamī Abū Firās.

Al-Awzā'ī stated that Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr related to him, from Rabi'ā b. Kaḥ, who said, "I would spend the night with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and bring him his water for ablution and whatever he needed. He would get up at one time of the night and say, 'Glory be to God, and may He be praised!' Later he would arise again, at another time of the night, and say, 'Glory be to God, Lord of the two worlds!' He asked me, 'Do you have a request?' I replied, 'To accompany you in paradise, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'Help yourself; by often prostrating in prayer.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting his father, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Atā', from Nu'aym b. Muḥammad, from Rabi'ā b. Kaḥ, who said, "I used to spend my entire day serving the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until he would perform the second *'ishā'* prayer. Then I would sit at his door when he went into his home. I would say, 'Perhaps something might happen to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' I would hear him constantly repeating, 'Glory be to God; may He be praised!' until I became tired and returned home, or until my eyes overcame me and I fell asleep.

"One day, because of his having observed my fulfilment of my duty and service to him, he said, 'Rabi'ā b. Kaḥ, ask me and I will grant it to you.' I replied, 'I will consider my situation, Messenger of God, then I will tell you.'

"I gave the matter much thought, realizing that this life is transitory and subject to interruption, and that there was sufficient bounty in what I had and might come to me. So I told him, 'What I shall ask the Messenger of God will have to do with my life in the hereafter: he does have that (special) status with God.'

"So I went to him and he asked, 'Have you done it, Rabi'ā?' I replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God. I'd like to ask you to intercede for me to your Lord and to free me from hell-fire.' He asked, 'Who told you to ask for this, Rabi'ā?' I replied, 'No, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, no one ordered me. But when you said, "Ask me and I'll give you," since you have a (special) status with God, I did look into my situation, realized that this world is subject to interruption and is transitory, and that I do have bounty that will come to me, I said, "I'll make a request about my after life.'"

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was silent for a long time, and he then told me, 'I will do something; help yourself, by often prostrating in prayer.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya'la stated that Abū Khaythama related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Mubārak b. Faḍāla, quoting Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī, from

Rabī'a al-Aslamī, who had been a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "One day the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked me, 'Rabī'a, aren't you going to get married?' I replied, 'Messenger of God, I don't want anything to divert me from serving you. And I don't have anything to give to a woman.'

"After that I told myself that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew more about me than I did myself, and that he was suggesting I get married. I decided that if he repeated the suggestion I would agree. And he did ask me, 'Rabī'a, aren't you going to get married?' I replied, 'Messenger of God, who would marry me; I don't have anything to give the woman?' He replied, 'Go to Banū so-and-so and tell them the Messenger of God orders you to marry me to your girl so-and-so.'

"I went to them and said, 'The Messenger of God has sent me to you for you to arrange my marriage with so-and-so.' They asked, 'To so-and-so?' 'Yes,' I replied. They responded, 'Welcome to the Messenger of God and welcome to his messenger!' And they did arrange the marriage.

"I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, 'Messenger of God, I come to you from the very best of peoples. They gave me their trust and arranged my marriage. But where do I get the dowry to give?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Burayda al-Aslamī, 'Collect for Rabī'a a dowry worth the weight of one *nawāt*¹⁹⁸ of gold.'

"They collected and gave this to me, I took it to Banū so-and-so and they accepted it. I then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him where I would get the food for a wedding feast. He told Burayda, 'Get for Rabī'a the price of a ram.' They brought it and he then told me, 'Off you go to 'Ā'isha and ask her to give you what barley she has.' I went to her and she gave it to me. So I took to Banū so-and-so the ram and the barley and they told me, 'We'll look after the barley for you, but ask your friends to slaughter the ram.' And so they cooked the barley and, I swear to God, we thus had bread and meat.

"After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned to Abū Bakr some land he had and Abū Bakr and I fell into a dispute over a laden date-palm. I maintained that it was on my land, he that it was on his. We quarrelled and Abū Bakr used a word to me that offended me. He regretted it and came to me, asking, 'You say to me as I did to you.' I replied, 'No, by God, I'll not speak to you as you did to me!' 'Well then,' he said, 'I'm going to the Messenger of God.'

"He did go, and I followed him. My people came along as well, saying, 'He's the one who used the word to you, yet he's going off to complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' I turned to them and asked, 'Do you know who this man is? This is *al-Ṣiddiq*, "the trusting", the *dhū shayba*¹⁹⁹ of the Muslims! Go back so that he does not turn and see you and think that you are coming to help me against him. Otherwise he might get angry and go and tell the Messenger of God, and then Rabī'a will be finished!'

198. A date stone; a measure of weight equal to five *dirhams* in value.

199. This epithet, *dhū shaybat al-muslimin*, in English approximating "the Muslims' revered elder statesman" is commonly applied to Abū Bakr.

"When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said, 'I used against Rabīʿa a word he found offensive. I told him to say it back to me, but he refused.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, 'Rabīʿa, what's the problem between you and "the trusting"?' I replied, 'Messenger of God, I swear I'll not speak to him as he did to me.' He told me, 'Don't speak to him as he did to you. Say instead, "May God forgive you, Abū Bakr."'"

Sa'd, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was also one of them. He is also known as the *mawlā*, the "freed-man" of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Abū 'Āmir related to him, from al-Ḥasan, from Sa'd, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Abū Bakr to set Sa'd free – Sa'd being then a *mamlūk*, a "slave", owned by Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been highly impressed by Sa'd's qualities as a servant. Abū Bakr replied, "He is the only servant we have here." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "Free Sa'd; (other) men will come to you. (Other) men will come to you."

Aḥmad related it thus from Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī also stated that Abū 'Āmir related to him from al-Ḥasan, from Sa'd, who said, "I placed some dates before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and people began eating them two at a time. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then forbade them from doing this."

Ibn Māja narrated this from Bandār, from Abū Dā'ūd.

They also include 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. On the day of the *'umrat al-qadīḥ* he entered Mecca leading the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reciting:

"Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we will
fight you about its interpretation
As we fought you over its revelation . . ."

We have narrated this at length above.²⁰⁰

'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was killed some months thereafter at the battle of Mu'ta, as also narrated above.

'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ghāfil b. Ḥabīb b. Shamakh, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hudhālī was also one of them.

He was one of the *imāms* of the Companions. He participated in both of the Hijras and took part in Badr and engagements thereafter. He was in charge of the footwear of the Prophet (ṢAAS), and of cleaning it. He would also load his baggage camel if he wished to ride.

He had a major role in interpreting God's words; he had great knowledge, virtue and wisdom. There is a *ḥadīth* to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, after they had expressed surprise at the thinness of his legs, "By Him who holds my soul in His hands, they weigh more heavily in the scales than does Uḥud!"

200. Volume III, page 309 *et seq.*

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated about Ibn Masʿūd, "He was a storehouse filled with learning." They say he was frail in form, fine in character. It is said that when he walked, he would be face to face with those seated (in stature, that is). He was like the Prophet (ṢAAS) in his manner, conduct and behaviour.

This means that he was like the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his movements and when at rest, as well as in his speech. He imitated his performance of the prayer to the best of his ability.

He died during the rule of ʿUthmān, in 32 or 33 AH in Medina, at the age of 63. It is also said that he died in Kūfa; the first is correct.

ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Juhānī, may God be pleased with him, was also one of them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that al-Walid b. Muslim related to him, quoting Ibn Jābir, from al-Qāsim Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir, who said, "I was leading the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along a mountain trail when he asked me, 'Uqba, won't you ride?' I was not to be disobedient. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dismounted and I rode for a while. Then he rode again and said, 'Uqba, would you like me to teach you how to repeat the two finest *sūras* people ever recited?' I replied, 'Yes indeed, Messenger of God.' And so he recited to me, 'Say: "I seek refuge with the Lord of the dawn"' (*sūrat al-Falaq*; CXIII, v.1), and 'Say: "I seek refuge with the Lord of mankind"' (*sūrat al-Nās*; CXIV, v.1).

"The prayer was held and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came forward and recited both *sūras*. He then passed by me and said, 'Recite them both whenever you go to sleep and whenever you get up.'"

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it thus from a *ḥadīth* of al-Walid b. Muslim and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ibn Jābir. Abū Daʿūd and al-Nasāʾī narrated it also from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Wahb, from Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, from al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥārith, from al-Qāsim Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿUqba.

Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda al-Anṣārī al-Khazraǵī was also among them.

Al-Bukhārī quoted Anas as having said that Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda had the same role with the Prophet (ṢAAS), as does the *ṣāhib al-shuraṭ*, "the police chief", to the *amīr*, "the ruler".

This Qays was an exceptionally tall man. His beard was scarce.²⁰¹ It is said that the tallest of men if standing with his feet on the ground would have Qays's trousers reach up to his nose!

Muʿāwiya dispatched his trousers to the emperor of Byzantium asking whether they had a man tall enough to wear them. The emperor was amazed at this.

It is related that he was a praiseworthy and noble man of sound judgement and intelligence. He was with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib at the battle of Ṣiffin.

201. The Arabic word is *kawsaj*. A footnote to the Arabic printed text gives its meaning as referring to a person who has missing teeth. However, the word may also refer to someone whose beard is scarce.

Mis'ar stated, quoting Ma'bad b. Khālid, that he was always holding up his finger giving praise and prayer to God. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

Al-Wāqidī, Khalifa b. Khayyāt and others said that he died at Medina in the last days of Mu'āwiya.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Sijistānī related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Yazīd al-Ḥanafī, quoting Sa'd b. al-Ṣalt, from al-A'mash, from Abū Sufyān, from Anas, who said, "There were 20 young *anṣārīs* who would keep close by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to take care of his needs; if he wanted something, he would send them after it."

They also included al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba al-Thaqafī, may God be pleased with him. He performed the function of *salahdār*, "armourer" for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was he, moreover, who held the sword raised above the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the tent at al-Ḥudaybiyya. Whenever Mughīra's uncle 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, who had come in the delegation, would reach out to take hold of the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as it was customary for the Arabs to do in such conversations, al-Mughīra would tap his hand with the hilt of his sword and say, "Remove your hand from the face of the Messenger of God, or you'll never get it back!"

The *ḥadīth* is so narrated above.²⁰²

Muḥammad b. Sa'd and others stated that he participated in all the battles in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took part. The latter gave joint command to him and to Abū Sufyān when they went out and destroyed the idol belonging to the people of al-Ṭā'if that was named *al-Rabba*, "the lady", *al-Lāt* that is.

He was one of the most shrewd of the Arabs. Al-Sha'bī stated, "I heard him say, 'No one ever got the better of me!'"

Al-Sha'bī stated, "I heard Qabiṣa b. Jābir say, 'I was a companion of al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba. If a city had eight gates through none of which one could leave without some trickery, he would find a way to get out through them.'"

Al-Sha'bī went on, "The *al-quḍāt*, the 'judges', were four in number: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Ibn Mas'ūd and Abū Mūsā. The *duḥāt*, 'those most shrewd', were four in number: Mu'āwiya, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, al-Mughīra and Ziyād."

Al-Zuhri stated, "The *duḥāt* were five in number: Mu'āwiya, 'Amr and al-Mughīra, along with two with 'Alī – Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and 'Abd Allāh b. Badīl b. Warqā'."

Imām Mālik stated, "Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba was a much-married man. He used to say, 'A man with one wife suffers menstruation along with her, and when she gets sick, so does he. And a man with (only) two wives is right between two blazing fires!'"

"He would marry four women at once, and divorce them all together!"

Other sources state variously that he married eighty or three hundred women. It is also said that he married a thousand women.

There is difference of opinion concerning his death. The most likely and most widely believed statement is that given by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who gave the consensus as being that he died in 50 AH.

Al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad Abū Ma'bad al-Kindī, an ally of Banū Zuhra, was among them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, who said, "I and two companions came to Medina. We made our presence known to people, but no one offered us accommodation. So we went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and told him. He took us to his home, where he had four goats. He told me, 'Milk them, Miqdād. Divide up their milk in four portions and give one share to each person.' And that is what I would do.

"One night the Prophet (ṢAAS) was invited elsewhere and was delayed. As I lay in my bed, my inner self told me, 'The Prophet has gone to the home of one of the *anṣār*. You might just as well get up and consume the drink.' The thought persisted until I got up and drank his portion. When it had entered my stomach and settled there, I felt troubled about what had happened. I told myself, 'The Prophet is now going to arrive hungry and thirsty and he'll see nothing in the jug!' So I pulled a cloth up over my face.

"When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, he voiced a greeting that someone awake would hear but would not awaken someone asleep. He uncovered the jug and found nothing. He then raised his head to the sky and said, 'O God, provide drink for those who give me to drink, and feed those who feed me.'

"I responded to his call, got up, took a sharp knife and went over to the goats. I felt them all to see which one was the one with the most flesh to slaughter. My hand fell upon the udder of one of them and, to my surprise, it was full! I examined the next and it too was full and so too were the others! I drew milk into a jug and took it to him, asking him to drink it. He said, 'What's going on, Miqdād?' 'Drink up', I told him, 'then I'll tell you.' 'One of your pranks, Miqdād?' he commented. He drank and then said, 'Now you, drink.' I replied, 'No, you drink more, Prophet of God.' He did so until he had his fill and then I took and drank it. After that I told him what had happened and he told me to tell him more. I told him in greater detail and the Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, 'This was a blessing sent down from heaven! Could you not have told me so that I could have given some to your two companions?' I replied, 'So long as you and I have drunk this blessing, I'm not concerned about whom it has missed!'"

Imām Aḥmad also narrated it from Abū al-Naḍr, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā who quoted al-Miqdād. His account is as above, except that in that version al-Miqdād drew the milk into the vessel they never expected to fill with it, and that he kept on drawing it until it

foamed on top. After he brought it back, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him (according to that account) "Didn't you all have your drink tonight, Miqdād?"

(The account proceeds) "I replied, 'Do drink it, Messenger of God.' He did so and then handed it to me. I asked, 'Drink some more, Messenger of God.' He then again handed it to me, and I took it and drank what remained.

"When I knew that the Messenger of God, had quenched his thirst, and that his prayer had touched upon myself, I laughed so hard I rolled on the ground. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'One of your pranks, Miqdād?'"

"I replied, 'Messenger of God, this is what I did. I did so-and-so.' He then said, 'This was nothing but a mercy from God. Should you not have warned me to wake up your two companions to share in it?' I replied, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, I don't care whoever else were to receive it so long as you and I did!'"

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra.

Also among them was Muhājir, the freed-woman of Umm Salama.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that Abū al-Zinbā' Rawḥ b. al-Faraj related to him, quoting Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Bukayr, quoting Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh, who stated that he heard Bukayr say, "I heard Muhājir, the freed-woman of Umm Salma, say, 'I served the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for many years. He never asked me why I had done something I had done, nor did he ask me why I had ever not done something.'"

In other accounts the wording is that she had served him for ten or for five years.

Abū al-Samḥ was also one of them. Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Thaqafī stated that Mujāhid b. Mūsā related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī, quoting Yahyā b. al-Walīd, quoting Muḥill b. Khalīfa, quoting Abū al-Samḥ, who said, "I was a servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If he wanted to wash, he would say, 'Pass me my water vessel.' And I would hand it to him and screen him. Once Ḥasan or Ḥusayn had been brought to him and had urinated over his chest. When I came over to wash him, he said, 'Someone upon whom a girl has urinated should wash (the area), while someone upon whom a boy has urinated should merely splash thereon.'"

Abū Dā'ūd, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it thus from Mujāhid b. Mūsā.

They also included that man who was absolutely the finest of the Companions, Abū Bakr, "the trusting", may God be pleased with him. He served him by himself on his journey into exile, especially in the cave, but after his leaving it as well, until they arrived in Medina. This has all been explained above; and to God be all praise and credit.

Chapter: Those, may God be pleased with them, who wrote down the revelations and other matters in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

They included the four caliphs: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib,

may God be pleased with them all. Also of them was Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣay al-Umawī.

Abān accepted Islam after his two brothers Khālīd and 'Amr. He did so following al-Ḥudaybiyya. This came about because it was he who gave protection to 'Uthmān when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent the latter to meet with the Meccans at al-Ḥudaybiyya. Others say that his conversion occurred at Khaybar; this is believed because of a *ḥadīth* mentioning him that is recorded in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Abū Hurayra concerning the division of the booty taken at Khaybar.

The reason for his accepting Islam was that, while on business in Syria, he met with a monk to whom he mentioned the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The monk asked him to name him and he told him his name was Muḥammad. The monk then offered to describe him, and did so exactly. He asked Abān, "When you return home to your people, give him my greetings."

And so he accepted Islam after his return. He was also the brother of 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq, whom 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān killed.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated, "The first person to write down the revelation in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was Ubayy b. Ka'b. If he were not present, then Zayd b. Thābit would record. 'Uthmān, Khālīd b. Sa'īd and Abān b. Sa'īd also wrote for him."

That is his statement. This refers to Medina; for Ubayy b. Ka'b was not present at the revelation of the Meccan *sūras*. These were written down by the Companions in Mecca, may God be pleased with them all.

There is disagreement over the death of this man Abān b. Sa'īd. Mūsā b. 'Uqba, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and most of the scholars of biography state that he was killed at the battle of al-Ajnādayn. That is, in Jumādā al-Uwla of 12 AH. Others say he was killed at the battle of Marj al-Ṣufr in 14 AH.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "He and his brother 'Amr were killed at the battle of Yarmūk, on the 5th of Rajab, 15 AH." It is also stated that he lived on into the time of 'Uthmān, that the latter ordered him to dictate the *muṣḥaf al-imām*,²⁰³ 'the Qur'ān', to Zayd b. Thābit and that he died thereafter, in 29 AH. But God knows best.

They also include Ubayy b. Ka'b b. Qays b. 'Ubayd al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī Abū al-Mundhir, also known as Abū al-Ṭufayl. He was the chief reciter. He participated at the second 'Aqaba meeting, at Badr and at the engagements thereafter. He was of middle stature, slim and white of head and beard, the grey of which he left unchanged.

Anas stated, "Four persons" – of the *anṣār*, he means – "collected the Qur'ān. These were Ubayy b. Ka'b, Mu'adh b. Jabal, Zayd b. Thābit and an *anṣārī* named Abū Yazīd."

203. An authorized version of the Qur'ān compiled during the reign of 'Uthmān and held in safekeeping by Ḥafṣa bt. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections included it.

In both of these collections a *ḥadīth* is given from Anas stating that Ubayy quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "God ordered me to recite the Qur'ān to you."

Ubayy asked, "Did he actually name me, Messenger of God?" "Yes," he replied. And Ubayy's eyes welled with tears.

What is meant here by "to recite the Qur'ān to you" is a recitation to inform and to make heard, not a recitation from which learning comes. This is something that none of the scholars understand; however, we are drawing attention to this view so that its opposite will not be believed.

In another place we have given the reason for the recitation made to him, and to the fact that he recited to him the *sūrat*: "Those of the people of the Book and the polytheists who disbelieved could not be abandoned until clear evidence came to them, a Messenger from God reciting pages made pure that contain priceless writings" (*sūrat al-Bayyina*; XCIX, v.1-3).

That related to Ubayy b. Ka'b having berated another man for having recited the *sūra* in a manner different from Ubayy's own recitation. Ubayy complained about him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, "Recite then, Ubayy." When Ubayy had done so, he said, "That is how it was revealed." He then said to the other man, "Now you recite." He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "That is how it was revealed."

Ubayy narrated, "At this doubt seized me, that I might still be in the *jāhiliyya*! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) struck me on the chest and I broke out in sweat, feeling that I was looking differently at God." After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited to him this chapter to establish and explain to him that this Qur'ān was truth and veracity, and that it was revealed in many recitations in mercy and kindness to the worshippers.

Ibn Abū Khaythama stated. "He was the first person to write down the revelation in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

There is disagreement over the date of his death. It is variously said to have occurred in 19, 30 or 23 AH. It is also said to have been one week prior to the assassination of 'Uthmān. But God knows best.

Arqam b. Abū Arqam was also one of them. His name was 'Abd Manāf b. Asad b. Jundab b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm al-Makhzūmī.

He accepted Islam early. It was he in whose home at al-Ṣafā the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained hidden. That house later became known as *al-khayzurān*, "the tiller of the rudder". He participated in the Hijra, at the battle of Badr and thereafter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between him and 'Abd Allāh b. Anīs.

It was he who wrote out the tenancy document for land at Fakh for 'Azīm b. al-Hārith al-Muḥārībī, and other documents, as ordered by the Messenger of

God (ṢAAS). This is according to the account of the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir, through 'Atīq b. Ya'qūb al-Zubayrī, who narrated on a line through 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather 'Amr b. Ḥazm.

He died in either 53 or 55 AH, at the age of 85.

Imām Aḥmad narrated two *aḥādīth* in which Arqam is quoted. In the first, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa stated, the wording given being from Aḥmad, that 'Abbād b. 'Abbād al-Muhallabī related to him, from Hishām b. Ziyād, from 'Ammār b. Sa'd, from 'Uthmān b. Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam, from his father, a Companion of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who quoted the latter as having said, "Whoever steps over the necks of the people at the Friday prayer assembly and separates between two (persons) after the appearance of the Imām (for the sermon) is like him who drags his intestines in hell-fire!"

In the second case, Aḥmad stated that 'Iṣām b. Khālīd related to him, quoting al-'Aṭṭāf b. Khālīd, quoting Yahyā b. 'Imrān, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. al-Arqam, from his grandfather al-Arqam, who said that he came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, "Where are you heading?" "I am heading over there, Messenger of God," he replied, gesturing in the direction of Jerusalem. "And what is taking you there; business?" asked the Prophet (ṢAAS). "No," he replied, "I wanted to pray there." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, "Prayer over here," – and he gestured towards Mecca – "is better than 1,000 prayers" – and he gestured towards Syria.

Aḥmad is alone in giving both of these.

They also include Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān, also known as Abū Muḥammad al-Madanī, the *khāṭīb al-anṣār*, "the orator of the *anṣār*", and as the *khāṭīb al-nabī*, "the orator of the Prophet (ṢAAS)".

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated that 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'īnī informed him, giving lines of transmission from his elders from the delegations of Arabs who had gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). These men said, "'Abd Allāh b. 'Abs al-Numālī and Maslama b. Hazzān al-Ḥuddānī came in a group of men of their tribes to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after the conquest of Mecca. They accepted Islam and pledged allegiance on behalf of their people. He wrote for them a document specifying the alms payments due from their properties. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās wrote it out, and Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Muḥammad b. Maslama, may God be pleased with them, witnessed it.

This man is among those of whom it is affirmed in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced that they would go to paradise.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated in his *ḥadīth* collection, with a line of transmission that meets the criteria of Muslim, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "What an excellent man is Abū Bakr! What an excellent man is

‘Umar! What an excellent man is Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh! What an excellent man is Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr! What an excellent man is Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās! What an excellent man is Mu‘adh b. ‘Amr b. al-Jamūh.”

Thābit b. Qays, may God be pleased with him, was martyred at the battle of al-Yamāma, in 12 AH, during the rule of Abū Bakr.

They also include Ḥanzala b. al-Rabī‘ b. Sayfī b. Rabāḥ b. al-Ḥārith b. Mukhāshin b. Mu‘āwiya b. Sharīf b. Jarwa b. Usayd b. ‘Amr b. Tamīm al-Tamīmī al-Usaydī al-Kātib, “the scribe”, his brother Rabāḥ, who was also a Companion, and his uncle Aktham b. Ṣayfī, who was (known as) *ḥakīm al-‘Arab*, “the sage of the Arabs”.

Al-Wāqidī stated, “He wrote a document for the Prophet (ṢAAS).” Others said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him to the people of al-Ṭā‘if to make peace. He participated in Khālīd’s campaigns in Irāq and elsewhere. He lived on into the rule of ‘Alī, but he did not participate with him in ‘the battle of the camel’²⁰⁴ and other engagements. He moved away from Kūfa because of the curses ‘Uthmān spoke on it, and died after the period of ‘Alī’s rule.”

Ibn al-Athīr narrated in *al-Ghāba* that after his death, his wife expressed her grief over him, leading her neighbouring women to criticize her. She spoke the following verses on the subject:

“Da‘d was surprised at a woman mourning for a venerable
grey-beard!

If you would ask me today what it is that pained me, I
would tell you what is no lie;

My eye is deathly afflicted by sorrow for Ḥanzala, the
scribe.”

Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Raqqī stated, “He remained aloof from civil strife until he died, after ‘Alī. Two *aḥādīth* stem from him.”

I observe that in fact there were three.

Imān stated that ‘Abd al-Ṣamad and ‘Affān both stated that Hamām related to them, that Qatāda quoted Ḥanzala al-Kātib as having said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘Those who observe the five prayers, performing their prostrations, and the kneelings and their ablution at their proper times, and recognize that these are a duty owed to God, will enter paradise.’” Alternately, the words were “their due will be paradise”.

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. It is missing a link connecting between Qatāda and Ḥanzala. But God knows best.

The second *ḥadīth* is as follows. Aḥmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Sa‘īd al-Jarīrī, from Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdī, who

204. At Khurayba, near Basra, on 10th Jumādā 11 AH (December 4, 656 AD), where the caliph ‘Alī defeated the combined forces of ‘Aṣīsha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr who were contesting the legitimacy of his rule.

quoted Ḥanzala as having (quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS)), as having said, "If all of you remain as you are with me, the angels will greet you while you are meeting, while you are travelling and while you are in your beds; but you (only spend) part of your time with me."

Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhi also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Imrān b. Dā'ūd al-Qaṭṭān, from Qatāda, from Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shikhhīr, from Ḥanzala.

The third *ḥadīth* is as follows. Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-Muraqqa' b. Ṣayfi b. Ḥanzala, from his grandfather, concerning the prohibition of killing women in warfare.

However, Imām Aḥmad narrated it from 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Ibn Jurayj, who gave a line from Abū al-Zinād, from Muraqqa' b. Ṣayfi b. Rabāḥ b. Rabī', from his grandfather Rabāḥ b. Rabī', the brother of Ḥanzala al-Kātib.

Aḥmad also narrated it similarly from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. Abū al-'Abbās, both of whom quoted from al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from his father. And from Sa'īd b. Maṣṣūr and Abū 'Āmir al-'Aqadī, both of whom quoted from al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Abū al-Zinād, from Muraqqa', from his grandfather Rabāḥ. And also through al-Mughīra. Al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja narrated it similarly. Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of 'Umar b. Muraqqa', from his father, from his grandfather Rabāḥ.

The *ḥadīth* is therefore from Rabāḥ, not from Ḥanzala. Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba therefore stated, "Sufyān al-Thawrī was mistaken about this *ḥadīth*."

I note that Ibn al-Raqqī was correct in stating that Ḥanzala narrated only two *aḥādīth*. But God knows best.

Khalīd b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf Abū Sa'īd al-Umawī was among them.

He accepted Islam early. It is said that he was the third, fourth or at most fifth after Abū Bakr.

It is said that his accepting Islam was due to a dream he had. In it he was standing on the edge of hell, the extent of which only God knew.

"It was as though his father was pushing him towards it, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was holding him by the hand to prevent him from falling. He narrated this vision to Abū Bakr, who told him, 'Nothing but good was wished for you; this is the Messenger of God; follow him and you will escape what you feared.'" And so he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam.

"When news of this reached his father, he was very angry and hit him so hard with a stick he held that he broke it over his head. He threw him out of the house, denied him food and forbade his brothers from speaking to him. And so Khalīd remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), night and day. Thereafter his brother 'Amr also accepted Islam.

"When the Muslims went to exile in Abyssinia, these two men accompanied them. It was he who eventually arranged the marriage between Umm Ḥabiba

and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we have told above. Both men thereafter went on the Hijra from Abyssinia (to Medina) in the company of Ja'far. They reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Khaybar after his conquest of it. After consultation with the other Muslims, he gave them both shares of the spoils. Their brother Abān b. Sa'īd also arrived and participated at Khaybar, as narrated above, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned them various duties.

"During the caliphate of Abū Bakr both men went to battle in Syria, and Khālīd was killed at Ajnadayn; however, some say it was at Marj al-Saffar. God knows best."

ʿAtīq b. Ya'qūb stated that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, to the effect that Khālīd b. Sa'īd wrote the following document on behalf of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): "In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. This has been given by Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabb al-Sulamī. He has awarded him two *ghalwa*²⁰⁵ (of land) and one *ghalwa* at the rock at Ruhāt. No one should fear him. He is trustworthy. Khālīd b. Sa'īd wrote this."

Muḥammad b. Sa'īd stated, according to al-Wāqidi, that Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd related to him, that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān said, "Khālīd b. Sa'īd remained in Medina following his arrival from Abyssinia. He acted as a scribe for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); it was he who wrote the document for the people of al-Ṭāʾif to the delegation of Thaḳīf and strove to arrange peace between them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

They also included Khālīd b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm Abū Sulaymān al-Makhzūmī.

He was the commander of the victorious armies, the man in charge of those illustrious soldiers, and glorious and famous battles. He was of firm judgement, great bravery and fine conduct. He was father to Sulaymān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd.

It is said that he was never a participant in an army that was defeated, either before or after Islam.

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "He had the status of a chief among Quraysh and was in command of the cavalry."

He, along with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa, accepted Islam after al-Ḥudaybiyya and before Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) soon gave him charge of expeditions and then, during the rule of Abū Bakr, he became commander-in-chief of all the Muslim forces.

When ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded to power, he dismissed him and appointed Abū ʿUbayda as *amin al-umma*, "the guardian of the community", with orders that he not disregard the views of (Khālīd b. al-Walīd) Abū Sulaymān.

Khālīd died during the reign of ʿUmar, it is said in 21 AH or 22 AH, the former date being correct, in a village a mile distant from Ḥimṣ. Al-Wāqidi stated, "I asked about its whereabouts but was told that it had been obliterated."

205. A measure of length; the distance travelled by an arrow.

Duḥaym stated, "He died in Medina." The first place of death mentioned is correct.

He narrated *ahādīth* too numerous to relate here.

ʿAtīq b. Yaʿqūb stated that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, that the following referred to land tenancies the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) granted: "In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to the Believers. The game from Ṣayduḥ and Ṣayda²⁰⁶ may not be mutilated or killed. Anyone discovered so doing shall be flogged and have his clothing taken away. Those transgressing this order shall be seized and the Prophet shall be informed of him. This comes from Muḥammad the Prophet. It is written by Khālīd b. al-Walīd upon command of the Messenger of God. Let no one transgress this or he will do harm to himself regarding what Muḥammad has ordered."

They also include al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Asadī.

He was one of "the ten"²⁰⁷ and also one of the *aṣḥāb al-shūrā*, "the Companions consulted" about whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed his satisfaction at the time of his death. He was also regarded as a *ḥawārī*, "disciple", of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with his cousin, the son of his aunt Ṣafīyya, daughter of Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and was the husband of Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

ʿAtīq b. Yaʿqūb narrated, with the line of transmission given above, that it was al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām who wrote the document for Banū Muṭāwīya b. Jarwal, as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn ʿAsākir narrated this, giving his line of transmission from ʿAtīq.

Al-Zubayr, may God be pleased with him, accepted Islam early, while he was 16 years old; some say his age was 18. He took part in both exiles and participated in all the battles. He was the first person to draw his sword in God's cause.

He participated, with the greatest distinction of all, at the battle of al-Yarmūk. That day he twice pierced the ranks of the Byzantines from front to rear, emerging safely from the other side. However, he received two wounds on his back. May God be pleased with him.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for both his parents at the battle of al-khandaq, "the trench" and said, "Every prophet has a disciple, and my disciple is al-Zubayr."

Many virtues and fine deeds are attributed to him. He died at the battle of the camel. His death came about after he had turned around and was returning from the battle. ʿAmr b. Jurmūz, Faḍāla b. Ḥābis and a third man called al-Naʿr, all of Banū Tamīm, caught up with him at a place called Wādī al-Sibā'. ʿAmr b. Jurmūz came upon him while he slept and killed him. That was on a Thursday,

206. Locations near Medina.

207. See Vol. I.

ten days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Uwlā in 36 AH. At that time he was 67 years old.

He died leaving a substantial inheritance. After the deduction of 2,200,000 *dinārs*, he left a testamentary bequest of one-third. When his debts had been satisfied, and the third had been extracted, the remainder was divided among his heirs. Each of his wives – of whom there were four – received 1,200,000 *dinārs*. The total amount of his estate to which we are referring was some 59,800,000 *dinārs*.

All this came to him by legitimate means during his life, from income he received from the *al-fayʿ*²⁰⁸ and the *maghānim*²⁰⁸ and through various kinds of permissible business activities. All that accrued after his payment of the *zakāt*, “the charity payments”, at the appropriate times, and numerous contacts with the recipients at the times of their need.

May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure, making the gardens of paradise his residence; and indeed He has! For the Lord of both those who came first and those who came after, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, has testified that there will be paradise for him. And to God be all praise and credit!

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghāba* that he had a 1,000 slaves collecting the *kharaḥ* tax payments for him, and that he would donate all that to charity.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses giving him praise and credit for that:

“He grew up in the era and guidance of the Prophet, as
his disciple, and speech with merit rings true.

He grew up in accord with his way and his path, allying
with the agent of truth, and the truth is fully just.

He was that famous knight, that hero who sprang forward
at every famous battle.

He was a man whose mother was Ṣafīyya, and he descended
from a proud man named Asad, ‘lion’.

He had close family ties with the Messenger of God, and
from fighting for Islam comes glory deeply secure.

Many were the dangers al-Zubayr deflected with his
sword from *al-Muṣṭafā*, ‘the chosen one’, and God rewards
most generously.

When war emerged, he would slice at it, his blade
flashing forward, charging proudly towards death.

He had no peer among them, nor was ever his like
before, and his fame will never, for all time, fade.”

It has been recorded above that ‘Amr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī killed him in Wādī al-Sibā‘ while he was asleep. Alternately, it is said that he emerged in a daze from

208. The term *al-fayʿ* is generally applied to goods and properties taken from unbelievers without battle having been engaged, while *al-maghānim* applies to spoils seized after warfare.

his sleep and rode away, but was confronted by Ibn Jurmūz. When al-Zubayr overcame him, Ibn Jurmūz was rescued by his two companions, Faḍāla and al-Na'ṣ, and they all killed him. 'Amr b. Jurmūz took his head and his sword. When he brought both of these to 'Alī, the latter said on seeing al-Zubayr's sword, "Many is the time this sword deflected danger from the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Among other comments he made, 'Alī said, "Announce to the killer of Ṣafiyya's son that he's going to hell-fire!"

It is said that when 'Amr b. Jurmūz heard that, he killed himself. The fact is, however, that he lived on after 'Alī into the rule of Ibn al-Zubayr (al-Zubayr's son 'Abd Allāh). The latter appointed his brother Muṣ'ab to rule in Irāq on his own behalf, and 'Amr b. Jurmūz disappeared, fearing that once in authority Muṣ'ab would kill him to avenge his father. Muṣ'ab ordered, "Inform him that he is safe; does he really think I would kill him for 'Abd Allāh's father (al-Zubayr)? Certainly not, I swear by God; they are not equal!"

This decision stems from Muṣ'ab's qualities of shrewdness, intelligence and leadership.

Al-Zubayr narrated numerous *aḥādīth* relating to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), too many to mention here.

When al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām was killed at Wādī al-Siba', as related above, his wife 'Ātika, daughter of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, recited the following verses:

"Ibn Jurmūz deceived the army's champion knight, that
day the forces clashed; he was not one to flee!

'Amr, if you had warned him, you would not have found
him effeminate, his hand or heart trembling.

Many were the battles he engaged, no resistance turning
him aside, you utter coward!

May your mother mourn you! You were never victorious
over his like in any that went before or ever will be.

By God, your Lord, if you kill a Muslim, the punishment
of the Resolute One will alight upon you!"

Zayd b. Thābit b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Zayd b. Lawdhān b. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. 'Awf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī, Abū Sa'īd, was among them. He was also known as Abū Khārīja, and as Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī.

He came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in Medina when he was 11 years old. Therefore, due to his youth, he did not participate in the battle of Badr, nor in that at Uḥud. The first battle in which he took part was that of al-khandaq, "the trench". He participated in all thereafter.

He was a *ḥāfiẓ*, a learned man of high intelligence. It is established about him in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered him to learn the writing system of the Jews in order to be able to read to the Prophet (ṢAAS) whatever they might write to him. He learned this in 15 days.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān, from Abū al-Zinād, from Khārija b. Zayd, who quoted his father Zayd as having said, after having come to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Medina, "I was taken to him, and he was impressed with me. People said, 'Messenger of God, this youth is from Banū al-Najjār; he knows from ten to twenty or so of the *sūrat* that God revealed to you.' This delighted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he told him, 'Zayd, learn for me the writing of the Jews; I swear by God, I don't trust a Jew to read to me.'"

Zayd went on, "So I set about learning their writing and had mastered it before 15 days had passed. I used to read to him whatever letters they wrote to him, and answered them on his behalf."

Aḥmad then narrated this from Shurayḥ b. al-Nu'mān, from Ibn Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from Khārija, from his father who related it similarly.

Al-Bukhārī gave it in his work *al-Aḥkām* from Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit in an abbreviated form.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Yūnus. Al-Tirmidhī gave it from 'Alī b. Ḥajr. They both related it from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from Khārija, from his father.

Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

This was truly extraordinary intelligence. He was one of those who collected the Qur'ān during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from the reciters, as is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Anas.

Aḥmad and al-Nasā'ī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Qalāba, from Anas, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said, "The person most kind towards my nation is Abū Bakr. The most severe in it for God's religion is 'Umar. The one in it most sincere in humility is 'Uthmān. The most decisive of them is 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib. The man of them most knowledgeable of what is permissible and what forbidden is Mu'adh b. Jabal. The one most knowledgeable about the religious duties of Islam is Zayd b. Thābit. And every nation has an *amin*,²⁰⁹ 'a fully trustworthy man'. The *amin* of this nation is Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ."

There are some *ḥuffāz* who consider this *ḥadīth mursal*, "incomplete", except in so far as it refers to Abū 'Ubayda. It is given in this line of transmission in the *ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

Zayd wrote down the revelations in the presence, in several locations, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

One of the clearest evidences of this is in the statement from him established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, in which he said, "When the words of Almighty God came down, "Those believers who stay back and those who strive hard in God's cause are not equal"²¹⁰ (*sūrat al-Nisā'*; IV, v.95), the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)

209. This honorific epithet is, of course, said to have been universally applied in Mecca to the Prophet (ṢAAS), prior to his Hijra. See Vol. I.

210. The additional words referred to in the next paragraph are, part of the text of the Qur'ān as we know it and follow the word "back" in this verse.

called out to me and said, 'Write down, "Those believers who stay back and those who strive hard in God's cause are not equal."' "

"Then Ibn Umm Maktūm arrived and began complaining about his injuries. While his leg was pressing hard against my own – hard enough to almost bruise it – revelation again came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with the words *ghayru ūli al-ḍarar*, 'except those who have suffered injury'. He ordered me to add these words, and I did so. And I well know the place where it was added – at a crack in that tablet – of bone, that is."

Zayd participated in the expedition to al-Yamāma and he was struck by an arrow that did not seriously harm him. It was he whom Abū Bakr thereafter ordered to seek out and assemble the Qur'ān. He told him, "You are an intelligent young man about whom we have no suspicions; and you used to write down the revelation for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Therefore, seek out and assemble the Qur'ān." And Zayd did as Abū Bakr had ordered him. There was much good in that; and to God be all praise and credit.

Umar twice, while making the pilgrimage, appointed Zayd to govern Medina on his behalf, as he did when he made an expedition to Syria. Uthmān also appointed him to govern Medina.

Ali liked him very well. Zayd extolled Ali and gave recognition to his worthiness, although he did not participate with him in any of his battles. He lived on after Ali, dying in 45 AH; that date is also given as 51 or 55 AH.

He was one of those who wrote the *maṣāḥif al-a'imma*,²¹¹ "the master copies", that Uthmān b. Affān dispatched to all parts. It was these that gave to the reading the official stamp of consensus and approval, as we have established in our book *Tafsir (Exegesis of) al-Qur'ān*. And to God be all praise and credit.

Al-Sijil was also one of them, as is stated in the *ḥadīth* narrated on that subject from Ibn 'Abbās; on the assumption of its authenticity, that is, about which there is some controversy.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Qutayba b. Sa'īd narrated to him, quoting Nūḥ b. Qays, from Yazīd b. Ka'b, from 'Amr b. Mālik, from Abū al-Jawzā', from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "Al-Sijil was a scribe of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Nasā'ī narrated it thus from Qutayba, who quoted Ibn 'Abbās as having said regarding the verse, "That day when we will roll up the heavens as *al-sijil*²¹² rolls up writings" (*sūrat al-Anbiyyā'*; XXI, v.104). This word *al-Sijil* refers to the man."

This is his wording.

211. The term given to the "authorized" text of the Qur'ān agreed upon by a commission formed by the caliph Uthmān consisting of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, Sa'īd b. al-Aṣ and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith. Copies of this text were dispatched to various cities with instructions that any "deviant" versions should be destroyed.

212. The word is frequently interpreted to mean "scroll"; the text would therefore read, "as a scroll rolls up writings".

Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarīr narrates, concerning the same verse, from Naṣr b. ʿAlī, from Nūḥ b. Qays, a source considered trustworthy and among those quoted by Muslim. Ibn Maʿīn, however, categorizes him as a weak source in one account quoting him. Regarding his teacher Sheikh Yazīd b. Kaʿb al-ʿAwdhī al-Baṣrī, only Nūḥ b. Qays quotes from him. Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥibbān includes him among those to be considered trustworthy sources.

I brought this *ḥadīth* to the attention of my teacher the *ḥāfiẓ* Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī; he deprecated it strongly. I informed him that our very learned Sheikh Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Taymiyya used to say, “This *ḥadīth* is fabricated, even if included in the *sunan* of Abū Dāʿūd!” Our teacher Sheikh al-Mizzī commented, “I say the same!”

I note that the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn ʿAdī narrated it in his work *al-Kāmil* from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, known as “Būma”, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAmr, from Mālik al-Bakrī, from his father, from Abū al-Jawzāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had a scribe named al-Sijil. He is referred to in the words of the Almighty, ‘That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings.’ Just as al-Sijil rolls up writings, thus will the heavens be rolled up.”

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it similarly from Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda, from Abū ʿAlī al-Rafāʾ, from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAmr b. Mālik. This Yaḥyā is considered a very weak source, one upon whom one should not depend. But God knows best.

Stranger still than that is what was also narrated by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Manda from a *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Baghdādī, known as “Ḥamdān”, from Ibn Bahz, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) had a scribe called Sijil and God revealed, ‘That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings.’” Ibn Manda commented, “This is *gharīb*. Ḥamdān is alone in giving it.”

Al-Barqānī stated, “Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Azdī stated, ‘Ibn Numayr was alone in giving it, if authentic.’”

This is also objectionable when narrated from Ibn ʿUmar, just as it was when from Ibn ʿAbbās. For a quite different statement is also attributed to both. Al-Wālibī and al-ʿAwfī quote Ibn ʿAbbās as having stated with reference to this verse, “(it means) like the rolling of a *ṣaḥīfa* (sheet of paper etc) over writings”. Mujāhid stated the same.

Ibn Jarir stated, “It is well known in the language that *al-sijil* means a *ṣaḥīfa*.”

He went on, “No one among the Companions is known by the name al-Sijil.”

And it is objectionable for al-Sijil to have been the name of one of the angels, as was narrated from Abū Kurayb, from Ibn Yamān, who stated that Abū al-Wāḥid al-Ashjaʿī related to him, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, regarding the verse, “That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings”, “Al-Sijil was an angel. Whenever he ascended with a request for forgiveness, God would say, ‘Write it in light.’”

He also stated that Bandar related to him, from Mu'ammil, from Sufyān, who said, "I heard al-Suddī say . . ." And he went on to narrate it similarly.

Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir stated the same, narrating from Abū Kurayb, from Mubārak, from Ma'rūf b. Kharrabūdh, from someone who heard Abū Ja'far say, "Al-Sijil is an angel."

Ibn Jarīr's denial that al-Sijil was the name of either a Companion or an angel is very convincing, while the *ḥadīth* to the contrary is very objectionable. Those, like Ibn Manda, Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī and Ibn al-Athīr, in *al-Ghāba*, only do so to give credibility to this *ḥadīth*, or to comment upon its authenticity. But God knows best.

They also included Sa'd b. Abū Sarḥ, according to a statement made by Khalifa b. Khayyāt.

It has been imagined that this man was his son 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abū Sarḥ, as will be explained shortly, if God so wills it.

'Āmir b. Fuhayra, a freedman of Abū Bakr, was also one of them.

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Abd al-Razzāq related to me, from Ma'mar, who quoted al-Zuhri as having said, "Abd al-Malik b. Mālik al-Mudliji informed me, he being the cousin of Surāqa b. Mālik, that his father informed him that he heard Surāqa say . . ." And he proceeded to narrate the Hijra of the Prophet (ṢAAS). In this narrative, he said, "So I told him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), 'Your people have put a price on your head!' And I related to them news relating to their departure and what people wanted to do with them. Then I offered them provisions, but they would not accept anything from me and asked me to leave them alone. I asked him if he would write down a safe conduct for me, and he told 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, who did so on a piece of leather. Then he left."

I note that the *ḥadīth* is given complete above in the material relating to the Hijra. It is also recorded that it was Abū Bakr who wrote this document for Surāqa. But God knows best.

'Āmir b. Fuhayra – known as Abū 'Amr – was of mixed blood of Banū Azd. He was black in complexion. He had earlier been a freed-man of Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith, the brother of 'Ā'isha through her mother Umm Rūmān. He accepted Islam early, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took refuge in the home of al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam at al-Ṣafā. 'Āmir was tortured along with all the others persecuted at Mecca to make them give up their faith. He refused, and Abū Bakr purchased him, then set him free. He would herd goats for him outside Mecca.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the Hijra, he accompanied Abū Bakr, who bore him on his mount. They also had al-Dilī, the guide, with them. This is narrated in full above.

Upon their arrival in Medina, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between 'Āmir and Aws b. Mu'adh. He participated in Badr and at Uḥud.

He was killed at the battle of Bḡr Maʿūna, as was related above. That was in 4 AH. At that time he was 40 years of age. But God knows best.

ʿUrwa, Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidi and other scholars state that ʿĀmir was killed at Bḡr Maʿūna by a man named Jabbār b. Sulmā, of Banū Kilāb. When ʿĀmir was pierced by the spear, he said, "I have succeeded, by the Lord of the *kaʿba*!" ʿĀmir was then raised up until he disappeared from sight, so that ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl said, "He was raised up until I could see the sky and not him!"

ʿAmr b. Umayya was asked about him and he replied, "He was one of the best of us, and one of the earliest members of the household of our Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Jabbār stated, "I asked al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān what he meant by what he said. He replied, 'He was referring to paradise.'"

"Al-Ḍaḥḥāk invited me to accept Islam, and I did so when I saw what happened at the death of ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), informing him of my acceptance of Islam and of what had happened to ʿĀmir. He commented, 'The angels concealed him and he has taken up residence with the spiritual hierarchy.'"

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections Anas is quoted as having said, "He recited to us a Qurʾān verse about them: 'Inform our people that we have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.'"²¹³

Reference is made above to this in the material treating the engagement at Bḡr Maʿūna.²¹⁴

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Hishām b. ʿUrwa related to him, from his father, that ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl used to ask, "Which of your men was it whom, when killed, was raised up between earth and sky so that you could see sky only, and not him?"

"That was ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra," they would reply.

Al-Wāqidi stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as having said, "ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra was raised up into the sky; his body was not found."

They say that the angels concealed it.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Arqam b. Abū Arqam al-Makhzūmī was also among them.

He accepted Islam the year of the conquest of Mecca and he wrote on behalf of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Mālik stated, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) would send out what he did and would thank him and express his appreciation."

Salama stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār, from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam b. ʿAbd Yaghūth to write letters for him in response to the (letters) of the kings. His trust in ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam so developed that he would tell him to write to certain kings; he would write and

213. This verse, not present in the Qurʾān, is evidently a false attribution thereto.

214. Vol. III, p. 95 et seq.

the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would put his seal on what he read (back) because of his trust in him.

He acted as scribe for Abū Bakr, who gave him charge of the treasury. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb confirmed him in both positions. When ʿUthmān succeeded, he dismissed him from them.

I note that this was after ʿAbd Allāh b. Arqam had tendered his resignation. It is said that ʿUthmān offered him 300,000 *dirhams* as his salary, but he refused to accept this. He replied, "What I did was for God; my reward is up to God, Almighty and Glorious is He."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Zayd b. Thābit wrote for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If neither Ibn al-Arqam nor Zayd b. Thābit were there, then someone else present would write.

"ʿUmar, ʿAli, Zayd, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, Muʿāwiya, Khālīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and others named by the Arabs wrote for him."

Al-Aʿmash stated, "I asked Shaqīq b. Salama, 'Who was the scribe for the Prophet (ṢAAS)?' He replied, 'ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam. ʿUmar brought out at al-Qadisiyya a document of Abū Bakr and at its base were the words, 'Written by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Hāfiẓ related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Hānī, quoting al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Salama al-Mājushūn, from ʿAbd al-Wahīd b. Abū ʿAwn, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) brought a letter from some man and he asked ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam, 'Respond for me.' He wrote the reply, then read it to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'You have done it correctly and well. May God give him success!'

"When ʿUmar acceded, he would seek ʿAbd Allāh's counsel. And ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is quoted as having said, 'I never saw anyone more fearful of God than him.' He meant any one of the workers."

He was, may God be pleased with him, injured before his death.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbihi al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, the originator of the call to prayer, was one of them.

He accepted Islam early and was present at the *ʿaqabat al-sabʿin*, the "ʿAqaba meeting of the 70".²¹⁵ He participated at the battle of Badr and later engagements.

One of his greatest credits is his having had a vision of the call to prayer in his sleep and his having repeated this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who responded, "These are visions of truth. Stand with Bilāl and deliver them to him so that he can use them to announce the call to prayer; he has a stronger voice than you."

We have given the *ḥadīth* relating to this above.²¹⁶

215. See above Vol. II, pages 129–140.

216. See Vol. II, page 222.

Al-Wāqidī narrated, giving lines of transmission from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wrote a letter to those of Banū Jurash who accepted Islam, ordering them to perform the prayer, pay the *zakāt*, and to donate one-fifth of the booty they took.

He died in 32 AH at 64 years of age. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, may God be pleased with him, performed the prayers for the deceased.

Of them also was ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. Abū Sarḥ al-Qurashī al-‘Āmirī, a foster-brother of ‘Uthmān by his mother; ‘Uthmān’s mother suckled him, that is.

He wrote down the revelation and later seceded from Islam, joining the polytheists in Mecca. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered it, having declared it lawful to spill his blood, along with certain others there, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d went to ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān and sought his protection. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then guaranteed his safety, as we have narrated above in the account of the conquest of Mecca. Thereafter, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d was an extremely good Muslim.

Abū Dā‘ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marūzī related to him, quoting ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from his father, from Yazīd al-Nahwī, from ‘Ikrima, who quoted Ibn ‘Abbās, as having said, “‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. Abū Sarḥ was a scribe for the Prophet (ṢAAS). Then Satan made him slip, and he joined the unbelievers. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that he be executed. ‘Uthmān asked for him to have protection and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) guaranteed his safety.”

Al-Nasā‘ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid.

I note that he was on the right wing of the army of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ when ‘Amr conquered Egypt in 20 AH, during the rule of ‘Umar. ‘Umar appointed ‘Amr his governor there; when ‘Uthmān succeeded to the caliphate, he dismissed ‘Amr and, in 25 AH, appointed ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d in command of Egypt.

‘Uthmān ordered ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d to conquer Africa and he attacked and conquered it. There the army acquired great wealth. The share of the booty received by each of the army’s cavalry was 3,000 *mithqāl*²¹⁷ of gold. Each foot soldier received 1,000 *mithqāl*. With him in that army were three men named ‘Abd Allāh: ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr.

Thereafter ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d attacked the blacks of Nubia and established with them a truce that is still in effect today. That was in 31 AH. He then commanded a naval expedition against the Byzantines; it was a great expedition.

When disagreement arose over ‘Uthmān, he left Egypt, appointing a deputy to govern it, in order to go to aid ‘Uthmān. When ‘Uthmān was killed, he took up residence in ‘Asqalān (Ashkelon) – or alternatively, at Ramla – and prayed to God to take him during prayer. One day he performed the dawn prayer, in the first part of which he recited the *fātiḥa* and the (*sūrat*) *al-Ādiyāt* (C), and in the

217. A weight equal to one-and-a-half *dirham*.

second part the *fātiḥa* and a *sūrat*. When he had finished the *al-tashahhud* he performed the salutation of the first *taslīma*. He was then about to perform the second *taslīma*, but died between the two salutations; may God be pleased with him. His death occurred in 36 AH or in 37 AH. It is also said that he lived on until 59 AH. The first date of death is correct.

No narratives stemming from him occur in the six canonical collections of *aḥādīth*, nor in the *al-Musnad* collection of Imām Aḥmad.

They also include 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān, Abū Bakr, "the trusting". I have made reference to his biography in the material relating to his caliphate. I constructed a whole volume on his life and the *aḥādīth* he narrated and the statements attributed to him.

The proof that he wrote for him is in what Mūsā b. 'Uqba related, from al-Zuhri, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik b. Ju'shum, from his father, from Surāqa b. Mālik, in his account of his pursuit of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had left the cave and was passing through his tribe's territory. When he came upon them and the incident occurred with his mare, he asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for a safe conduct and the latter told him to write a note for him and then gave it to him.

Imām Aḥmad narrated, through al-Zuhri, with the same line of transmission, that 'Āmir b. Fuhayra wrote it. It is likely that Abū Bakr wrote part of it, then gave orders to his freed-man 'Āmir, who wrote the remainder. But God knows best.

Also among them was 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the Commander of the Believers. I have detailed his biography in the material relating to his caliphate; his having engaged in writing in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is well known. Al-Wāqidi gives lines of transmission narrating that when Nahshal b. Mālik al-Wā'ili came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the latter gave orders to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and so he wrote for him a document specifying the ordinances of Islam.

They also included 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, the Commander of the Believers. I have detailed his biography in material relating to his caliphate. It is narrated above how he wrote the peace agreement between the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Quraysh at Ḥudaybiyya, specifying that the Muslims would be safe, that there would be no swords drawn, nor chains used, and that there would be no warfare for ten years. He also wrote other documents in the presence of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Regarding the claim made by a group of Jews of Khaybar that they hold a document from the Prophet (ṢAAS), concerning their exemption from payment of the *jizya* tax, and its having been signed as having been written by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and witnessed by a group of Companions, including Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān – this is all a lie and a fabrication, a pure invention.

A number of scholars have made clear the falseness of their claim; however, certain early jurists were deceived and recommended that they be exempt from payment of the *jizya*. This decision is very weak.

I have gathered all material relating to this, dedicating to it a separate section in which I established its falseness and the fact that it was a fabrication. They completely invented it, as they are capable of doing! I have examined this fully and gathered all the variety of statements made about it by the *imāms*. And all praise and credit go to God.

Included among those who wrote for him was the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; I have given details of his life in its proper place. I have devoted a separate volume to him and another large work that gives the *aḥādith* he narrated concerning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with the statements and regulations attributed to ʿUmar. Reference to his having written for the Prophet (ṢAAS) is given above in the material relating to the life of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arḡam.

They include al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī; al-Ḥaḍramī's name is also given as ʿAbbād, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād b. Akbar b. Rabīʿa b. ʿArīf b. Mālik b. al-Khazraj b. Iyyād b. al-Ṣadaf b. Zayd b. Muqniʿ b. Ḥaḍramawt b. Qaḥṭān. A different genealogy is also given for him.

He was of the allies of Banū Umayya. Reference to his having written (for the Prophet (ṢAAS)) is given above in the details relating to the life of Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿAṣ.

He had ten brothers. They included ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the first polytheist killed by the Muslims, in the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, the first such foray, as is narrated above.

ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī was also among them. It was he to whom Abū Jahl, may God curse him, gave orders so that he exposed his private parts and called out, "Woe for ʿAmr! Woe for ʿAmr!"²¹⁸ This was when the Muslims and the polytheists lined up to do battle at Badr. At that the warfare was waged furiously, with the outcome as we have described at length above.

They also included Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, one of the very best of the Companions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said of him, "That is a man who does not use the Qurʾān as a pillow!" By this he meant that he did not go to sleep and abandon it, but was conscious of it at all times of the day and night.

All these men had only one sister, al-Saʿba, daughter of al-Ḥaḍramī, the mother of Ṭalḥa b. Ubayd Allāh.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, the king of al-Baḥrayn. He appointed al-ʿAlāʾ as its ruler after he conquered it, and Abū Bakr confirmed him in that position, as did ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He remained in that role there until ʿUmar removed him and appointed him Governor of Basra. He died while *en route*, in 21 AH.

Al-Bayhaqī and others attribute to him many wonderful deeds. One such is his having led his army out upon the sea without the water having reached up

218. See Vol. II, page 270.

to the stirrups of their horses! Other accounts say the undersides of their horses' hooves did not even get wet, after he had ordered them all to call out, Yā Ḥalim! Yā 'Azīm! "O Wise One! "O Mighty One!". Another incident related to his being with his army when they were desperate for water. He prayed to God who sent down rain to satisfy their need. Also, when he was about to be buried, no trace at all of him could be seen! He had asked God for that.

Details relating to all this will come shortly in my work *Dalā'il al-Nubumma*, if God so wills it.

He is credited with three *aḥādīth* from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The first is as follows. Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. 'Uyayna related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, from al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd, from al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "The *muhājir* remains for three days after the completion of his ceremonies."

The scholastic community all give this from his *ḥadīth*.

The second is as follows. Aḥmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Manṣūr, from Ibn Sirīn, from Ibn al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who said that his father wrote to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and began it by reference to himself.

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it thus from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

The third *ḥadīth* is narrated by Aḥmad and by Ibn Māja, through Muḥammad b. Zayd, from Ḥibbān al-A'raj, to the effect that al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from al-Baḥrayn concerning a *ḥaḍīṭ* – an orchard, that is – that was owned by brothers. He asked what (would be the tax consequences) if one of the brothers accepted Islam. He ordered him to collect *al-ushr*, "the tithe", from the Muslim and then the *kharāj*, "the poll tax"; from the one who had not accepted Islam, that is.

Al-'Alā' b. 'Uqba was also one of them. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir stated, "He was a scribe of the Prophet (ṢAAS). I know of no one who made mention of him other than as we are narrating."

He went on to give a line of transmission to 'Atīq b. Ya'qūb, who quoted 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather, from 'Amr b. Ḥazm, who detailed land grants made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to certain persons. He gave the wording of the deed as follows, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent: this is a grant made by the Prophet, Muḥammad to 'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī. He has given him Madmūr. No one has a right to interfere with him there; he has full rights. Written and witnessed by al-'Alā' b. 'Uqba."

He also went on to quote, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This records what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), has awarded to 'Awsaja b. Ḥarmala al-Juhānī: from Dhū al-Marwa and what lies between Balkatha to al-Zubya, to al-Ja'lāt, to Mt. al-Qibliyya. No one has a right to interfere with him there. He has full rights. Written by al-'Alā' b. 'Uqba."

Al-Wāqidi narrated, giving full lines of transmission, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had made a grant of land to Banū Siḥ b. Juhaym. Their deed relating thereto had been written and witnessed by al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿUqba.

Ibn al-Athir mentioned this man briefly in his work *al-Ghāba*. He stated, "Al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿUqba wrote on behalf of the Prophet (SAAS) . . ." He gave his name also in a *ḥadīth* of ʿAmr b. Ḥazm. Jaʿfar included this, and Abū Mūsā – al-Madīnī, that is – gave it in his book.

Also among them was Muḥammad b. Maslama b. Ḥuraysh b. Khālid b. ʿAdī b. Majdaʿa b. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj al-Anṣārī al-Ḥārithī al-Khazraji Abū ʿAbd Allāh, known as Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and as Abū Saʿd al-Madani, the ally of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal.

He accepted Islam in the presence of Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, or alternatively Saʿd b. Muʿadh and Usayd b. Ḥudayr. Upon his arrival in Medina, the Messenger of God (SAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between him and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāh. He participated at Badr and at battles thereafter. The Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed him his vice-regent over Medina in the year of the expedition to Tabūk.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his work *al-Istīʿāb* that he had an extremely dark complexion, was tall, bald and corpulent. He was one of the most excellent of the Companions. He avoided involvement in civil unrest and carried a wooden sword.

He died in Medina in 43 AH, as is widely known. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam prayed over him. He narrated many *aḥādīth* from the Prophet (SAAS).

Muḥammad b. Saʿd narrated, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madaʿīnī, with lines of transmission back from him, that it was Muḥammad b. Maslama who, at the order of the Messenger of God (SAAS), wrote the document for the delegation from Banū Murra.

They also included Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, Sakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya al-Umawī; we have detailed his biography in materials relating to his period of rule.

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj includes him among the scribes of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Muslim narrated, in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿIkrama b. ʿAmmār, from Abū Zumayl Simāk b. al-Walid, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Abū Sufyān asked, "Messenger of God, are there three requests you would fulfil for me?" "Yes," he replied. He then said, "Give me command, so that I can battle the unbelievers, just as I used to battle the Muslims." "Granted," he replied. He then asked, "Appoint Muʿāwiya as your scribe." "Granted," he replied. And the *ḥadīth* continues thereafter.

I have devoted a separate section to this *ḥadīth* since it incorporates reference to his request to the Messenger of God (SAAS) that the latter marry Umm Ḥabība. Moreover, it does include reference to Abū Sufyān's appointment as a commander and to Muʿāwiya's part as scribe on behalf of the Prophet (SAAS).

On this issue scholars are unanimous.

Then there is the *ḥadīth* relating to Mu'āwiya given by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asakir in his work of history that is relevant here. He stated that Abū Ghālib b. al-Banā related to him, quoting Abū Muḥammad al-Jawharī, quoting Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Atashī, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Būrānī, quoting al-Sarī b. 'Āṣim, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād, from al-Qāsim b. Bahrām, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought the advice of Gabriel over appointing Mu'āwiya as his scribe and that the latter said, "Appoint him as a scribe; he is trustworthy."

This *ḥadīth* is *gharīb* and, indeed, objectionable. This man al-Sarī b. 'Āṣim is Abū 'Āṣim al-Hamadḥānī, who used to act as tutor to al-Mu'taz Bi Allāhi; Ibn Khirāsh stated that he was untruthful in *ḥadīth* narration.

Ibn Ḥibbān and Ibn 'Adī stated that he would steal *aḥādīth*. Ibn Ḥibbān added, "He would ascribe to (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) statements that belonged to the Companions. It is not permissible to use such materials in arguments." Al-Dārquṭnī stated that his *aḥādīth* were weak.

His teacher was Sheikh al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād, who stated, "If the latter was al-Lu'lu'ī several of the *imāms* have ignored him. Many of them asserted that he was mendacious. If applicable to some other person, nothing whatsoever is known about him."

The source in the above *ḥadīth* named as al-Qāsim b. Bahrām might refer to either of two persons. One possibility would be a man known as al-Qāsim b. Bahrām al-Asadī al-Wāsiṭī al-'Araj, whose origins were in Isfahān. Al-Nasā'ī quoted him from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, at length for his statement relating to the *ḥadīth al-qunūt*.²¹⁹ Ibn Ma'īn, Abū Ḥātim, Abū Dā'ūd and Ibn Ḥibbān categorize him as a trustworthy source. The second man was al-Qāsim b. Bahrām Abū Hamdān, the *qāḍī* of Hīt. Ibn Mu'īn stated that he was a notorious liar.

In sum, therefore, this *ḥadīth* from this line of transmission is not firmly established and is one by which one should not be misled.

It is surprising that the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asakir, a scholar of such illustrious reputation and a man of greater knowledge regarding the fabrication of *aḥādīth* than his contemporaries – or his predecessors for many years before – should give this in his work of history along with many other such *aḥādīth*, without any (negative) commentary, direct or subtle. Such behaviour is questionable. But God knows best.

219. The reference seems to have two possible connotations. The first relates to a question posed to the Prophet (ṢAAS), regarding which prayer was best. To this he responded with the words, "(the one) *ṭūl al-qunūt*", "the one for which one remains standing at length". A specific prayer is therefore known as the "*du'ā' al-qunūt*", "the prayer delivered standing". Alternatively, the reference could be to a *ḥadīth* telling of the curse delivered by the Prophet daily for one month against the tribes of Rū'āl and Dhakwān for their actions at the engagement at Bīr Ma'ūna. See Vol. III.

They also included al-Mughira b. Shu'ba al-Thaqafi. I have given his biography above in the section devoted to those of his Companions apart from his freed-man who served the Messenger of God (SAAS). I noted that it was he who would hold a sword above the latter's head.

Ibn 'Asakir narrated from 'Atiq b. Ya'qub, along several lines of transmissions, as above, that it was al-Mughira b. Shu'ba who wrote out the land tenure deed for Huṣayn b. Naḍla al-Asadi awarded him at the orders of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

These, then, were the scribes who would write at his command and in his presence.

Chapter.

Ibn 'Asakir included among those who were trusted (scribes) Abū 'Ubayda 'Amir b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Jarrāh al-Qurashī al-Fihri, one of "the ten",²²⁰ may God be pleased with him, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhri.

Regarding Abū 'Ubayda, al-Bukhārī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Qilāba, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Every nation had an *amin*, 'a fully trustworthy person'. And the *amin* of this community is Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh."

In one text the wording is, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) told a delegation of (Banū) 'Abd al-Qays of Najrān, "I will send with you an *amin*, a true *amin*." And he sent Abū 'Ubayda with them.

Ibn 'Asakir went on, "Among them also was Mu'ayyib b. Abū Fāṭima al-Dawṣī, the freed-man of Banū 'Abd Shams. He was in charge of his (seal) ring; it is also said that he was his servant. Others have said that he accepted Islam early and emigrated with the others to Abyssinia, and thereafter to Medina. He participated in the battle of Badr and engagements thereafter, and he was in charge of his ring. Both of the sheikhs²²¹ placed him in charge of the treasury."

They also say that he contracted leprosy, that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ordered that he be treated with colocynth and that the disease was arrested. His death came during the caliphate of 'Uthmān, in the year 40 AH, it is said. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā b. Abū Bakr related to him, quoting Shaybān, from Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, who quoted Mu'ayyib to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said about a man smoothing out the earth where he would prostrate in prayer, "If you have to do it, let it be once (only)."

Both compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shaybān al-Naḥwī. Muslim added, "And also (from) Hishām al-Dastuwā'i." Al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja also gave it from al-Awzā'i. All three of them also gave it from Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*.

220. See Vol. I.

221. Abū Bakr and 'Umar, that is.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Khalaf b. al-Walid related it to him, quoting Ayyūb, from 'Utba, from Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, who quoted Mu'ayqib as having stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Woe to those (who neglect to wash their ankles properly) from hell-fire.'"

Imām Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā'ī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Abū 'Attāb Sahl b. Ḥammād al-Dallāl, from Abū Makīn Nūḥ b. Rabī'a, from Iyyās b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Mu'ayqib, who quoted his grandfather – who was in charge of the (seal) ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) – as having said, "The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was made of iron with silver overlaid upon it. Sometimes it was in my hand."

I note that the ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was actually made of silver, with its protusion integral to it, as will be shown in the quotations from the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections. He had earlier had a gold ring that he had worn for a period but later discarded, saying, "I swear by God, I'll not wear it!"

He then began use of this ring made of silver with its raised design integral, inscribed with the words, "Muḥammad, Messenger of God", with "Muḥammad" on one line, "*rasūl*, 'messenger'", on another, and "*Allāh*, 'God'", on the third.

After remaining in his possession, it was passed on after him to Abū Bakr, then to 'Umar and then to 'Uthmān, with whom it remained for six years. Then it dropped from him into the well at Aris. He made every effort to retrieve it, but failed.

Abū Dā'ūd, may God have mercy upon him, devoted an entire chapter of his work *al-Sunan* to the ring; we will if God so wishes it, shortly hereafter quote from it material we find useful. And God is the source of help.

The reference above to Mu'ayqib's wearing this ring point to the weakness of the report of his having been afflicted with leprosy, as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and others related. However, this is widely believed. Perhaps he contracted this disease after the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), or he may have been infected by it but not have been contagious. Or this might indicate the nature of the strength of the trust in God characteristic of the Prophet (ṢAAS). This is suggested by what the latter said to the leper as he placed his hand in the dish of food, "Eat; with confidence in God and reliance upon Him!"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated this. It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "Flee from the leper as you flee from a lion!" But God knows best.

Regarding the military commanders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we have made reference to them, arranged by their names, in the materials relating to the expeditions he dispatched. And all praise and credit belong to God.

People are in disagreement over the question of the total number of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū Zur'a is quoted as having said, "They totalled 120,000 persons."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, there were some 60,000 Muslims (alive) who had seen and heard him."

Al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated, "There are some 5,000 Companions who narrated *aḥādith* (from him)."

I note that the Companions whose *aḥādith* were quoted by Imām Aḥmad – with all his breadth of knowledge, extensive travels and recognized expertise – totalled 987 persons.

The six canonical collections of traditions quote from some 300 Companions in addition to these.

A number of *ḥuffāz*, may God be pleased with them, have devoted themselves to establishing the names, biographies and deaths of these Companions. One of the most illustrious of these men was Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr al-Namrī, whose book is entitled *al-Istīʿāb*. Other such scholars were Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Manda, and Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī.

The *ḥāfiẓ* ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jazarī, known by the epithet Ibn al-Ṣaḥāba, "son of the Companions", collected all this material. He compiled it into his book *al-Ghāba*, an excellent and highly useful work in which he gathered all such material with great care and precision. May God have mercy upon him, reward him and unite him with the Companions! Amen, O Lord of the worlds!

Chapter: Information relating to the clothing, weapons, mounts and personal effects that the Prophet (ṢAAS) used during his life.

References to the ring he wore and to the material from which it was made.

Abū Dāʿūd gave a separate chapter on this in his work *al-Sunan*; we will give here the most important of these references and additional materials stemming from reliable sources.

Abū Dāʿūd stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muṭrif al-Ruʿāsī narrated to him, quoting ʿIsā, from Saʿīd, from Qatāda, who quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, "The Messenger of God's (ṢAAS) wished to write to certain non-Arabs and he was told that they will not read a letter unless it has been signed with a seal. He therefore took a ring and had inscribed on it, 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it thus from ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Ḥammād, from Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbū al-ʿArūba, from Qatāda.

Abū Dāʿūd then stated that Wahb b. Baqiyya narrated to him, from Khālīd, from Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas, to the same effect as in the *ḥadīth* of ʿIsā b. Yūnus. he added, "It was on his hand until he died; then it was worn by Abū Bakr until he died, and by ʿUmar until he died. Then ʿUthmān wore it. While he was at a well it fell into that well. He ordered it to be emptied, but it could not be found."

Abū Dāʿūd is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Abū Dā'ūd, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Qutayba b. Sa'īd and Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ both stated that Ibn Wahb informed them, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Anas related to me, 'The ring of the Prophet (ŠAAS) was made of silver, and its stone was Abyssinian.'"

Al-Bukhārī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth. Muslim gave it from one of Ibn Wahb. Talḥa gave it from Yahyā al-Anṣārī and Sulaymān b. Bilāl. Al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja added to these 'Uthmān, from 'Umar. All five scholars gave the *ḥadīth* from Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Abī. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as, *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ gharīb* from this line.

Abū Dā'ūd went on to state that Aḥmad b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas, who said, "The ring of the Prophet (ŠAAS) was entirely made of silver, its 'stone' being an integral part of it."

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiya al-Ju'fī Abū Khaythama al-Kūfī. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was *ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ gharīb* from that line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Ma'mar related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wārith, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Šuhayb, from Anas b. Mālīk, who said, "The Messenger of God (ŠAAS) had a ring made. He said, 'We have acquired a ring and had an inscription engraved on it. Let no one make a (similar) inscription on it (his own ring).'"

Anas went on, "I can still see its gleam on his little finger."

Abū Dā'ūd continued that Naṣr b. al-Faraj related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ŠAAS) obtained a gold ring and wore it with its stone facing towards the centre of his palm. And on it he had inscribed, 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God'.

"People then began wearing gold rings. When he saw them doing this, he threw his away, saying, 'I'll never wear it!' He then began wearing a silver ring inscribed with the words, 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God'. After his death, Abū Bakr wore it. Then, after him, 'Umar wore it, and then 'Uthmān (did so) until it dropped inside the Aris well."

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Yūsuf b. Mūsā, from Abū Usāma Ḥammād b. Usāma.

Abū Dā'ūd went on to state that 'Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from Ayyūb b. Mūsā, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who gave this same information about the Prophet (ŠAAS), and stated, "He inscribed it with the words, 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God', and said, 'Let no one (else) inscribe on this ring of mine!'" And he concluded the *ḥadīth*.

Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan* all give this, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, in similar form.

Abū Dā'ūd further stated that Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Fāris related to him, quoting Abū 'Āṣim, from al-Mughira b. Ziyād, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said as follows concerning this statement from the Prophet (ŠAAS), "They

searched but could not locate it. And so ʿUthmān took (another) ring and inscribed on it 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God'. And he used it as a seal, or it was so used."

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Maʿmar, from Abū ʿĀṣim al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad al-Nabīl.

Abū Dāʾūd went on to give a chapter entitled, *How the ring was lost*.

He proceeded to state that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Luwayn related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd, from Ibn Shihāb, from Anas b. Mālik, that he saw for one day only a silver ring on the hand of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The people did the same and began wearing them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then discarded his, and the people did the same.

He went on to say that this was also narrated from al-Zuhri by Ziyād b. Saʿd, Shuʿayb and Ibn Musāfir, all of whom said that the ring referred to above was made *min wariq*, "from silver".

I note that al-Bukhārī narrated it as follows, "Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, 'Anas b. Mālik related to me, that he saw for one day only a silver ring on the hand of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The people then also made and wore such rings of silver. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) discarded his ring, and the people did the same with theirs.'"

Al-Bukhārī then gave it on a line from Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Zuhri al-Madanī, Shuʿayb b. Abū Jamra and Ziyād b. Saʿd al-Khurāsānī. Muslim quoted his *ḥadīth*. Abū Dāʾūd is alone in relating it from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. Musāfir. All of these quoted al-Zuhri as given above by Abū Dāʾūd, with the words that the ring was made *min wariq*, "from silver".

However, what is true is that the ring he wore for only one day and then discarded was made of gold, not silver. This is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from Mālik, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to wear a gold ring and then he discarded it, saying, 'I'll never wear this!' And the people discarded their rings."

He wore the silver ring frequently. It was on his hand until his death. Its "stone" was integral to it; that is, it had no stone separate from it. Those who narrate that in it there was engraved the image of a person are totally mistaken. In fact it was entirely of silver and its "stone" integral to it. And it was engraved with the three words "Muḥammad, Messenger of God", in three lines with "Muḥammad", "Messenger", and "God", on separate lines.

It is likely, though God knows best, that the letters were written in reverse so that it would print out correctly, as was typical (of such seals). It has been said, however, that the inscription was not reversed but was printed that way. The correctness of this view is disputed. I do not know a single line of transmission for that, neither one that is authentic, nor one that is weak.

The above *aḥādīth* we have given to the effect that his ring was made of silver refute those *aḥādīth* we have given from the *ṣunan* collections of Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī through Abū ʿAttab Sahl b. Ḥammād al-Dallāl, from Abū Makīn

Nūḥ b. Rabī'a, from Iyyās b. al-Ḥārith b. Mu'ayyib b. Abū Fāṭima, from his grandfather, who said, "The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was made of iron overlaid with silver."

This is further weakened by one *ḥadīth* narrated by Aḥmad, Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī, from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Ṭayba 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim al-Sulamī al-Marwuzī from 'Abd Allāh b. Burayda, who quoted his father as having said that a man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), wearing a brass ring. The latter asked him, "Why do I detect from you the odour of idols?" The man threw the ring away, then returned wearing one made of iron. The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked him, "Why do I see you wearing the ornamentation of the denizens of hell?" The man discarded it and asked, "What, then, should I wear, Messenger of God?" He answered, "Have one made of silver, but do not make it a full *mithqāl* in weight."

The Prophet (ṢAAS), used to wear it on his right hand, according to what Abū Dā'ūd narrated, as did al-Tirmidhī in *al-Shamā'il* and al-Nasā'ī, all quoting from Sharik, from Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qādī, from Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan, from his father, from 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Sharik stated, "Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to wear his ring on his right hand."

It is also, however, narrated that he wore it on his left hand. Abū Dā'ūd narrated this, from a *ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore his ring on his left hand, keeping its "stone" facing towards the centre of his palm.

Abū Dā'ūd also stated, "Abū Ishāq and Usāma b. Zayd quoted from Nāfi' that he wore it on his right hand."

He went on, "Ḥammād related to us, from 'Abda, from 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi', that Ibn 'Umar used to wear his ring on his left hand."

Abū Dā'ūd further stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd related to us, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, 'I saw al-Ṣalt b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nawfal b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib wearing a ring on the little finger of his right hand. So I asked him, "Why so?" He replied, "I saw Ibn 'Abbās wear his ring that way, with its stone on its top."'"

He (presumably Abū Dā'ūd) went on, "It cannot be imagined that Ibn 'Abbās would not have mentioned that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not wear his ring that way."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it similarly from *aḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl – al-Bukhārī, that is – went on to state, "The *ḥadīth* of Ibn Ishāq from al-Ṣalt is *ḥasan*."

Al-Tirmidhī stated, in his work *al-Shamā'il*, from Anas, and from Jābir and from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore his ring on his right hand.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī related to him, quoting his father, from Thumāma, from Anas b. Mālīk, that when Abū Bakr succeeded to power, Anas acted as his scribe and that the ring was inscribed with three lines: “Muḥammad”, on one line, “Messenger” on another, and “God” on a third line.

Abū ‘Abd Allāh stated, “Abū Aḥmad went on to add that al-Anṣārī, quoting his father, quoting Thumāma, from Anas, who said, ‘The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was worn on his hand, on that of Abū Bakr and then after him on that of ‘Umar. When ‘Uthmān ruled, he was once sitting at the well of Arīs and began toying with the ring and it fell. We stayed there with ‘Uthmān for three days; the well was emptied, but he did not locate the ring.’”

Then there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Tirmidhī in his work *al-Shamū‘il*. He quoted Qutayba, from Abū ‘Awāna, from Abū Yusr, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a silver ring he used for sealing, but did not wear.

This *ḥadīth* is very odd. It is stated in the *al-sunan* from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into the desert (to relieve himself), he would take off his ring.”

THE SWORD OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Shurayḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Zinnād, from his father, from al-A‘mā ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd, who quoted Ibn ‘Abbās as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acquired his sword Dhū al-Fiḡār as booty at the battle of Badr. It was that sword in which he saw the visions of the battle of Uḡud. He said, ‘I saw a notch in my sword, Dhū al-Fiḡār, and this I interpreted as a defect that was in you. Then I saw myself with a *kaḃsh*, “a leader”, riding behind myself; this leader I interpreted as that of the squadron. Then I saw myself dressed in stout armour; this I interpreted as Medina. Then I saw a cow being slaughtered. And a fine cow, a very fine cow, by God, it was indeed!’”²²²

This was the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinnād, from his father.

The *ahl al-sunan* maintain that a voice was heard saying, “There is no sword like Dhū al-Fiḡār and no warrior like ‘Alī!”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Hūd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d, from his grandfather Mazīda b. Jābir al-‘Abdī al-‘Aṣrī, may God be pleased with him, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he was wearing a sword overlaid with gold and silver.”

He went on to categorize this *ḥadīth* as *gharīb*.

222. See a slightly different version of the wording of this vision given above, Vol. III, page 15.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, in *al-Shamā'il*, that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Mu'adh b. Hishām, quoting his father, from Qatāda, from Sa'īd b. Abū al-Ḥasan, who said, "The pommel of the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was made of silver."

He also narrated from a *ḥadīth* of 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd, who quoted Ibn Sirīn as having said, "I made my sword like that of Samura, who claimed that he had made his modelled on the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was a *ḥanaḥī*.²²³ One of the swords of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed into the possession of the family of 'Alī. It was with al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, may God be pleased with them both, when he was killed at Karbalā', at al-Ṭaff. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-Ābidīn then took it with him to Damascus when he went in to see Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. The sword returned to Medina with him thereafter."

It is established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, that he (al-Miswar) conducted him ('Alī b. al-Ḥusayn) out to show him the route and asked the latter, "Is there anything you would like me to do on your behalf?" "No," he replied. Al-Miswar then said, "Perhaps you would like to give me the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I'm afraid people will take it away from you. I swear by God, if you give it to me, no one will get to it for as long as I am alive."

Weapons other than this are said to have belonged to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

These include the coats of mail to which several persons made reference. Al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, for example, state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put on two coats of mail at the battle of Uḥud.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections it is stated, in a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the city on the day of the conquest of Mecca wearing a helmet. As he was removing it, he was told, "That Ibn Khaṭal is clinging on to the curtains of the *ka'ba*." He then said, "Execute him."

Muslim gives a *ḥadīth* of Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest, he was wearing a black turban.

Wakī' stated, from Musāwir al-Warrāq, from Ja'far b. 'Amr b. Ḥurayth, who quoted his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the people while wearing a grey-black turban."

Both these accounts are given by al-Tirmidhī in his work *al-Shamā'il*. He also gives a *ḥadīth* of al-Darāwardī, from 'Abd Allāh, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore a turban, he let it hang down between his shoulders."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, in his *musnad* collection, that Abū Shayba Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Makhūl b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Isrā'īl, from 'Āṣim, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, who also said that Anas b. Mālik had in his possession a staff that had belonged to the Messenger

223. An adherent of the school of law, one of the "four orthodox schools", founded by its *imām*, known as Abū Ḥanīfa.

of God (ṢAAS), and that when he died it was buried with him, between his side and his shirt.

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of no one who narrated this except Makhūl b. Rāshid; he was entirely truthful and somewhat Shīʿa. It is considered therefore in that (light)."

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī stated, after having recounted this *ḥadīth* through this Makhūl, "He was a Shīʿa. He quoted some individual *aḥādīth* from Isrāʾīl that are given by no one but him. The weak nature of his accounts is clearly evident."

CONCERNING THE SANDALS WORN BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

It is established in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore sandals made of smooth cattle leather.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection that Muḥammad b. Muqātil related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, Ibn al-Mubārak, that is, quoting ʿIsā b. Ṭahmān, who said, "Anas b. Mālīk brought out for us a pair of two-thonged sandals. He said, 'Thābit, these are the sandals of the Prophet (ṢAAS).'"

He narrated it again in his *Kitāb al-Khums*, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, from ʿIsā b. Ṭahmān, who said, "Anas brought for us a shabby pair of two-thonged sandals."

(Al-Bukhārī went on) "Thābit al-Banānī related to me, also quoting Anas, that they were the sandals of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this in his work *al-Shamāʾil* from Aḥmad b. Manīʿ, from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī.

He also stated in *al-Shamāʾil* that Abū Kurayb narrated to him, quoting Wakiʿ, from Sufyān, from Khālid al-Ḥadhāʾ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had double thongs, their laces plaited."

He also stated that Ishāq b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Ibn Abū Dhīʿb, from Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of al-Tawʿama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had two thongs."

Al-Tirmidhī stated that Muḥammad b. Marzūq Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Qays Abū Muʿāwiya, quoting Hishām, from Muḥammad, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had two thongs, as did those of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The first to tie his sandal using one thong was ʿUthmān."

Al-Jawharī stated, "The word 'thong', *qibāl*, of a sandal, spelled with an 'i', is the lace that is positioned between the middle toe and the one next to it."

I note that in the period shortly after 600 AH a merchant named Ibn Abū al-Ḥadrad became widely known as having a single sandal that he claimed to have belonged to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Al-Mālīk al-Ashraf Mūsā b. al-Mālīk

al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb²²⁴ offered to buy it from him for a large sum of money, but he refused to sell it. But shortly thereafter, he happened to die and the sandal came into the possession of that al-Mālik al-Ashraf. He venerated it mightily and later, having built the *dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafiyya* next to the *qaʿa*, the citadel of Cairo, placed it in one of its treasuries. He appointed a curator to look after it who was paid 40 *dirhams* a month. It is still there in that building to this day.

Al-Tirmidhi stated in *al-Shamāʿil* that Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ and various others stated that Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī related to them, quoting Shaybān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mukhtār, from Mūsā b. Anas, who quoted his father as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) owned a small leather bag from which he took perfume."

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DRINKING CUP USED BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Sharīk, from ʿĀsim, who said, "At the home of Anas, I saw the cup of the Prophet (ṢAAS). It had a silver band."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawī, quoting Ḥammād b. Shākir, quoting Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, al-Bukhārī, that is, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Mudrik, quoting Yahyā b. Ḥammād, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, who quoted ʿĀsim al-Aḥwal as having said, "I saw the cup of the Prophet (ṢAAS), at the home of Anas b. Mālik. It had cracked and he had wired it together with silver."

The narrator went on, "It was a fine, wide cup of tamarisk wood."

Anas stated, "I have poured into that cup for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) innumerable times."

Ibn Sirin stated, "It had on it a ring of iron. Anas wanted to replace that with a ring of gold or silver, but Abū Ṭalḥa told him, 'Don't change anything made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' So he left it as it was."

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Ḥassān, who said, "We were at the home of Anas and he called for a vessel to be brought. It had three bands and a ring, all of iron. It was less than a *rubʿ* but more than a half a *rubʿ* in capacity. Anas gave orders and water was poured into it. We then took it and drank, pouring some water over our heads and faces; then we spoke prayers for the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Accounts of the antimony case used by the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr,

224. The Mamlūk ruler of Egypt at that time.

from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had an antimony case. Before going to sleep he would put antimony into each eye three times."

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated from a *ḥadīth* of Yazīd b. Hārūn in which ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī is quoted as having said, "I heard Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd say, 'I asked ʿAbbād b. Maṣṣūr, "Did you hear this *ḥadīth* from ʿIkrama?" He replied, "Ibn Abū Yaḥyā told it to me, from Dāʿūd b. al-Ḥusayn."'"

I note that I have heard that somewhere in Egypt there is a shrine containing many of the personal effects of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that certain recent government ministers have assembled. These include an antimony case, along with, it is said, a comb and other items. But God knows best.

THE CLOAK (AL-BURDA).

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated as follows, "Regarding the cloaks in the possession of the caliphs, we learn from the account of Muḥammad b. Ishāq relating to the battle of Tabūk, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to the people of Aelia a *burda*, 'a cloak', along with the safe conduct document he wrote for them. Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the first of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, known as al-Saffāḥ, 'the shedder of blood', later purchased it for 300 *dinārs*."

The ʿAbbāsid rulers inherited this *burda* from one another. The Caliph would wear it over his shoulders on festival days, holding in one hand the staff said to have been used by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He would appear in it with such a sense of tranquillity and dignity that would completely overwhelm and bedazzle all. They would dress in black on Fridays and festivals; this they did to emulate the practice of him who was Lord of all, whether bedouin, farmers or town-dwellers.

This they did because of the accounts given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the two prime scholars of the historical record, from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he was wearing a helmet. In one such account, he is said to have been wearing a black turban. And in another that he let its end hang down between his shoulders.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, quoting Ayyūb, from Muḥammad, from Abū Burda, who said, "ʿĀ'isha brought out to us a *kisāʾ*, 'an upper garment', and an *izār*, 'a waist-wrapper', made of coarse cloth and said, 'The spirit of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was taken while he was wearing these two garments.'"

Al-Bukhārī gave a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿĀ'isha and Ibn ʿAbbās which quoted them both as having said, "When revelation came down to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he immediately threw a black-bordered cloak of his over his face. If distressed, he would uncover his face and say, while thus, 'God curse the Jews and the Christians! They treat the graves of their prophets as shrines; what they do is to be avoided.'"

I note that the later disposition of these three items of clothing is not known.

It is stated above that a piece of red velvet upon which he had prayed was placed beneath him in his grave.

It would consume a great deal of time for us to detail the items of clothing he wore throughout his life. The proper place for this will be the chapter devoted to clothing in my major study the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, if God so wills it. And in Him is all trust and reliance.

REFERENCE TO THE HORSES AND OTHER MOUNTS USED BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, from Yazīd b. Ḥabīb, from Marthad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muzanī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Razīn, who quoted 'Alī as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) owned a horse named 'al-Murtajiz', a donkey named 'Ufayr' and a mule named 'Duldul'; his sword was 'Dhū al-Fiqr', and his armour was 'Dhū al-Fuḍūl'."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Ḥakam, from Yahyā b. al-Azzār, from 'Alī in similar words.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "We have narrated in our work *Kitāb al-Sunan* the names of his horses that were with their fortunate recipients. Those horses were named 'Lazāz', 'al-Laḥīf' also known as 'al-Lakhīf' and 'al-Zarīb'. The horse he rode that belonged to Abū Ṭalḥa was called al-Mandūb. His camels were named 'al-Qaṣwā', 'al-'Aḍbā' and 'al-Jad'a', while his mule was named 'al-Shahbā' and 'al-Bayḍā'."

Al-Bayhaqī also stated, "There is nothing in the accounts to indicate that he died leaving them as inheritance, except for what information we have given about his mule 'al-Bayḍā', his weapons, and a piece of land he left to charity."

We have made reference to his clothing, his mule and his ring in this chapter.

Abū Da'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Zam'a b. Ṣāliḥ narrated to him, from Abū Ḥazim, from Sahl b. Sa'd, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died leaving a *jubba*, 'a long, wide-sleeved outer garment', made of woven wool."

The line of transmission for this is excellent.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ya'qūb stated, in his *musnad* collection, that Mujāhid narrated to him, from Mūsā, quoting 'Alī b. Thābit, quoting Ghālib al-Jazarī, from Anas, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, a woollen garment was being woven for him."

This testifies to what is narrated hereabove.

Abū Sa'īd b. al-A'rābī stated that Sa'dān b. Naṣīr related to him, quoting Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, from al-Walid b. Kathīr, from Ḥusayn, from Fāṭima, daughter of al-Ḥusayn, that at the time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, two leather vessels were being made for him.

This *ḥadīth* is *mursal*, "incomplete in its line".

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated that al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq al-Tasturī related to him, quoting Abū Umayya 'Amr b. Hishām al-Ḥarrānī, quoting 'Uthmān b.

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Alī b. ‘Urwa, from ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abū Sulaymān, from ‘Aṭā and ‘Amr b. Dīnār, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a sword the hilt and pommel of which were made of silver; it was known as ‘Dhū al-Fiḡār’. He had a bow called ‘al-Sidād’ and a quiver named ‘al-Jam‘. He had a coat of armour inlaid with brass called ‘Dhāt al-Fuḡūl’, and a spear called ‘al-Ṣuḡhrā’. He had a shield called ‘al-Dhaqan’. He also had a white leather shield called ‘al-Mūjiz’, a black horse named ‘al-Sakb’, a saddle called ‘al-Mūjiz’, a grey mule called ‘Duldul’, a camel called ‘al-Qaṣwā’, a donkey called ‘Ya‘fūr’, a carpet called ‘al-Karr’, a woollen garment called ‘al-Namir’, a leather bag called ‘al-Ṣādir’, a mirror called ‘al-Mirā’a’, scissors called ‘al-Jāḥḥ’, and a fir-wood staff called ‘al-Mamshūq’.”

I note that it has been related above from several of the Companions that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a single *dīnār*, nor even a *dirham*, and not a slave, male or female. All he left was a mule and a piece of land that he had given to charity. This requires him to have fully emancipated the slaves to whom we have referred, to have given to charity all the weapons we have enumerated, along with his animals, and all his personal effects, whether or not mentioned by myself above.

Regarding his mule, its name was “al-Shahbā” and also “al-Bayḡā”; though God knows best. It was that animal that the Muqawqīs, the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Mīnā, had given him along with other valuables. It was this mule that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode at the battle of Hunayn into the very midst of the enemy, bravely extolling God’s name and placing all his reliance in God the Almighty and Glorious. It is said that the mule lived on a long time after him, belonging to ‘Alī during his caliphate and surviving on after his death and passing into the ownership of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far who would mash up its barley after it became too weak to eat it otherwise.

His donkey “Ya‘fūr” is also known by its diminutive name “Ufayr”. This was a mount he would occasionally ride.

Aḥmad narrated, from a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Yazīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Awfī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Razīm, who quoted ‘Alī as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to ride a donkey named ‘Ufayr’.”

Abū Ya‘lā narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Awn b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Ibn Mas‘ūd.

It is narrated in a number of *aḥādīth* that he rode the donkey.

In both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, it is narrated that the Prophet (ṢAAS), mounted on a donkey, passed by an assembly at which ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Sa‘lūl was present with a mixture of Muslims, idol-worshippers and Jews. He dismounted and invited all to accept God, the Almighty and Glorious. This occurred prior to the battle of Badr. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was intending to visit (the sickbed) of Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda. ‘Abd Allāh (b. Ubayy) said to him, “You did not do well by what you said! If it is all true, you still shouldn’t bother us with it in our meetings.” That was before Islam appeared. It is said that this ‘Abd Allāh puckered up his

nose at the odour coming from the dung from his donkey, and said, "Don't disgust us with the filth from your donkey!"

‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa responded, "I swear by God, the odour from the donkey of the Messenger of God is sweeter than the stench from you!" He went on, "Messenger of God, do come and tell us of it in our meetings; we would enjoy that." The two tribes then rose to confront one another and were about to do battle when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) pacified them.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went on to visit Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda and complained to him about ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy. Sa’d told him, "Go easy on him, Messenger of God; by Him who honoured you with the truth, God has truly sent you with the truth. We were about to make a diadem with which to make him our king. When God brought the truth, he choked on his own spittle!"

We have narrated above how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode his donkey in some of the battles at Khaybar, and how he mounted Mu‘adh behind himself on it.

This section would be over-long if we were to now give all the phraseology and lines of transmission for this.

The *qāḍī* ‘Ayyād b. Mūsā al-Sabtī stated in his book *al-Shifā’*, as had Imām al-Ḥaramayn²²⁵ in his great book on the origins of the faith, and as others have also maintained, that the Messenger had a donkey named Ziyād b. Shihāb. These authorities also related that he would send off this donkey to fetch one or other of his Companions; when he did so, it would stop at their door and bray, so that the man would know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was requesting his presence. The above scholars also state that this donkey was the seventieth in a line of donkeys, each one of which had been ridden by a prophet. They maintain that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, this donkey wandered off, threw itself into a well, and died.

No lines of transmission whatsoever are given for these accounts. Their veracity has been denied by various of the *ḥufāẓ*, including ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥātim, and his father, may God have mercy upon them both. On several occasions, I heard my teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī, may God have mercy upon him, vehemently deny its authenticity.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu‘aym stated in his work *Dalā’il al-Nubuwwa*, that Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-‘Anbarī related to him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Suwayd al-Jadhū‘ī, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Udhayn al-Ṭā‘ī, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Khālīd b. Ma’dān, from Mu‘adh b. Jabal, who said, "A black donkey came to the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he was at Khaybar and stood right in front of him. He asked the donkey, 'And who are you?' It replied, 'I am ‘Amr, son of so-and-so. We were seven brothers, each one of whom was ridden by a prophet. I am the youngest. I was to be for you. A Jew owned me, and whenever I thought of you, I would stumble and he would beat me.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), replied, 'You are Ya‘fūr.'"

This *ḥadīth* is extremely *gharīb*.

225. Al-Juwaynī, a scholar of the eighth century AH.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib's father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean 'the son of Ṭālib's father'. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters 'al-' before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, 'the'.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word 'Ibn', 'son'. Thus, the name 'Ya'qūb b. 'Utba' means 'Ya'qūb, son of 'Utba'. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as 'Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas' the names of Ya'qūb's father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic *bint*, indicates 'girl' or 'daughter'. Thus the name 'Ā'isha bt. Abū Bakr refers to 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ṢAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words *ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam*; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as 'May God's peace and blessings be upon him'.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of *fakhdh* (q.v.).

aḥādīth: plural of *ḥadīth* (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father's side.

ʿālim (pl. *ʿulamā'*): scholars or theologians of Islam.

anṣār: the plural of *nāṣir*, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who

officially fraternized with the *muhājirin*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

‘arab al-‘arība: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān.

‘arab al-musta‘riba: ‘the arabized Arabs’, initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Ḥijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

‘Arafāt (also *‘Arafa*): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *hajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

‘ashīra (pl. *‘ashā‘ir*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An *‘ashīra* is composed of several *afkhādh* (q.v.), while several *‘ashā‘ir* form a single *qabīla* (q.v.).

badana: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *hajj* (q.v.).

baraka: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believed suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam’s sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. *buṭūn*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabīla* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

daf‘: the word used to denote the act of departure from ‘Arafāt during the pilgrimage rites.

fakhdh (pl. *afkhādh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rak‘āt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.

faṣīla (pl. *faṣā'il*): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's 'ashira (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. *ghazawāt*): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as *sarāyā* (pl. of *sariyya*).

ḥadīth (pl. *aḥādīth*): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An *isnād* (q.v.) precedes the *ḥadīth* and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfūʿ: a *ḥadīth* related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see *ṣāhib*) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiẓ (pl. *ḥufūẓ*): a person who has memorized the entire *Qurʾān*. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of *Dhū al-Ḥijja*.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the *ḥanīfs*.

ḥaram (or *ḥarām*): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the *kaʿba*; he is known as the *ḥājib*.

hijra (or *hegira*): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a *ḥadīth* and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāda: the movement or departure of pilgrims from 'Arafāt following their performance of the *wuqūf*, 'the standing'.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the *iḥrām* state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.

isnād: the prefatory material to a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *iḥrām*.

jāhiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. *jamrāt*): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

kaʿba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

al-Khalīl: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwāʾ: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the 'station' of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *kaʿba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rakʿāt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

ḥadīth mursal: a *ḥadīth* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.

nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *ka'ba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One *parasang* equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabila (pl. *qabā'il*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabila* is larger than an *ʿashīra* (q.v.) but smaller than a *sha'b* (q.v.).

qāḍī: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *ka'ba* there.

rak'a (pl. *rak'āt*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These *rak'āt* total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍān* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridā': a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *iḥrām* state.

riḥāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-sa'y: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

saba': the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

ṣāḥib (pl. *aṣḥāb*, *ṣaḥāba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.

ṣaḥīḥ: a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *aḥādīth*.

ṣamʿan: the receipt of a *ḥadīth* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *ḥadīth* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shaʿb (pl. *shuʿūb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabila* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger'.

shaykh (pl. *shuyūkh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shīʿa: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīʿī*, that considers ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭālib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter Faṭīma, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *ṣunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

ṭawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

tubbaʿ (pl. *ṭabābiʿa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

mudūʾ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharīf*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.

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